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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;

[14]
NOTES

TO THE SIX LAST VOLUMES.

BASIL:

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THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL NAVY

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BY EDWARD GIBSON, Esq.

NOTES

TO THE SIX LAST VOLUMES

BY

EDWARD GIBSON, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES

NOTES

TO THE

SEVENTH VOLUME

CHAP. XXXIX.

¹ JORNANDES (de Rebus Geticis, c. 13, 14. p. 629, 630. edit. Grot.) has drawn the pedigree of Theodoric from Gapt, one of the *Anses* or Demi-gods who lived about the time of Domitian. Cassiodorus, the first who celebrates the royal race of the Amali (Variar. viii. 5. ix. 25. x. 2. xi. 1.), reckons the grandson of Theodoric as the xviith in descent. Peringsciold (the Swedish commentator of Cochlæus. Vit. Theodoric. p. 271, &c. Stockholm, 1699.) labours to connect this genealogy with the legends or traditions of his native country.

² More correctly on the banks of the lake Pelfo (Nieufiedler-see) near Carnuntum, almost on the same spot where Marcus Antoninus composed his meditations (Jornandes, c. 52. p. 659. Severin Pannonia Illustrata, p. 22. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom i. p. 350.)

³ The four first letters of his name (ΘΕΟΔ) were inscribed on a gold plate, and when it was fixed on the paper, the king drew his pen through the intervals (Anonym. Valésian. ad calcem Amm. Marcellin. p. 722.). This authentic fact, with the testimony of Procopius, or at least of the contemporary Goths (Gothic. l. i. c. 2. p. 311.), far outweighs the vague praises of Ennodius (Sirmond. Opera, tom. i. p. 1596.) and Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 112.).

⁴ Statura est quæ relignet proceritate regnantem (Ennodius, p. 1614.). The bishop of Pavia (I mean the ecclesiastic who wished to be a bishop) then proceeds to celebrate the complexion, eyes, hands, &c. of his sovereign.

⁵ The state of the Ostrogoths, and the first years of Theodoric, are found in Jornandes (c. 52—56. p. 639—696.) and Malchus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 78—80), who erroneously styles him the son of Walamir.

⁶ Theophanes (p. 111.) inserts a copy of her *sacred* letters to the provinces: ἴδε ὅτι βασιλεῖον ἡμετέρον ἐστίν. καὶ ὅτι προχειρησάμεθα βασιλεῖα τρασκαλλισαίων, &c. Such female pretensions would have astonished the slaves of the first Cæsars.

⁷ Vol. iii. p. 477—480.

⁸ Suidas, tom. i. p. 332, 333. edit. Kufter.

⁹ The contemporary histories of Malchus and Candidus are lost; but some extracts or fragments have been saved by Photius (lxxviii. lxxix. p. 100—102.), Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Excerpt. Leg. p. 78—97.), and in various articles of the Lexicon of Suidas. The Chronicle of Marcellinus (*Imago Historiæ*) are originals for the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius; and I must acknowledge, almost for the last time, my obligations to the large and accurate collections of Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 472—652.*).

¹⁰ In ipsis congressionis tuæ foribus cessit inuasor, cum profugo per te sceptrum redderetur de salute dubitanti. Ennodius then proceeds (p. 1596, 1597. tom. i. Sirmond.) to transport his hero (on a flying dragon?) into Æthiopia, beyond the tropic of Cancer. The evidence of the Valesian fragment (p. 717.), Liberatus (*Brev. Eutych. c. 25. p. 118.*), and Theophanes (p. 112.), is more sober and rational.

¹¹ This cruel practice is specially imputed to the *Triarian* Goths, less barbarous, as it should seem, than the *Walamirs*: but the son of Theodemir is charged with the ruin of many Roman cities (Malchus, *Excerpt. leg. p. 95.*).

¹² Jornandes (c. 56, 57. p. 696.) displays the services of Theodoric, confesses his rewards, but dissembles his revolt, of which such curious details have been preserved by Malchus (*Excerpt. Legat. p. 78—97.*) Marcellinus, a domestic of Justinian, under whose ivth consulship (A. D. 534.) he composed his Chronicle (Scaliger, *Theaurus Temporum, P. ii. p. 34—57.*), betrays his prejudice and passion: in Græciam debacchantem... Zenonis munificentia pene pacatus... beneficiis nunquam satiatus, &c.

¹³ As he was riding in his own camp, an unruly horse threw him against the point of a spear which hung before a tent, or was fixed on a waggon (Marcellin. in Chron. Evagrius, l. iii. c. 25.).

¹⁴ See Malchus (p. 91.), and Evagrius (l. iii. c. 35.).

¹⁵ Malchus, p. 85. In a single action, which was decided by the skill and discipline of Sabinian, Theodoric could lose 5000 men.

¹⁶ Jornandes (c. 57. p. 696, 697.) has abridged the great history of Cassiodorus. See, compare, and reconcile, Procopius (*Gothic. l. i. c. 1.*), the Valesian Fragment (p. 718.), Theophanes (p. 113.) and Marcellinus (in Chron.).

¹⁷ Theodoric's march is supplied and illustrated by Ennodius (p. 1598—1602.), when the bombast of the oration is translated into the language of common sense.

¹⁸ Tot reges, &c. (Ennodius, p. 1602.) We must recollect how much

the royal title was multiplied and degraded, and that the mercenaries of Italy were the fragments of many tribes and nations.

¹⁹ See Ennodius, p. 1603, 1604. Since the orator, in the king's presence, could mention and praise his mother, we may conclude that the magnanimity of Theodoric was not hurt by the vulgar reproaches of concubine and bastard.

²⁰ This anecdote is related on the modern but respectable authority of Sigonius (Opp. tom. i. p. 580. De Occident. Imp. l. xv.): his words are curious—"Would you return?" &c. She presented and almost displayed the original reefs.

²¹ Hist. Miscell. l. xv. a Roman history from Janus to the ixth century, an Epitome of Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, and Theophanes, which Muratori has published from a MSS. in the Ambrosian library (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. p. 100.).

²² Procopius (Gothic, l. i. c. 1.) approves himself an impartial sceptic: *Οκσι . . . δολερῶ τροπῶ ἐκτείνε*. Cassiodorus (in Chron.) and Ennodius (p. 1604.) are loyal and credulous, and the testimony of the Valesian Fragment (p. 718.) may justify their belief. Marcellinus spits the venom of a Greek subject—*perjuriis illectus, interfectusque est* (in Chron.).

²³ The sonorous and fervile oration of Ennodius was pronounced at Milan or Ravenna in the years 507 or 508 (Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1615.) Two or three years afterwards, the orator was rewarded with the bishoprick of Pavia, which he held till his death in the year 521 (Dupin. Bibliot. Eccles. tom. v. p. 11—14. See Saxii Onomasticon, tom. ii. p. 12.).

²⁴ Our best materials are occasional hints from Procopius and the Valesian Fragment, which was discovered by Sirmond, and is published at the end of Ammianus Marcellinus. The author's name is unknown, and his style is barbarous; but in his various facts he exhibits the knowledge, without the passions of a contemporary. The president Montesquieu had formed the plan of an history of Theodoric, which at a distance might appear a rich and interesting subject.

²⁵ The best edition of the *Variarum Libri* xii. is that of Joh. Garretius (Rotomagi, 1679. in Opp. Cassiodor. 2 vol. in fol.); but they deserved and required such an editor as the Marquis Scipio Maffei, who thought of publishing them at Verona. The *Barbara Eleganza* (as it is ingeniously named by Tiraboschi) is never simple, and seldom perspicuous.

²⁶ Procopius, Gothic. l. i. c. 1. Variarum, ii. Maffei (Verona Illustrata, P. i. p. 228.) exaggerates the injustice of the Goths, whom he hated as an Italian noble. The plebeian Muratori crouches under their oppression.

²⁷ Procopius, Goth. l. iii. c. 4. 21. Ennodius describes (p. 1612, 1613.) the military arts and increasing numbers of the Goths.

²⁸ When Theodoric gave his sister to the king of the Vandals, she sailed for Africa with a guard of 1000 noble Goths, each of whom was attended by five armed followers (Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 8.). The Gothic nobility must have been as numerous as brave.

²⁹ See the acknowledgment of Gothic liberty (Var. v. 30.).

³⁰ Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 2. The Roman boys learnt the language (Var. viii. 21.) of the Goths. Their general ignorance is not destroyed by the exceptions of Amalasuntha, a female, who might study without shame, or of Theodatus, whose learning provoked the indignation and contempt of his countrymen.

³¹ A saying of Theodoric was founded on experience: "Romanus miser imitatur Gothum; et utilis (*dives*) Gothus imitatur Romanum." (See the Fragment and Notes of Valesius, p. 712.)

³² The view of the military establishment of the Goths in Italy, is collected from the Epistles of Cassiodorus (Var. i. 24. 40. iii. 3. 24. 48. iv. 13, 14. v. 26, 27. viii. 3, 4. 25.). They are illustrated by the learned Mascou (Hist. of the Germans, l. xi. 40—44. Annotation, xiv.).

³³ See the clearness and vigour of his negotiations in Ennodius (p. 1607.), and Cassiodorus (Var. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4. iv. 13. v. 43, 44.), who gives the different styles of friendship, counsel, expostulation, &c.

³⁴ Even of his table (Var. vi. 9.) and palace (vii. 5.), the admiration of strangers is represented as the most rational motive to justify these vain expences, and to stimulate the diligence of the officers to whom those provinces were entrusted.

³⁵ See the public and private alliances of the Gothic monarch, with the Burgundians (Var. i. 45, 46.), with the Franks (ii. 40.), with the Thuringians (iv. 1.), and with the Vandals (v. 1.). Each of these epistles affords some curious knowledge of the Policy and manners of the Barbarians.

³⁶ His political system may be observed in Cassiodorus (Var. iv. 1. ix. 1.), Jornandes (c. 58. p. 698, 699.), and the Valelian Fragment p. 720 21.). Peace, honourable peace, was the constant aim of Theodoric.

³⁷ The curious reader may contemplate the Heruli of Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 14.), and the patient reader may plunge into the dark and minute researches of M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples Anciens, tom. ix. p. 348—396.).

³⁸ Variarum, iv. 2. The spirit and forms of this martial institution

are noticed by Cassiodorius; but he seems to have only translated the sentiments of the Gothic king into the language of Roman eloquence.

³⁹ Cassiodorius, who quotes Tacitus to the Æstians, the unlettered savages of the Baltic (Var. v. 2.), describes the amber for which their shores have ever been famous, as the gum of a tree, hardened by the sun, and purified and wafted by the waves. When that singular substance is analysed by the chemists, it yields a vegetable oil and a mineral acid.

⁴⁰ Scanzia, or Thule, is described by Jornandes (c. 3. p. 610—613.) and Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 15.). Neither the Goth nor the Greek had visited the country: both had conversed with the natives in their exile at Ravenna or Constantinople.

⁴¹ *Sapherinas pelles*. In the time of Jornandes, they inhabited *Suethans*, the proper Sweden; but that beautiful race of animals has gradually been driven into the eastern parts of Siberia. See Buffon (Hist. Nat. tom. xiii. p. 309—313. quarto edition); Pennant (System of Quadrupeds, vol. i. p. 322—328.); Gmelin (Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 257, 258.); and Levéque (Hist. de Russie, tom. v. p. 165, 166, 514, 515.).

⁴² In the system or romance of M. Bailly (Lettres sur les Sciences et sur l'Atlantide, tom. i. p. 249—256. tom. ii. p. 114—139.), the phoenix of the Edda, and the annual death and revival of Adonis and Osiris, are the allegorical symbols of the absence and return of the sun in the Arctic regions. This ingenious writer is a worthy disciple of the great Buffon: nor is it easy for the coldest reason to withstand the magic of their philosophy.

⁴³ *Αὕτη τε Θουλιταῖς ἡ μεγαίστη των ἑορτῶν ἐστὶ*, says Procopius. At present a rude Manicheism (generous enough) prevails among the Samoyedes in Greenland and in Lapland (Hist. des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 508, 509. tom. xix. p. 105, 106, 527, 528.); yet, according to Grotius, Samojutæ cælum atque astra adorant, numina haud aliis iniquiora (de Rebus Belgicis, l. iv. p. 338. folio edition); a sentence which Tacitus would not have disowned.

⁴⁴ See the Hist. des Peuples Anciens, etc. tom. ix. p. 255—273. 396—501. The Count de Buat was French minister at the court of Bavaria: a liberal curiosity prompted his enquiries into the antiquities of the country, and that curiosity was the germ of twelve respectable volumes.

⁴⁵ See the Gothic transactions on the Danube and in Illyricum, in Jornandes (c. 58. p. 699.), Ennodius (p. 1607—1610.), Marcellinus (in Chron. p. 44. 47, 48.), and Cassiodorius (in Chron. and Var. iii. 23. 50. iv. 13. vii. 4. 24. viii. 9, 10, 11. 21. ix. 8, 9.).

⁴⁶ I cannot forbear transcribing the liberal and classic style of Count Marcellinus : Romanus comes domesticorum , et Rusticus comes scholariorum cum centum armatis navibus, totidemque dromonibus, octo millia militum armatorum secum ferentibus, ad devastanda Italiæ littora processerunt, et usque ad Tarentum antiquissimam civitatem aggressi sunt; remensque mari inhonestam victoriam quam piratico ausu Romani ex Romanis rapuerunt, Anastasio Cæsari reportarunt (in Chron. p. 48.). See Variar. i. 16. ii. 38.

⁴⁷ See the royal orders and instructions (Var. iv. 15. v. 16—20.). These armed boats should be still smaller than the thousand vessels of Agamemnon at the siege of Troy.

⁴⁸ Vol. iii. p. 574—579.

⁴⁹ Ennodius (p. 1610.) and Cassiodorus, in the royal name (Var. ii. 41.), record his salutary protection of the Alemanni.

⁵⁰ The Gothic transactions in Gaul and Spain are represented with some perplexity in Cassiodorus (Var. iii. 32. 38. 41. 43, 44. v. 39.), Jornandes (c. 58. p. 698, 699.) and Procopius (Goth. l. i. c. 12.). I will neither hear nor reconcile the long and contradictory arguments of the Abbé Dubos and the Count de Buat, about the wars of Burgundy.

⁵¹ Theophanes, p. 113.

⁵² Procopius affirms that no laws whatsoever were promulgated by Theodoric and the succeeding kings of Italy (Goth. l. ii. c. 6.). He must mean in the Gothic language. A Latin edict of Theodoric is still extant, in one hundred and fifty-four articles.

⁵³ The image of Theodoric is engraved on his coins: his modest successors were satisfied with adding their own name to the head of the reigning emperor (Muratori Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii. dissert. xxvii. p. 577—579. Giannone Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 166.).

⁵⁴ The alliance of the emperor and the king of Italy are represented by Cassiodorus (Var. i. l. ii. l. 2. 3. vi. l.) and Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 6. l. iii. c. 21.), who celebrate the friendship of Anastasius and Theodoric: but the figurative style of compliment was interpreted in a very different sense at Constantinople and Ravenna.

⁵⁵ To the xvii provinces of the Notitia, Paul Warnefrid the deacon (De Reb. Longobard. l. ii. c. 14—22.) has subjoined an xviiith, the Apennine (Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. p. 431—433.). But of these, Sardinia and Corsica were possessed by the Vandals, and the two Rætias, as well as the Cottian Alps, seem to have been abandoned to a military government. The state of the four provinces that now form the kingdom of Naples, is laboured by Giannone (tom. i. p. 172. 178.) with patriotic diligence.

⁵⁶ See the Gothic history of Procopius (l. i. c. 1. l. ii. c. 6.), the Epistles of Cassiodorus (passim, but especially the vii and viii books, which contain the *formulae*, or patents of offices), and the Civil History of Giannone (tom. i. l. ii, iii.). The Gothic counts, which he places in every Italian city, are annihilated, however, by Maffei (Verona Illustrata, P. i. l. viii. p. 227.); for those of Syracuse and Naples (Var. vi, 22, 23.) were special and temporary commissions.

⁵⁷ Two Italians of the name of Cassiodorus, the father (Var. i. 24. 40.) and the son (ix. 24, 25.), were successively employed in the administration of Theodoric. The son was born in the year 49: his various epistles as quæstor, master of the offices, and prætorian præfect, extend from 509 to 539, and he lived as a monk about thirty years (Tiraboschi Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. iii. p. 7—24. Fabricius, Bibliot. Lat. Med. Ævi, tom. i. p. 357, 358. edit. Mansi.).

⁵⁸ See his regard for the senate in Cochlæus (Vit. Theod. viii. p. 72—80.).

⁵⁹ No more than 120,000 *modii*, or four thousand quarters (Anonym. Valesian, p. 721. and Var. i. 35. vi. 18. xi. 5. 39.).

⁶⁰ See his regard and indulgence for the spectacles of the circus, the amphitheatre, and the theatre, in the Chronicle and Epistles of Cassiodorus (Var. i. 20. 27. 30, 31, 32. iii. 51. iv. 51. illustrated by the xivth Annotation of Mascou's History), who has contrived to sprinkle the subject with ostentatious, though agreeable learning.

⁶¹ Anonym. Vales. p. 721. Marius Aventicensis in Chron. In the scale of public and personal merit, the Gothic conqueror is at least as much above Valentinian, as he may seem *inferior* to Trajan.

⁶² Vit. Fulgentii in Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 500. N° 10.

⁶³ Cassiodorus describes in his pompous style the forum of Trajan (Var. vii. 6.), the theatre of Marcellus (iv. 51.), and the amphitheatre of Titus (v. 42.); and his descriptions are not unworthy of the reader's perusal. According to the modern prices, the Abbé Barthelemy computes that the brick-work and masonry of the Coliseum would now cost twenty millions of French livres (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 585, 586.). How small a part of that stupendous fabric?

⁶⁴ For the aqueducts and cloacæ, see Strabo (l. v. p. 360.), Pliny (Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 24.), Cassiodorus (Var. iii. 30, 31. vi. 6.), Procopius (Goth. l. i. c. 19.) and Nardini (Roma Antica, p. 514—522.). How such works could be executed by a king of Rome, is yet a problem.

⁶⁵ For the Gothic care of the buildings and statues, see Cassiodorus Var. i. 21. 25. ii. 34. iv. 30. vii. 6. 13. 15.), and the Valesian Fragment (p. 721.).

⁶⁶ Var. vii. 15. These horses of Monte-Cavallo, had been transported

from Alexandria to the baths of Constantine (Nardini, p. 188.). Their sculpture is disdained by the Abbé Dubos (*Réflexions sur la Poësie et sur la Peinture*, tom. i. section 39.) and admired by Winkelman (*Hist. de l'Art*. tom. ii. p. 159.).

⁶⁷ Var. x. 10. They were probably a fragment of some triumphal car (*Cuper de Elephantis*, ii. 10.).

⁶⁸ Procopius (*Goth.* l. iv. c. 21.) relates a foolish story of Myron's cow, which is celebrated by the false wit of thirty-six Greek epigrams (*Antholog.* l. iv. p. 302—306. edit. Hen. Steph. *Auson. Epigram.* lviii—lxviii.).

⁶⁹ See an epigram of Ennodius (ii. 3. p. 1893, 1894.) on this garden and the royal gardener.

⁷⁰ His affection for that city is proved by the epithet of "Verona tua," and the legend of the hero; under the barbarous name of Dietrich of Bern (*Peringsciold ad Cochlæum*, p. 240.), Maffei traces him with knowledge and pleasure in his native country (l. ix. p. 230—236.).

⁷¹ See Maffei (*Verona Illustrata*, Part. i. p. 231, 232. 308, etc.). He imputes Gothic architecture, like the corruption of language, writing, etc. not to the Barbarians, but to the Italians themselves. Compare his sentiments with those of Tiraboschi (tom. iii. p. 61.).

⁷² The villas, climate, and landskip of Baiæ (Var. ix. 6. See Cluver, *Italia Antiq.* l. iv. c. 2. p. 1119, etc.), Istria (Var. xii. 22. 26.), and Comum (Var. xi. 14. compare with Pliny's two villas, ix. 7.), are agreeably painted in the *Epistles* of Cassiodorus.

⁷³ In Liguria numerosa agricolarum progenies (Ennodius, p. 1678, 1679, 1680.). St. Epiphanius of Pavia redeemed by prayer or ransom 6000 captives from the Burgundians of Lyons and Savoy. Such deeds are the best of miracles.

⁷⁴ The political œconomy of Theodoric (see Anonym. *Valef.* p. 721. and Cassiodorus, in *Chron.*) may be distinctly traced under the following heads: iron mine (Var. iii. 23.); gold mine (ix. 3.); Pomptine marshes (ii. 32, 33.); Spoleto (ii. 21.; corn (i. 34. x. 27, 28. xi. 11. 12.); trade (vi. 7. vii. 9. 23; fair of Leucothoe or St. Cyprian in Lucania (viii. 33.); plenty (xii. 4.); the cursus, or public post (i. 29. ii. 31. iv. 47. v. 5. vi. 6. vii. 33.); the Flaminian way (xii. 18.).

⁷⁵ LX modii tritici in solidum ipsius tempore fuerunt, et vinum xxx amphoras in solidum (*Fragment Valef.*). Corn was distributed from granaries at xv or xxv modii for a piece of gold, and the price was still moderate.

⁷⁶ See the life of St. Cæsarius in Baronius (A. D. 508. N° 12, 13, 14.). The king presented him with 300 gold solidi, and a discus of silver of the weight of sixty pounds.

⁷⁷ Ennodius in Vit. St. Epiphani, in Sirmond Op. tom. i. p. 1672—1690. Theodoric bestowed some important favours on this bishop, whom he used as a counsellor in peace and war.

⁷⁸ Devotissimus ac si Catholicus (Anonym. Valef. p. 720.); yet his offering was no more than two silver candlesticks (*cerostrata*) of the weight of seventy pounds, far inferior to the gold and gems of Constantinople and France (Anastasius in Vit. Pont. in Hormisda, p. 34. edit. Paris.).

⁷⁹ The tolerating system of his reign (Ennodius, p. 1612. Anonym. Valef. p. 719. Procop. Goth. l. i. c. 1. l. ii. c. 6.) may be studied in the Epistles of Cassiodorus, under the following heads: *bishops* (Var. i. 9. viii. 15. 24. xi. 23.); *immunities* (i. 26. ii. 29, 30.); *church lands* (iv. 17. 20.); *sanctuaries* (ii. 11. iii. 47.); *church plate* (xii. 20.); *discipline* (iv. 44.); which prove at the same time that he was the head of the church as well as of the state.

⁸⁰ We may reject a foolish tale of his beheading a Catholic deacon who turned Arian (Theodor. Lector. N° 17.) Why is Theodoric surnamed *Afer*? From *Vaser*? (Valef. ad loc.) A light conjecture.

⁸¹ Ennodius, p. 1621, 1622. 1636. 1638. His *libell* was approved and registered [synodaliter] by a Roman council [Baronius, A. D. 503. N° 6. Franciscus Pagi in Breviar. Pont. Rom. tom. i. p. 242.].

⁸² See Cassiodorus [Var. viii. 15. ix. 15, 16.], Anastasius [in Symmacho, p. 31.], and the [xviii] Annotation of Mascou. Baronius, Pagi, and most of the Catholic doctors, confess, with an angry growl, this Gothic usurpation.

⁸³ He disabled them—a *licentiâ testandi*; and all Italy mourned—*lamentabili justitio*. I wish to believe that these penalties were enacted against the rebels, who had violated their oath of allegiance; but the testimony of Ennodius [p. 1675—1678.] is the more weighty, as he lived and died under the reign of Theodoric.

⁸⁴ Ennodius, in Vit. Epiphan. p. 1689, 1690. Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, l. i. prof. iv. p. 45, 46, 47. Respect, but weigh the passions of the saint and the senator; and fortify or alleviate their complaints by the various hints of Cassiodorus [ii. 8. iv. 36. viii. 5.].

⁸⁵ Immanium expensarum pondus. . . pro ipsorum salute, etc.; yet these are no more than words.

⁸⁶ The Jews were settled at Naples [Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 8.], at Genoa [Var. ii. 28. iv. 33.], Milan [v. 37.], Rome [iv. 43.]. See likewise Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. viii. c. 7. p. 254.

⁸⁷ Rex avidus communis exitii, etc. [Boethius, l. i. p. 59.]: rex dolum Romanis tendebat [Anonym. Valef. p. 723.]. These are hard

words: they speak the passions of the Italians, and those [I fear] of Theodoric himself.

⁸⁸ I have laboured to extract a rational narrative from the dark, concise, and various hints of the Valesian Fragment [p. 722, 723, 724.], Theophanes [p. 145.], Anastasius [in Johanne, p. 35.], and the Hist. Miscella [p. 103. edit. Muratori]. A gentle pressure and paraphrase of their words, is no violence. Consult likewise Muratori [Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 471—478.], with the Annals and Breviary [tom. i. 259—263.] of the two Pagi's, the uncle and the nephew.

⁸⁹ Le Clerc has composed a critical and philosophical life of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius [Bibliot. Choisie, tom. xvi. p. 168—275.]; and both Tiraboschi [tom. iii.] and Fabricius [Bibliot. Latin.] may be usefully consulted. The date of his birth may be placed about the year 470, and his death in 524, in a premature old age [Consol. Phil. Metrica, i. p. 5].

⁹⁰ For the age and value of this MS. now in the Medicean library at Florence, see the Cenotaphia Pisana [p. 430—447.] of Cardinal Noris.

⁹¹ The Athenian studies of Boethius are doubtful [Baronius, A. D. 510. N° 3, from a spurious tract, De Disciplina Scholarum], and the term of eighteen years is doubtless too long: but the simple fact of a visit to Athens, is justified by much internal evidence [Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. iii. p. 524—527.], and by an expression [though vague and ambiguous] of his friend Cassiodorius [Var. i. 45.], “longe positas Athenas introisti.”

⁹² Bibliothecæ comptos ebore ac vitro parietes, etc. [Consol. Phil. l. i. prof. v. p. 4.]. The Epistles of Ennodius [vi. 6. vii. 13. viii. 1. 31. 37. 40.] and Cassiodorius [Var. i. 39. iv. 6. ix. 21.] afford many proofs of the high reputation which he enjoyed in his own times. It is true that the bishop of Pavia wanted to purchase of him an old house at Milan, and praise might be tendered and accepted in part of payment.

⁹³ Pagi, Muratori, etc. are agreed that Boethius himself was consul in the year 510, his two sons in 522, and in 487, perhaps, his father. A desire of ascribing the last of these consulships to the philosopher, had perplexed the chronology of his life. In his honours, alliances, children, he celebrates his own felicity—his past felicity [p. 109, 110].

⁹⁴ Si ego scissem tu nescisses. Boethius adopts this answer [l. i. prof. 4. p. 53.] of Julius Canus, whose philosophic death is described by Seneca [De Tranquillitate Animi, c. 14.]

⁹⁵ The characters of his two delators, Basilus [Var. ii. 10, 11. iv. 22.] and Opilio [v. 41. viii. 16.], are illustrated, not much to their honour, in the Epistles of Cassiodorius, which likewise mention Decoratus [v. 31.], the worthless colleague of Boethius [l. iii. prof. 4. p. 123.].

⁹⁶ A severe enquiry was instituted into the crime of magic [Var. iv. 22, 23. ix. 18.]; and it was believed that many necromancers had escaped by making their gaolers mad: for *mad*, I should read *drunk*.

⁹⁷ Boethius had composed his own Apology [p. 53.], perhaps more interesting than his consolation. We must be content with the general view of his honours, principles, persecution, etc. [l. i. prof. iv. p. 42—62.], which may be compared with the short and weighty words of the Valesian Fragment [p. 723.]. An anonymous writer [Sinner, Catalog. MSS. Bibliot. Bern. tom. i. p. 287.] charges him home with honourable and patriotic treason.

⁹⁸ He was executed in Agro Calventiano [Calvenzano between Marignano and Pavia], Anonym. Vales. p. 723. by order of Eusebius count of Ticinum or Pavia. The place of his confinement is styled the *baptistery*, an edifice and name peculiar to cathedrals. It is claimed by the perpetual tradition of the church of Pavia. The tower of Boethius subsisted till the year 1584, and the draught is yet preserved [Tiraboschi, tom. iii. p. 47, 48.].

⁹⁹ See the Biographia Britannica, ALFRED, tom. i. p. 80. 2d edition. The work is still more honourable if performed under the learned eye of Alfred by his foreign and domestic doctors. For the reputation of Boethius in the middle ages, consult Brucker [Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. iii. p. 565, 566.].

¹⁰⁰ The inscription on his new tomb was composed by the preceptor of Otho the third, the learned Pope Silvester II. who, like Boethius himself, was styled a magician by the ignorance of times. The Catholic martyr had carried his head in his hands a considerable way [Baronius, A. D. 526. N° 17, 18.]; yet, on a similar tale, a lady of my acquaintance once observed, “La distance n’y fait rien; il n’y a que le premier pas qui coûte.”

¹⁰¹ Boethius applauds the virtues of his father-in-law (l. i. prof. 4. p. 59. l. ii. prof. 4. p. 118.). Procopius [Goth. l. i. c. 1.], the Valesian Fragment [p. 724.], and the Historia Miscella (l. xv. p. 105.), agree in praising the superior innocence or sanctity of Symmachus; and in the estimation of the legend, the guilt of his murder is equal to the imprisonment of a Pope.

¹⁰² In the fanciful eloquence of Cassiodorus, the variety of sea and river-fish are an evidence of extensive dominion; and those of the Rhine, of Sicily, and of the Danube, were served on the table of Theodoric [Var. xii. 14.] The monstrous turbot of Domitian [Juvenal. Satir. iii. 39.] had been caught on the shores of the Adriatic.

¹⁰³ Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 1. But he might have informed us,

whether he had received this curious anecdote from common report, or from the mouth of the royal physician.

¹⁰⁴ Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 1, 2. 12, 13. This partition had been directed by Theodoric, though it was not executed till after his death. Regni hæreditatem superstes reliquit [Isidor. Chron. p. 721. edit. Grot.].

¹⁰⁵ Berimund, the third in descent from Hermanric, king of the Ostrogoths, had retired into Spain, where he lived and died in obscurity [Jornandes, c. 33, p. 202. edit. Murator.]. See the discovery, nuptials, and death of his grandson Eutharic [c. 58. p. 220.]. His Roman games might render him popular [Cassiodor. in Chron.], but Eutharic was asper in religione [Anonym. Vales. p. 722, 723.].

¹⁰⁶ See the counsels of Theodoric, and the professions of his successor, in Procopius [Goth. l. i. c. 1, 2.], Jornandes [c. 59. p. 220, 221.], and Cassiodorius [Var. viii. 1—7.]. These epistles are the triumph of his ministerial eloquence.

¹⁰⁷ Anonym. Vales. p. 724. Agnellus de Vitis Pont. Raven. in Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. tom. ii. P. i. p. 67. Alberti Descrittione d'Italia, p. 311.

¹⁰⁸ This legend is related by Gregory I. [Dialog. iv. 36.], and approved by Baronius [A. D. 526. N^o 28.]; and both the Pope and Cardinal are grave doctors, sufficient to establish a *probable* opinion.

¹⁰⁹ Theodoric himself, or rather Cassiodorius, had described in tragic strains the vulcanos of Lipari [Cluver. Sicilia, p. 406—410.] and Vesuvius [iv. 50.].

CHAP. XL.

¹ There is some difficulty in the date of his birth [Ludewig in Vit. Justiniani, p. 125.]; none in the place—the district Bederiana—the village Tauresium, which he afterwards decorated with his name and splendour [D'Anville, Hist. de l'Acad. etc. tom. xxxi. p. 287—292.].

² The names of these Dardanian peasants are Gothic, and almost English: *Justinian* is a translation of *uprauda* [upright]; his father *Sabatius* [in Græco-barbarous language *slipes*] was styled in his village *Istock* [Stock]; his mother Bigleniza was softened into Vigilantia.

³ Ludewig [p. 127—135.] attempts to justify the Anician name of Justinian and Theodora, and to connect them with a family from which the house of Austria has been derived.

⁴ See the Anecdotes of Procopius [c. 6.], with the notes of N. Alemannus. The satirist would not have sunk, in the vague and decent

appellation of γεωργος, the βεκολος and συφορβος of Zonaras. Yet why are those names disgraceful? — and what German baron would not be proud to descend from the Eumæus of the *Odyssey*?

⁵ His virtues are praised by Procopius (*Perfic.* l. i. c. 11.). The quaestor Proclus was the friend of Justinian, and the enemy of every other adoption.

⁶ Manichæan signifies Eutychian. Hear the furious acclamations of Constantinople and Tyre, the former no more than six days after the decease of Anastasius. *They* produced, the latter applauded, the eunuch's death (Baronius, A. D. 518. P. ii. N° 15. Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. vii. p. 200. 205. from the Councils, tom. 5. p. 182. 207.).

⁷ His power, character, and intentions, are perfectly explained by the Count de Buat (tom. ix. p. 54—81.). He was great-grandson of Aspar, hereditary prince in the Lesser Scythia, and count of the Gothic *fœderati* of Thrace. The Bessi, whom he could influence, are the minor Goths of Jornandes (c. 51.).

⁸ Justiniani patricii factione dicitur interfectus fuisse (Victor Tununenis, *Chron. in Thesaur. Temp.* Scaliger, P. ii. p. 7.). Procopius (*Anecd.* c. 7.) styles him a tyrant, but acknowledges the ἀδελφοπισία, which is well explained by Alemannus.

⁹ In his earliest youth (plane adolescens) he had passed some time as an hostage with Theodoric. For this curious fact, Alemannus (ad *Procop. Anecd.* c. 9. p. 34. of the first edition) quotes a MS. history of Justinian, by his preceptor Theophilus. Ludewig (p. 143.) wishes to make him a foldier.

¹⁰ The ecclesiastical history of Justinian will be shewn hereafter. See Baronius, A. D. 518—521. and the copious article *Justinianus* in the index to the viiiith volume of his *Annals*.

¹¹ The reign of the elder Justin may be found in the three *Chronicles* of Marcellinus, Victor, and John Malala (tom. ii. p. 130—150.), the last of whom (in spite of Hody, *Prolegom.* N° 14. 39. edit. Oxon.) lived soon after Justinian (*Jortin's Remarks*, etc. vol. iv. p. 383.): in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius (l. iv. c. 1, 2, 3. 9.), and the *Excerpta* of Theodorus (Lector, N° 37.), and in Cedrenus (p. 362—366.) and Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 58—61.), who may pass for an original.

¹² See the characters of Procopius and Agathias in La Mothe le Vayer (tom. viii. p. 144—174.), Vossius (*de Historicis Græcis*, l. ii. c. 22.), and Fabricius (*Bibliot. Græc.* l. v. c. 5. tom. vi. p. 248—278.). Their religion, an honourable problem, betrays occasional conformity, with a secret attachment to Paganism and philosophy.

¹³ In the seven first books, two *Perfic*, two *Vandalic*, and three *Gothic*, Procopius has borrowed from Appian the division of provinces

and wars : the viiith book, though it bears the name of Gothic, is a miscellaneous and general supplement down to the spring of the year 553, from whence it is continued by Agathias till 559 (Pagi, Critica, A. D. 579. N° 5.).

¹⁴ The literary fate of Procopius has been somewhat unlucky. 1. His books de Bello Gothico were stolen by Leonard Aretin, and published (Fulginii, 1470. Venet. 1471. apud Janson. Maittaire, Annal. Typograph. tom. i. edit. posterior, p. 290. 304. 379. 399.) in his own name (See Vossius de Hist. Lat. l. iii. c. 5. and the feeble defence of the Venice Giornale de' Letterati, tom. xix. p. 207.). 2. His works were mutilated by the first Latin translators, Christopher Persona (Giornale, tom. xix. p. 340—348.) and Raphael de Volaterra (Huet de Clarif. Interpretibus, p. 166.), who did not even consult the MS. of the Vatican library, of which they were præfects (Aleman. in Præfat. Anecdôt.). 3. The Greek text was not printed till 1607, by Hoefschelius of Augsburgh (Dictionnaire de Bayle, tom. ii. p. 782.). 4. The Paris edition was imperfectly executed by Claude Maltret, a Jesuit of Tholouse (In 1663), far distant from the Louvre press and the Vatican MS. from which, however, he obtained some supplements. His promised commentaries, etc. have never appeared. The Agathias of Leyden (1594) has been wisely reprinted by the Paris editor, with the Latin version of Bonaventura Vulcanius, a learned interpreter (Huet, p. 176.).

¹⁵ Agathias in Præfat. p. 7, 8. l. iv. p. 137. Evagrius (l. iv. c. 12.). See likewise Photius, cod. lxxiii. p. 65.

¹⁶ *Κυρὸς παιδεύει* (says he, Præfat. ad l. de Edificiis *περὶ κτισμάτων*) is no more than *Κυρὸς παιδία*—a pun! In these five books, Procopius affects a Christian, as well as a courtly style.

¹⁷ Procopius discloses himself (Præfat. ad Anecdôt. c. i, 2. 5.), and the anecdotes are reckoned as the ixth book by Suidas (tom. iii. p. 186. edit. Kuster.). The silence of Evagrius is a poor objection. Baronius (A. D. 548. N° 24.) regrets the loss of this secret history : it was then in the Vatican library, in his own custody, and was first published sixteen years after his death, with the learned, but partial, notes of Nicholas Alemannus (Lugd. 1623.).

¹⁸ Justinian an ass—the perfect likeness of Domitian (Anecdôt. 8.)—Theodora's lovers driven from her bed by rival dæmons—her marriage foretold with a great dæmon—a monk saw the prince of the dæmons, instead of Justinian, on the throne—the servants who watched, beheld a face without features, a body walking without an head, etc. etc. Procopius declares his own and his friends belief in these diabolical stories (c. 12.).

¹⁹ Montesquieu

¹⁹ Montesquieu (*Confidérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains*, c. xx.) gives credit to these anecdotes, as connected, 1. with the weakness of the empire, and, 2. with the instability of Justinian's laws.

²⁰ For the life and manners of the empress Theodora, see the Anecdotes; more especially c. 1—5. 9, 10—15, 16, 17. with the learned notes of Alemannus—a reference which is always implied.

²¹ Comito was afterwards married to Sittas duke of Armenia, the father perhaps, at least she might be the mother, of the empress Sophia. Two nephews of Theodora may be the sons of Anastasia (Aleman. p. 30, 31.).

²² Her statue was raised at Constantinople, on a porphyry column. See Procopius (*de Edif.* l. i. c. 11.), who gives her portrait in the Anecdotes (c. 10.). Aleman. (p. 47.) produces one from a Mosaic at Ravenna, loaded with pearls and jewels, and yet handsome.

²³ A fragment of the Anecdotes (c. 9.), somewhat too naked, was suppressed by Alemannus, though extant in the Vatican MS.; nor has the defect been supplied in the Paris or Venice editions. La Mothe le Vayer (tom. viii. p. 155.) gave the first hint of this curious and genuine passage (Jortin's Remarks, vol. iv. p. 366.), which he had received from Rome, and it has been since published in the Menagiana (tom. iii. p. 254—259.), with a Latin version.

²⁴ After the mention of a narrow girdle (as none could appear stark-naked in the theatre), Procopius thus proceeds: *ἀναπεπτωκυία τε ἐν τῷ ἐδάθει ὑπὸ γὰρ ἐκεῖτο. Θῆτες δὲ τινες . . . κριθὰς αὐτῇ ὑπερθεύ των αἰδοίων ἐρίπττον αἷς δὲ οἱ χιτῆες, οἱ ἐς τὸ παρὲς κευασμένοι ἐτυγχάνον τοῖς ἑομασίῃ ἐνθενδε κατὰ μιαν ἀνελόμενοι ἡσθιον.* I have heard that a learned prelate, now deceased, was fond of quoting this passage in conversation.

²⁵ Theodora surpassed the Crispa of Aufonius (Epigram lxxi.), who imitated the capitalis luxus of the females of Nola. See Quintilian Institut. viii. 5, and Torrentius ad Horat. Sermon. l. i. sat. 2. v. 101. At a memorable supper, thirty slaves waited round the table, ten young men feasted with Theodora. Her charity was *universal*.

Et lassata viris, necdum satiata, recessit.

²⁶ *Ἡ δὲ καὶ τριῶν τρυπημάτων ἐργαζομένη ἐνεκάλει τῇ Φυσεὶ δυσφορομένη ὅτι δὴ μὴ καὶ τιτθῆς αὐτῇ εὐρυτερόν ἢ νῦν εἰσι τρυπῶν, ὅπως δυνατόν εἴη καὶ ἐκεῖνῃ ἐργαζέσθαι.* She wished for a *fourth* altar, on which she might pour libations to the god of love.

²⁷ Anonym. de Antiquitat. C. P. l. iii. 132. in Banduri Imperium Orient. tom. i. p. 48. Ludewig (p. 154.) argues sensibly that Theodora

would not have immortalised a brothel: but I apply this fact to her second and chaster residence at Constantinople.

²⁸ See the old law in Justinian's Code (l. v. tit. v. leg. 7. tit. xxvii. leg. 1.) under the years 336 and 454. The new edict (about the year 521 or 522. Aleman. p. 38. 96.) very awkwardly repeals no more than the clause of *mulieres scenicæ, libertinæ tabernariæ*. See the novels 89 and 117. and a Greek rescript from Justinian to the bishops (Aleman. p. 41.).

²⁹ I swear by the Father, etc. by the Virgin Mary, by the four Gospels, quæ in manibus teneo, and by the holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel, puram conscientiam germanumque servitium me servaturum, sacratissimis DDNN. Justiniano et Theodoræ conjugii ejus (Novel. viii. tit. 3.) Would the oath have been binding in favour of the widow? Communes tituli et triumphii, etc. (Aleman. p. 47, 48.).

³⁰ "Let greatness own her, and she's mean no more," etc. Without Warburton's critical telescope, I should never have seen, in this general picture of triumphant vice, any personal allusion to Theodora.

³¹ Her prisons, a labyrinth, a Tartarus (Anecdote. c. 4.), were under the palace. Darkness is propitious to cruelty, but it is likewise favourable to calumny and fiction.

³² A more jocular whipping was inflicted on Saturninus, for presuming to say that his wife, a favourite of the empress, had not been found *απντος* (Anecdote. c. 17.).

³³ Per viventem in sæcula excoriari te faciam. Anastasius de Vitis Pont. Roman. in Vigilio, p. 40.

³⁴ Ludewig, p. 161—166. I give him credit for the charitable attempt, although he hath not much charity in his temper.

³⁵ Compare the Anecdotes (c. 17.) with the Edifices (l. i. c. 9.)—how differently may the same fact be stated! John Malala (tom. ii. p. 174, 175.) observes; that on this or a similar occasion, she released and clothed the girls whom she had purchased from the stews at five aurei a piece.

³⁶ Novell. viii. 1. An allusion to Theodora. Her enemies read the name Dæmonodora (Aleman. p. 66.).

³⁷ St. Sabas refused to pray for a son of Theodora, lest he should prove an heretic worse than Anastasius himself (Cyril in Vit. St. Sabæ, apud Aleman. p. 70. 109.).

³⁸ See John Malala, tom. ii. p. 174. Theophanes, p. 158. Procopius de Edific. l. v. c. 3.

³⁹ Theodora Chalcedonenſis ſynodi inimica canceris plagâ toto corpore perſuſa vitam prodigioſe finivit (Victor Tununenſis in Chron.).

On such occasions, an orthodox mind is steeled against pity. Alemanus (p. 12, 13.) understands the εὐσεβὴς ἐκμνήθη of Theophanes as civil language, which does not imply either piety or repentance; yet two years after her death, St. Theodora is celebrated by Paul Silentiarius (in Proem. v. 58—62).

⁴⁰ As she persecuted the Popes, and rejected a council, Baronius exhausts the names of Eve, Dalila, Herodias, etc.; after which he has recourse to his infernal dictionary: *civis inferni—alumna dæmonum—satanico agitata spiritû—æstro percita diabolico*, etc. etc. (A. D. 548. N^o 24.).

⁴¹ Read and feel the xxiii^d book of the Iliad, a living picture of manners, passions, and the whole form and spirit of the chariot race. West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games (sect. xii—xvii.) affords much curious and authentic information.

⁴² The four colours, *albatî*, *ruffatî*, *prafinî*, *venetî*, represent the four seasons, according to Cassiodorus (Var. iii. 51.) who lavishes much wit and eloquence on this theatrical mystery. Of these colours, the three first may be fairly translated *white*, *red*, and *green*. *Venetus* is explained by *cæruleus*, a word various and vague: it is properly the sky reflected in the sea; but custom and convenience may allow *blue* as an equivalent (Robert. Stephan. sub voce. Spence's Polymetis, p. 228.).

⁴³ See Onuphrius Panvinus de Ludis Circensibus, l. i. c. 10, 11.; the xviith Annotation on Mascou's History of the Germans; and Aleman. ad c. vii.

⁴⁴ Marcellin. in Chron. p. 47. Instead of the vulgar word *veneta*, he uses the more exquisite terms of *cærulea* and *cærealls*. Baronius (A. D. 501. N^o 4, 5, 6.) is satisfied that the blues were orthodox; but Tillemont is angry at the supposition, and will not allow any martyrs in a playhouse (Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 554.).

⁴⁵ See Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 24.). In describing the vices of the factions and of the government, the *public*, is not more favourable than the *secret*, historian. Aleman. (p. 26.) has quoted a fine passage from Gregory Nazianzen, which proves the inveteracy of the evil.

⁴⁶ The partiality of Justinian for the blues (Anecd. c. 7.) is attested by Evagrius (Hist. Eccles. l. iv. c. 32.); John Malala (tom. ii. p. 138, 139.), especially for Antioch; and Theophanes (p. 142.).

⁴⁷ A wife (says Procopius) who was seized and almost ravished by a blue-coat, threw herself into the Bosphorus. The bishops of the second Syria (Aleman. p. 26.) deplore a similar suicide, the guilt or glory of female chastity, and name the heroine.

⁴⁸ The doubtful credit of Procopius (Anecd. c. 17.) is supported

by the less partial Evagrius, who confirms the fact, and specifies the names. The tragic fate of the Præfect of Constantinople is related by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 139.).

⁴⁹ See John Malala (tom. ii. p. 147.); yet he owns that Justinian was attached to the blues. The seeming discord of the emperor and Theodora, is perhaps viewed with too much jealousy and refinement by Procopius (Anecdot. c. 10.). See Aleman. Præfat. p. 6.

⁵⁰ This dialogue, which Theophanes has preserved, exhibits the popular language, as well as the manners, of Constantinople in the sixth century. Their Greek is mingled with many strange and barbarous words, for which Ducange cannot always find a meaning or etymology.

⁵¹ See this church and monastery in Ducange, C. P. Christiana, l. iv. p. 182.

⁵² The history of the *Nika* sedition is extracted from Marcellinus (in Chron.), Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 26.), John Malala (tom. ii. p. 213—218.), Chron. Paschal. (p. 336—340.), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 154—158.), and Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 61—63.).

⁵³ Marcellinus says in general terms, innumeris populis in circumtrucidatis. Procopius numbers 30,000 victims; and the 30,000 of Theophanes are swelled to 40,000 by the more recent Zonaras. Such is the usual progress of exaggeration.

⁵⁴ Hierocles, a contemporary of Justinian, composed his *Συνδεχμος* (Itineraria, p. 631.), or review, of the eastern provinces and cities before the year 535 (Wesseling in Præfat. and Not. ad p. 623, etc.).

⁵⁵ See the book of Genesis (xii. 10.), and the administration of Joseph. The annals of the Greeks and Hebrews agree in the early arts and plenty of Egypt: but this antiquity supposes a long series of improvement; and Warburton, who is almost stifled by the Hebrew, calls aloud for the Samaritan, chronology (Divine Legation, vol. iii. p. 29. etc.).

⁵⁶ Eight millions of Roman modii, besides a contribution of 80,000 aurei for the expences of water-carriage, from which the subject was graciously excused. See the xiiiith Edict of Justinian: the numbers are checked and verified by the agreement of the Greek and Latin texts.

⁵⁷ Homer's Iliad, vi. 289. These veils, *πεπλοι παμποικιλοι*, were the work of the Sidonian women. But this passage is more honourable to the manufactures than to the navigation of Phœnicia, from whence they had been imported to Troy in Phrygian bottoms.

⁵⁸ See in Ovid (de Arte Amandi, iii. 269, etc.) a poetical list of twelve colours borrowed from flowers, the elements, etc. But it is almost impossible to discriminate by words all the nice and various shades both of art and nature.

⁵⁹ By the discovery of cochineal, etc. we far surpass the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a strong smell, and a dark cast as deep as bull's blood—*obscuritas rubens* (says Cassiodorus, Var. I, 2.) *nigredo sanguinea*. The president Goguet *Origine des Loix et des Arts*, part ii. l. ii. c. 2. p. 184—215.) will amuse and satisfy the reader. I doubt whether his book, especially in England, is as well known as it deserves to be.

⁶⁰ Historical proofs of this jealousy have been occasionally introduced, and many more might have been added: but the arbitrary acts of despotism were justified by the sober and general declarations of law (Codex Theodosian. l. x. tit. 21. leg. 3. Codex Justinian. l. xi. tit. 8. leg. 5.). An inglorious permission, and necessary restriction, was applied to the *minæ*, the female dances (Cod. Theodof. l. xv. tit. 7. leg. 11.).

⁶¹ In the history of insects (far more wonderful than Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) the silkworm holds a conspicuous place. The bombyx of the isle of Ceos, as described by Pliny (*Hist. Natur.* xi. 26, 27. with the notes of the two learned Jesuits, Hardouin and Brotier), may be illustrated by a similar species in China (*Mémoires sur les Chinois*, tom. ii. p. 575.—593.): but our silk-worm, as well as the white mulberry-tree, were unknown to Theophrastus and Pliny.

⁶² *Georgic.* ii. 121. *Serica quando venerint in usum planissime non scio: suspicor tamen in Julii Cæsaris ævo, nam ante non invenio*, says Justus Lipsius (*Excursus i. ad Tacit. Annal.* ii. 32.). See Dion Cassius (l. xliii. p. 358. edit. Reimar) and Pausanias (l. vi. p. 519.), the first who describes, however strangely, the Seric insect.

⁶³ *Tam longinquo orbe petitur, ut in publico matrona transluceat... ut denudet fœminas vestis* (Plin. vi. 20. xl. 21.). Varro and Publius Syrus had already played on the *Toga vitrea*, *ventus textilis*, and *nebula linea* (*Horat. Sermon.* i. 2. 101. with the notes of Torrentius and Dacier).

⁶⁴ On the texture, colours, names, and use of the silk, half silk, and linen garments of antiquity, see the profound, diffuse, and obscure researches of the great Salmasius (in *Hist. August.* p. 127. 309. 310, 339. 341, 342. 344. 388—391. 395. 513.), who was ignorant of the most common trades of Dijon or Leyden.

⁶⁵ Flavius Vopiscus in *Aurelian.* c. 45. in *Hist. August.* p. 224. See Salmasius ad *Hist. Aug.* p. 392. and Plinian. *Exercitat. in Solinum*, p. 694, 695. The *Anecdotes* of Procopius (c. 25.) state a partial and imperfect rate of the price of silk in the time of Justinian.

⁶⁶ Procopius de *Edif.* l. iii. c. 1. These *pinnes de mer* are found

near Smyrna, Sicily, Corfica, and Minorca; and a pair of gloves of their silk was presented to Pope Benedict XIV.

⁶⁷ Procopius, *Perfic.* l. i. c. 20. l. ii. c. 25. *Gothic.* l. iv. c. 17. Menander in *Excerpt. Legat.* p. 107. Of the Parthian or Persian empire, Isidore of Charax (in *Stathmis Parthicis*, p. 7, 8. in Hudson, *Geograph. Minor.* tom. ii.) has marked the roads, and Ammianus Marcellinus (l. xxiii. c. 6. p. 400.) has enumerated the provinces.

⁶⁸ The blind admiration of the Jesuits confounds the different periods of the Chinese history. They are more critically distinguished by M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. part i. in the *Tables*, part ii. in the *Geography. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxii. xxxvi. xlii, xliii.), who discovers the gradual progress of the truth of the annals and the extent of the monarchy, till the Christian æra. He has searched, with a curious eye, the connections of the Chinese with the nations of the West: but these connections are slight, casual, and obscure; nor did the Romans entertain a suspicion that the Seres or Sinæ possessed an empire not inferior to their own.

⁶⁹ The roads from China to Persia and Hindostan may be investigated in the relations of Hackluyt and Thevenot (the ambassadors of Sharokh, Anthony Jenkinson, the Pere Greuber, etc. See likewise Hanway's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 345—357.). A communication through Thibet has been lately explored by the English sovereigns of Bengal.

⁷⁰ For the Chinese navigation to Malacca and Achin, perhaps to Ceylon, see Renaudot (on the two Mahometan Travellers, p. 8—11. 13—17. 141—157.), Dampier (vol. ii. p. 136.), the *Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes* (tom. i. p. 98.), and the *Hist. Générale des Voyages* (tom. vi. p. 201.).

⁷¹ The knowledge, or rather ignorance, of Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Arrian, Marcian, etc. of the countries eastward of Cape Comorin, is finely illustrated by d'Anville (*Antiquité Géographique de l'Inde*, especially p. 161—198.). Our geography of India is improved by commerce and conquest; and has been illustrated by the excellent maps and memoirs of major Rennel. If he extends the sphere of his enquiries with the same critical knowledge and sagacity, he will succeed, and may surpass the first of modern geographers.

⁷² The Taprobane of Pliny (vi. 24.), Solinus (c. 53.), and Salmas. *Plinianæ Exercitat.* (781, 782.), and most of the ancients, who often confound the islands of Ceylon and Sumatra, is more clearly described by Cosmas Indicopleustes; yet even the Christian topographer has exaggerated its dimensions. His information on the Indian and Chinese trade is rare and curious (l. ii. p. 138. l. xi. p. 337, 338. edit. Montfaucon).

⁷³ See Procopius, *Perfic.* (l. ii. c. 20.). Cosmas affords some interesting knowledge of the port and inscription of Adulis (*Topograph. Christ.* l. ii. p. 138. 140—143.), and of the trade of the Axumites along the African coast of Barbaria or Zingi (p. 138, 139.), and as far as Taprobane (l. xi. p. 339.).

⁷⁴ See the Christian missions in India, in Cosmas (l. iii. p. 178, 179. l. xi. p. 337.), and consult Asseman. *Bibliot. Orient.* (tom. iv. p. 413—548.).

⁷⁵ The invention, manufacture, and general use of silk in China, may be seen in Duhalde (*Description Générale de la Chine*, tom. ii. p. 165. 205—223.). The province of Chekian is the most renowned both for quantity and quality.

⁷⁶ Procopius (l. viii. Gothic iv. c. 17. Theophanes Byzant. apud Phot. Cod. lxxxiv. p. 38. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 69.). Pagi (tom. ii. p. 602.) assigns to the year 552 this memorable importation. Menander (in *Excerpt. Legat.* p. 107.) mentions the admiration of the Sogdoites; and Theophylact Simocatta (l. vii. c. 9.) darkly represents the two rival kingdoms in (*China*) the country of silk.

⁷⁷ Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, or the Indian navigator, performed his voyage about the year 522, and composed at Alexandria, between 535 and 547, *Christian Topography* (Montfaucon, *Præfat.* c. 1.), in which he refutes the impious opinion, that the earth is a globe; and Photius had read this work (Cod. xxxvi. p. 9, 10), which displays the prejudices of a monk, with the knowledge of a merchant: the most valuable part has been given in French and in Greek by Melchisedec Thevenot (*Relations Curieuses*, part. i.), and the whole is since published in a splendid edition by the Pere Montfaucon (*Nova Collectio Patrum*, Paris, 1707. 2. vols. in fol. tom. ii. p. 113—346.). But the editor, a theologian, might blush at not discovering the Nestorian heresy of Cosmas, which has been detected by la Croze (*Christianisme des Indes*, tom. i. p. 40—56.).

⁷⁸ Evagrius (l. iii. c. 39, 40.) is minute and grateful, but angry with Zosimus for calumniating the great Constantine. In collecting all the bonds and records of the tax, the humanity of Anastasius was diligent and artful: fathers were sometimes compelled to prostitute their daughters (Zosim. *Hist.* l. ii. c. 38. p. 165, 166. Lipsiæ, 1784.). Timotheus of Gaza chose such an event for the subject of a tragedy (*Suidas*, tom. iii. p. 475.), which contributed to the abolition of the tax (Cedrenus, p. 35.)—an happy instance (if it be true) of the use of the theatre.

⁷⁹ See Josua Stylites, in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Asseman (tom.

i. p. 268.). This capitation tax is slightly mentioned in the Chronicle of Edeffa.

⁸⁰ Procopius (Anecdot. c. 19) fixes this sum from the report of the treasurers themselves. Tiberius had *vicies ter millies*; but far different was his empire from that of Anastasius.

⁸¹ Evagrius (l. iv. c. 30.), in the next generation, was moderate and well informed; and Zonaras (l. xiv. c. 61.), in the xiith century, had read with care, and though without prejudice: yet their colours are almost as black as those of the Anecdotes.

⁸² Procopius (Anecdot. c. 30.) relates the idle conjectures of the times. The death of Justinian, says the secret historian, will expose his wealth or poverty.

⁸³ See Corippus de Laudibus Justiniani Aug. l. ii. 260, etc. 384, etc.

“Plurima sunt vivo nimium neglecta parenti,

“Unde tot exhaustus contraxit debita fiscus.”

Centenaries of gold were brought by strong arms into the hippodrome:

“Debita genitoris persolvit, cauta recepit.”

⁸⁴ The anecdotes (c. 11—14. 18. 20—30.) supply many facts and more complaints.

⁸⁵ One to Scythopolis, capital of the second Palestine, and twelve for the rest of the province. Aleman (p. 59.) honestly produces this fact from a MS. life of St Sabas, by his disciple Cyril, in the Vatican library, and since published by Cotelerius.

⁸⁶ John Malala (tom. ii. p. 232.) mentions the want of bread, and Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 63.) the leaden pipes, which Justinian or his servants stole from the aqueducts.

⁸⁷ For an aureus, one-sixth of an ounce of gold, instead of 210, he gave no more than 180 folles, or ounces, of copper. A disproportion of the mint, below the market price, must have soon produced a scarcity of small money. In England, *twelve* pence in copper would sell for no more than *seven* pence (Smith's Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 49.). For Justinian's gold coin, see Evagrius (l. iv. c. 30.).

⁸⁸ The oath is conceived in the most formidable words (Novell. viii. tit. 3.) The defaulters imprecate on themselves, quicquid habent telorum armamentaria cœli: the part of Judas, the leprosy of Giezi, the tremor of Cain, etc. besides all temporal pains.

⁸⁹ A similar or more generous act of friendship is related by Lucian of Eudamidas of Corinth (in Toxare, c. 22, 23, tom. ii. p. 530.), and the story has produced an ingenious, though feeble, comedy of Fontenelle.

⁹⁰ John Malala, tom. ii. p. 101, 102, 103.

⁹¹ One of these, Anatolius, perished in an earthquake—doubtless a judgment! The complaints and clamours of the people in Agathias (l. v. p. 146, 147.) are almost an echo of the anecdote. The aliena pecunia reddenda of Corippus (l. ii. 381, etc.) is not very honourable to Justinian's memory.

⁹² See the history and character of John of Cappadocia in Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 24, 25, l. ii. c. 30. Vandal. l. i. c. 13. Anecd. c. 2. 17. 22.). The agreement of the history and anecdotes is a mortal wound to the reputation of the præfect.

⁹³ Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς γραμματιστῶν Φοιτῶν ἐμάθεν ὅτι μὴ γραμματα, καὶ ταῦτα κακὰ κακῶς γράψαι—a forcible expression.

⁹⁴ The chronology of Procopius is loose and obscure; but with the aid of Pagi I can discern that John was appointed Prætorian præfect of the East in the year 530; that he was removed in January 532—restored before June 533—banished in 541 and recalled between June 548 and April 1, 549. Aleman (p. 96, 97.) gives the list of his ten successors—a rapid series in a part of a single reign.

⁹⁵ This conflagration is hinted by Lucian (in Hippias, c. 2.) and Galen. (l. iii. de Temperamentis, tom. i. p. 81. edit. Basil.) in the second century. A thousand years afterwards, it is positively affirmed by Zonaras (l. ix. p. 424.), on the faith of Dion Cassius, by Tzetzes (Chiliad ii. 119, etc.), Eustachius (ad Iliad E. p. 338.), and the scholiast of Lucian. See Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. iii. c. 22. tom. ii. p. 551-552.), to whom I am more or less indebted for several of these quotations.

⁹⁶ Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 55.) affirms the fact, without quoting any evidence.

⁹⁷ Tzetzes describes the artifice of these burning glasses, which he had read, perhaps with no learned eyes, in a mathematical treatise of Anthemius. That treatise, *περὶ παραδοξῶν μηχανημάτων*, has been lately published, translated, and illustrated by M. Dupuys, a scholar and a mathematician (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xlii. p. 392—451.).

⁹⁸ In the siege of Syracuse, by the silence of Polybius, Plutarch, Livy; in the siege of Constantinople, by that of Marcellinus and all the contemporaries of the sixth century.

⁹⁹ Without any previous knowledge of Tzetzes or Anthemius, the immortal Buffon imagined and executed a set of burning glasses, with which he could inflame planks at the distance of 200 feet (*Supplément à l'Hist. Naturelle*, tom. i. p. 399—483. quarto edition). What miracles would not his genius have performed for the public service, with royal expence, and in the strong fun of Constantinople or Syracuse?

¹⁰⁰ John Malala (tom. ii. p. 120—124.) relates the fact; but he seems to confound the names or persons of Proclus and Marius.

¹⁰¹ Agathias, l. v. p. 149—152. The merit of Anthemius as an architect is loudly praised by Procopius (de Edif. l. i. c. 1.) and Paulus Silentarius (part i. 134, etc.).

¹⁰² See Procopius (de Edificiis, l. i. c. 1, 2. l. ii. c. 3.). He relates a coincidence of dreams, which supposes some fraud in Justinian or his architect. They both saw, in a vision, the same plan for stopping an inundation at Dara. A stone-quarry near Jerusalem was revealed to the emperor (l. v. c. 6.): an angel was tricked into the perpetual custody of St. Sophia (Anonym. de Antiq. C. P. l. iv. p. 70.).

¹⁰³ Among the crowd of ancients and moderns who have celebrated the edifice of St. Sophia, I shall distinguish and follow, 1. Four original spectators and historians: Procopius (de Edific. l. i. c. 1.), Agathias (l. v. p. 152, 153.), Paul Silentarius (in a poem of 1026 hexameters, ad calcem Annæ Comnen. Alexiad.), and Evagrius (l. iv. c. 31.). 2. Two legendary Greeks of a later period: George Codinus (de Origin. C. P. p. 64—74.), and the anonymous writer of Banduri (Imp. Orient. tom. i. l. iv. p. 65—80.). 3. The great Byzantine antiquarian, Ducange (Comment. ad Paul Silentiar. p. 525—598. and C. P. Christ. l. iii. p. 5—78.). 4. Two French travellers—the one, Peter Gyllius (de Topograph. C. P. l. ii. c. 3, 4.) in the xvth; the other, Grelot (Voyage de C. P. p. 95—164. Paris 1680. in 4to): he has given plans, prospects, and inside-views of St. Sophia; and his plans, though on a smaller scale, appear more correct than those of Ducange. I have adopted and reduced the measures of Grelot: but as no Christian can now ascend the dome, the height is borrowed from Evagrius, compared with Gyllius, Greaves, and the Oriental Geographer.

¹⁰⁴ Solomon's temple was surrounded with courts, porticos, etc.; but the proper structure of the house of God was no more (if we take the Egyptian or Hebrew cubit at 22 inches) than 55 feet in height, $36\frac{2}{3}$ in breadth, and 110 in length—a small parish church, says Prideaux (Connection, vol. i. p. 144. folio); but few sanctuaries could be valued at four or five millions sterling!

¹⁰⁵ Paul Silentarius, in dark and poetic language, describes the various stones and marbles that were employed in the edifice of St. Sophia (P. ii. p. 129. 133, etc. etc.): 1. The *Carystian*—pale, with iron veins. 2. The *Phrygian*—of two sorts, both of a rosy hue; the one with a white shade, the other purple, with silver flowers. 3. The *Porphyry of Egypt*—with small stars. 4. The *green marble of Laconia*. 5. The *Carian*—from Mount Iassus, with oblique veins, white and red. 6. The *Lydian*—pale, with a red flower. 7. The *African*, or

Mauritanian—of a gold or saffron hue. 8. The *Celtic*—black, with white veins. 9. The *Bosphoric*—white, with black edges. Besides the *Proconnesian*, which formed the pavement; the *Thessalian*, *Molossian*, etc. which are less distinctly painted.

¹⁰⁶ The six books of the *Edifices* of Procopius are thus distributed: the *first* is confined to Constantinople; the *second* includes Mesopotamia and Syria; the *third*, Armenia and the Euxine; the *fourth*, Europe; the *fifth*, Asia Minor and Palestine; the *sixth*, Egypt and Africa. Italy is forgot by the emperor or the historian, who published this work of adulation before the date (A. D. 555.) of its final conquest.

¹⁰⁷ Justinian once gave forty-five centenaries of gold (180,000 *l.*) for the repairs of Antioch after the earthquake (John Malala, tom. ii. p. 146—149.).

¹⁰⁸ For the *Heræum*, the palace of Theodora, see Gyllius (*de Bosphoro Thracio*, l. iii. c. xi.), Aleman. (*Not. Anecd.* p. 80, 81. who quotes several epigrams of the *Anthology*), and Ducange (*C. P. Christ.* l. iv. c. 13. p. 175, 176.).

¹⁰⁹ Compare, in the *Edifices* (l. i. c. 11.) and in the *Anecdotes* (c. 8. 15.), the different styles of adulation and malevolence: stripped of the paint, or cleansed from the dirt, the object appears to be the same.

¹¹⁰ Procopius, l. viii. 29.; most probably a stranger and wanderer, as the Mediterranean does not breed whales. *Balænx quoque in nostra maria penetrant* (Plin. *Hist. Natur.* ix. 2.). Between the polar circle and the tropic, the cetaceous animals of the ocean grow to the length of 50, 80, or 100 feet (*Hist. des Voyages*, tom. xv. p. 289. Pennant's *British Zoology*, vol. iii. p. 35.).

¹¹¹ Montesquieu observes (tom. iii. p. 503. *Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains*, c. 20.) that Justinian's empire was like France in the time of the Norman inroads—never so weak as when every village was fortified.

¹¹² Procopius affirms (l. iv. c. 6.) that the Danube was stopped by the ruins of the bridge. Had Apollodorus, the architect, left a description of his own work, the fabulous wonders of Dion Cassius (l. lxxviii. p. 1129.) would have been corrected by the genuine picture. Trajan's bridge consisted of twenty or twenty-two stone piles, with wooden arches; the river is shallow, the current gentle, and the whole interval no more than 443 (*Reimar ad Dion.* from Marfigli) or 515 *toises* (d'Anville *Géographie ancienne*, tom. i. p. 305.).

¹¹³ Of the two *Dacias*, *Mediterranea* and *Ripensis*, Dardania, *Prævalitana*, the second *Mæsia*, and the second Macedonia. See Justinian (*Novell.* xi.), who speaks of his castles beyond the Danube, and of *homines semper bellicis sudoribus inhærentes*.

¹¹⁴ See d'Anville (*Mémoires de l'Académie*, etc. tom. xxxi. p. 289, 290.), Rycaut (*Present State of the Turkish Empire*, p. 97. 316.), Marfigli (*Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomano*, p. 130.). The sanjak of Giustendil is one of the twenty under the beglerbeg of Rumelia, and his district maintains 48 *zaims* and 588 *timariots*.

¹¹⁵ These fortifications may be compared to the castles in Mingrelia (*Chardin, Voyages en Perse*, tom. i. p. 60. 131.)—a natural picture.

¹¹⁶ The valley of Tempe is situate along the river Peneus, between the hills of Ossa and Olympus: it is only five miles long, and in some places no more than 120 feet in breadth. Its verdant beauties are elegantly described by Pliny (*Hist. Natur.* l. iv. 15.), and more diffusely by Ælian (*Hist. Var.* l. iii. c. 1.).

¹¹⁷ Xenophon *Hellenic.* l. iii. c. 2. After a long and tedious conversation with the Byzantine declaimers, how refreshing is the truth, the simplicity, the elegance of an Attic writer!

¹¹⁸ See the long wall in Evagrius (l. iv. c. 38.). This whole article is drawn from the fourth book of the *Edifices*, except Anchialus (l. iii. c. 7.).

¹¹⁹ Turn back to vol. i. p. 373, 374. In the course of this history, I have sometimes mentioned, and much oftener slighted, the hasty inroads of the Isaurians, which were not attended with any consequences.

¹²⁰ Trebellius Pollio in *Hist. August.* p. 107. who lived under Diocletian, or Constantine. See likewise Pancirolus ad *Notit. Imp. Orient.* c. 115, 141. See *Cod. Theodos.* l. ix. tit. 35. leg. 37. with a copious collective Annotation of Godefroy, tom. iii. p. 256, 257.

¹²¹ See the full and wide extent of their inroads in Philostorgius (*Hist. Eccles.* l. xi. c. 8.), with Godefroy's learned Dissertations.

¹²² *Cod. Justinian.* l. ix. tit. 12. leg. 10. The punishments are severe—a fine of an hundred pounds of gold, degradation, and even death. The public peace might afford a pretence, but Zeno was desirous of monopolizing the valour and service of the Isaurians.

¹²³ The Isaurian war and the triumph of Anastasius are briefly and darkly represented by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 106, 107.), Evagrius (l. iii. c. 35.), Theophanes (p. 118—120.), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

¹²⁴ Fortes ea regio (says Justinian) viros habet, nec in ullo differt ab Isauriâ, though Procopius (*Perfic.* l. i. c. 18.) marks an essential difference between their military character; yet in former times the Lycaonians and Pisidians had defended their liberty against the great king (Xenophon. *Anabasis*, l. iii. c. 2.). Justinian introduces some false and ridiculous erudition of the ancient empire of the Pisidians, and of Lycaon, who, after visiting Rome (long before Æneas), gave a name and people to Lycaonia (*Novell.* 24, 25. 27. 30.).

¹²⁵ See Procopius, *Perfic.* l. i. c. 19. The altar of national concord, of annual sacrifice and oaths, which Diocletian had erected in the isle of Elephantine, was demolished by Justinian with less policy than zeal.

¹²⁶ Procopius de *Edificiis*, l. iii. c. 7. *Hist.* l. viii. c. 3, 4. Those unambitious Goths had refused to follow the standard of Theodoric. As late as the xvth and xvith century, the name and nation might be discovered between Caffa and the streights of Azoph (*d'Anville Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xxx. p. 240.). They well deserved the curiosity of Busbequius (p. 321—326.); but seem to have vanished in the more recent account of the *Missions du Levant* (tom. i.), Tott, Peyssonel, etc.

¹²⁷ For the geography and architecture of this Armenian border, see the *Persian Wars and Edifices* (l. ii. c. 4—7. l. iii. c. 2—7.) of Procopius.

¹²⁸ The country is described by Tournefort (*Voyage au Levant*, tom. iii. lettres xvii. xviii.). That skilful botanist soon discovered the plant that infects the honey (*Plin.* xxi. 44, 45.): he observes, that the soldiers of Lucullus might indeed be astonished at the cold, since, even in the plain of Erzerum, snow sometimes falls in June, and the harvest is seldom finished before September. The hills of Armenia are below the fortieth degree of latitude; but in the mountainous country which I inhabit, it is well known that an ascent of some hours carries the traveller from the climate of Languedoc to that of Norway: and a general theory has been introduced, that, under the line, an elevation of 2400 *toises* is equivalent to the cold of the polar circle (*Remond, Observations sur les Voyages de Coxe dans la Suisse*, tom. ii. p. 104.).

¹²⁹ The identity or proximity of the Chalybians, or Chaldæans, may be investigated in Strabo (l. xii. p. 825, 826.), Cellarius (*Geograph. Antiq.* tom. ii. p. 202—204.), and Freret (*Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. iv. p. 594.). Xenophon supposes, in his romance (*Cyropæd.* l. iii.), the same Barbarians against whom he had fought in his retreat (*Anabasis*, l. iv.).

¹³⁰ Procopius, *Perfic.* l. i. c. 15. *De Edific.* l. iii. c. 6.

¹³¹ *Ni Taurus obstet in nostra maria venturus* (Pomponius Mela, iii. 8.). Pliny, a poet as well as a naturalist (v. 20.), personifies the river and mountain, and describes their combat. See the course of the Tigris and Euphrates, in the excellent treatise of d'Anville.

¹³² Procopius (*Perfic.* l. ii. c. 12.) tells the story with the tone half sceptical, half superstitious, of Herodotus. The promise was not in the primitive lye of Eusebius, but dates at least from the year 400; and a third lye, the *Veronica*, was soon raised on the two former

(Evagrius, l. iv. c. 27.). As Edessa *has* been taken, Tillemont *must* disclaim the promise (Mém. Ecclesiast. tom. i. p. 362. 383. 617.).

¹³³ They were purchased from the merchants of Adulis who traded to India (Cosmas, Topograph. Christ. l. xi. p. 339.); yet, in the estimate of precious stones, the Scythian emerald was the first, the Bactrian the second, the Æthiopian only the third (Hill's Theophrastus, p. 61, etc. 92.). The production, mines, etc. of emeralds, are involved in darkness; and it is doubtful whether we possess any of the twelve sorts known to the ancients (Goguet, Origine des Loix, etc. part ii. l. ii. c. 2. art. 3.). In this war the Huns got, or at least Perozes lost, the finest pearl in the world, of which Procopius relates a ridiculous fable.

¹³⁴ The Indo-Scythæ continued to reign from the time of Augustus (Dionys. Perieget. 1088. with the Commentary of Eustathius, in Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. iv.) to that of the elder Justin (Cosmas, Topograph. Christ. l. xi. p. 338, 339.). On their origin and conquests, see d'Anville (sur l'Inde, p. 18. 45, etc. 69. 85. 89.). In the second century they were masters of Larice or Guzerat.

¹³⁵ See the fate of Phirouz or Perozes, and its consequences, in Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 3—6.), who may be compared with the fragments of Oriental history (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 351. and Texeira, History of Persia, translated or abridged by Stevens, l. i. c. 32. p. 132—138.). The chronology is ably ascertained by Afseman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 396—427.).

¹³⁶ The Persian war, under the reigns of Anastasius and Justin, may be collected from Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 7, 8, 9.), Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 124—127.), Evagrius (l. iii. c. 37.), Marcellinus (in Chron. p. 47.), and Josue Stylites (apud Afseman. tom. i. p. 272—281.).

¹³⁷ The description of Dara is amply and correctly given by Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 10. l. ii. c. 13. De Edific. l. ii. c. 1, 2, 3. l. iii. c. 5.). See the situation in d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 53, 54, 55.), though he seems to double the interval between Dara and Nisibis.

¹³⁸ For the city and pass of Derbend, see d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 157. 291. 807.), Petit de la Croix (Hist. de Gengiscan, l. iv. c. 9.), Histoire Généalogique des Tatars (tom. i. p. 120.), Olearius (Voyage en Perse, p. 1039—1041.), and Corneille le Bruyn (Voyages, tom. i. p. 146, 147.): his view may be compared with the plan of Olearius, who judges the wall to be of shells and gravel hardened by time.

¹³⁹ Procopius, though with some confusion, always denominates

them Caspian (Perfic. l. i. c. 10.). The pass is now styled Tatar-topa, the Tatar-gates (d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 119, 120.).

¹⁴⁰ The imaginary rampart of Gog and Magog, which was seriously explored and believed by a caliph of the ixth century, appears to be derived from the gates of Mount Caucasus and a vague report of the wall of China (Geograph. Nubiensis, p. 267—270. Mémoires de l'Academie, tom xxxi. p. 210—219.).

¹⁴¹ See a learned dissertation of Baier, *de muro Caucasco* in Comment. Acad. Petropol. ann. 1726. tom. i. p. 425—463; but it is destitute of a map or plan. When the czar Peter I. became master of Derbend in the year 1722, the measure of the wall was found to be 3285 Russian *orgygiæ*, or fathom, each of seven feet English; in the whole, somewhat more than four miles in length.

¹⁴² See the fortifications and treaties of Chosroes or Nushirwan, in Procopius (Perfic. l. i. c. 16. 22. l. ii.) and d'Herbelot (p. 682.).

¹⁴³ The life of Isocrates extends from Olymp. lxxxvi. 1. to cx. 3. (ante Christ. 336—338.). See Dionys. Halicarn. tom. ii. p. 149—150. edit. Hudson. Plutarch (five anonymus), in Vit. X. Oratorum, p. 1538—1543. edit. H. Steph. Phot. cod. cclix. p. 1453.

¹⁴⁴ The schools of Athens are copiously though concisely represented in the Fortuna Attica of Meursius (c. viii. p. 59—73. in tom. i. Opp.), For the state and arts of the city, see the first book of Pausanias, and a small tract of Dicæarchus (in the second volume of Hudson's Geographers), who wrote about Olymp. cxvii. (Dodwell's Dissertat. sect. 4.).

¹⁴⁵ Diogen. Laert. de Vit. Philosoph. l. v. segm. 37. p. 289.

¹⁴⁶ See the testament of Epicurus in Diogen. Laert. l. x. segm. 16—20. p. 611, 612. A single epistle (ad Familiares, xiii. 1.) displays the injustice of the Areopagus, the fidelity of the Epicureans, the dextrous politeness of Cicero, and the mixture of contempt and esteem with which the Roman senators considered the philosophy and philosophers of Greece.

¹⁴⁷ Damascius, in Vit. Isidor. apud Photium, cod. ccxlii. p. 1054.

¹⁴⁸ See Lucian (in Eunech. tom. ii. p. 350—359. edit. Reitz) Philostratus (in Vit. Sophist. l. ii. c. 2.), and Dion Cassius, or Xiphilin (l. lxxi. p. 1195.), with their editors Du Soul, Olearius, and Reimar, and, above all, Salmasius (ad Hist. August. p. 72.). A judicious philosopher (Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 340—374.) prefers the free contributions of the students to a fixed stipend for the professor.

¹⁴⁹ Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 310, etc.

¹⁵⁰ The birth of Epicurus is fixed to the year 342 before Christ (Bayle), Olympiad cix. 3.; and he opened his school at Athens, Olymp. cxviii. 3. 306 years before the same æra. This intolerant law (Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 610. Diogen. Laertius, l. v. f. 38. p. 290. Julius Pollux, ix. 5.) was enacted in the same, or the succeeding year (Sigonius, Opp. tom. v. p. 62. Menagius, ad Diogen. Laert. p. 204. Corsini Fasti Attici, tom. iv. p. 67, 68.). Theophrastus, chief of the Peripatetics, and disciple of Aristotle, was involved in the same exile.

¹⁵¹ This is no fanciful æra: the Pagans reckoned their calamities from the reign of their hero. Proclus, whose nativity is marked by his horoscope (A. D. 412, February 8, at C. P.), died 124 years *απο Ιβλινου βασιλεως*, A. D. 485 (Marin. in Vita Procli, c. 36.).

¹⁵² The life of Proclus, by Marinus, was published by Fabricius (Hamburg, 1700, et ad calcem Bibliot. Latin. Lond. 1703). See Suidas (tom. iii. p. 185, 186.), Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. v. c. 26. p. 449—552.), and Brucker (Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 319—326.).

¹⁵³ The life of Isidore was composed by Damascius (apud Photium, cod. ccxlii. p. 1028—1076.). See the last age of the Pagan philosophers in Brucker (tom. ii. p. 341—351.).

¹⁵⁴ The suppression of the schools of Athens is recorded by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 187. sub Decio Cos. Sol.), and an anonymous Chronicle in the Vatican library (apud Aleman, p. 106.).

¹⁵⁵ Agathias l. ii. p. 69, 70, 71.) relates this curious story. Chosroes ascended the throne in the year 531, and made his first peace with the Romans in the beginning of 533, a date most compatible with his *young* fame and the *old* age of Isidore (Assleman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 404. Pagi, tom. ii. p. 543. 550.).

¹⁵⁶ Cassiodor. Variarum Epist. vi. l. Jornandes, c. 57. p. 696. edit. Grot. Quod summum bonum primumque in mundo decus edicitur.

¹⁵⁷ See the regulations of Justinian (Novell. cv.), dated at Constantinople, July 5, and addressed to Strategius, treasurer of the empire.

¹⁵⁸ Procopius, in Anecd. c. 26. Aleman, p. 106. In the xviiith year after the consulship of Basilus, according to the reckoning of Marcellinus, Victor, Marius, etc. the secret history was composed, and, in the eyes of Procopius, the consulship was finally abolished.

¹⁵⁹ By Leo, the philosopher (Novell. xciv. A. D. 886—911.). See Pagi (Dissertat. Hypatica, p. 325—362. and Ducange (Gloss. Græc. p. 1635, 1636.). Even the title was vilified: *consulatus codicilli*.... *vilescunt*, says the emperor himself.

¹⁶⁰ According to Julius Africanus, etc. the world was created the first of September, 5508 years, three months, and twenty-five days before

before the birth of Christ (see Pezron, *Antiquité des Temps défendue* p. 20—28.); and this æra has been used by the Greeks, the Oriental Christians, and even by the Russians, till the reign of Peter I. The period, however arbitrary, is clear and convenient. Of the 7296 years which are supposed to elapse since the creation, we shall find 3000 of ignorance and darkness; 2000 either fabulous or doubtful; 1000 of ancient history, commencing with the Persian empire, and the republics of Rome and Athens; 1000 from the fall of the Roman empire in the west to the discovery of America; and the remaining 296 will almost complete three centuries of the modern state of Europe and mankind. I regret this chronology, so far preferable to our double and perplexed method of counting backwards and forwards the years before and after the Christian æra.

¹⁶¹ The æra of the world has prevailed in the East since the sixth general council (A. D. 681.). In the West the Christian æra was first invented in the sixth century: it was propagated in the eighth by the authority and writings of the venerable Bede: but it was not till the tenth that the use became legal and popular. See *l'Art de vérifier les Dates*, Differt. Préliminaire, p. iii. xii. *Dictionnaire Diplomatique*, tom. i. p. 329—337: the works of a laborious society of Benedictine monks.

CHAP. XLI.

¹ The complete series of the Vandal war is related by Procopius in a regular and elegant narrative (l. i. c. 9—25. l. ii. c. 1—13.); and happy would be my lot, could I always tread in the footsteps of such a guide. From the entire and diligent perusal of the Greek text, I have a right to pronounce that the Latin and French versions of Grotius and Cousin may not be implicitly trusted: yet the president Cousin has been often praised, and Hugo Grotius was the first scholar of a learned age.

² See Ruinart, *Hist. Persecut. Vandal.* c. xii. p. 589. His best evidence is drawn from the life of St. Fulgentius, composed by one of his disciples, transcribed in a great measure in the annals of Baronius, and printed in several great collections (*Catalog. Bibliot. Bonavianæ*, tom. i. vol. ii. p. 1258.).

³ For what quality of the mind or body? For speed, or beauty, or valour?—In what language did the Vandals read Homer?—Did he speak German?—The Latins had four versions (*Fabric.* tom. i. l. ii. c. 3. p. 297.): yet, in spite of the praises of Seneca (*Consol.* c. 26.),

Notes.

they appear to have been more successful in imitating, than in translating, the Greek poets. But the name of Achilles might be famous and popular, even among the illiterate Barbarians.

⁴ *A year*—absurd exaggeration! The conquest of Africa may be dated A. D. 533, September 14: it is celebrated by Justinian in the preface to his institutes, which were published November 21, of the same year. Including the voyage and return, such a computation might be truly applied to *our* Indian empire.

⁵ Ὁρμήτο δὲ ὁ Βελισάριος ἐκ Γερμανίας, ἡ Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυρίων μεταξὺ κείται (Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 11.). Aleman. (Not. ad Anecd. p. 5.), an Italian, could easily reject the German vanity of Giphanius and Velferus, who wished to claim the hero; but his Germania, a metropolis of Thrace, I cannot find in any civil or ecclesiastical lists of the provinces and cities.

⁶ The two first Persian campaigns of Belisarius are fairly and copiously related by his secretary (Persic. l. i. c. 12—18.).

⁷ See the birth and character of Antonina, in the Anecdotes, c. 1. and the Notes of Alemannus, p. 3.

⁸ See the Preface of Procopius. The enemies of archery might quote the reproaches of Diomede (Iliad A. 385, etc.) and the *permittere vulnera ventis* of Lucan (viii. 384.): yet the Romans could not despise the arrows of the Parthians; and in the siege of Troy, Pandarus, Paris, and Teucer, pierced those haughty warriors who insulted them as women or children.

⁹ Νευρην μὲν μαζῶν πελάσεν, τοξῶν δὲ σιδηρον (Iliad Δ. 123.). How concise—how just—how beautiful is the whole picture! I see the attitudes of the archer—I hear the twanging of the bow:

Λιγξέ βίος, νευρὴ δὲ μεγ' ἰαχὲν, αἰτο δ' οἶσος.

¹⁰ The text appears to allow for the largest vessels 50,000 *medimni*, or 3000 tons (since the *medimnus* weighed 160 Roman, or 120 averdu-
pois, pounds). I have given a more rational interpretation, by supposing that the Attic style of Procopius conceals the legal and popular *modius*, a sixth part of the *medimnus* (Hooper's Ancient Measures, p. 152, etc.). A contrary, and indeed a stranger mistake, has crept into an oration of Dinarchus (contra Demosthenem, in Reiske Orator. Græc. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 34.). By reducing the *number* of ships from 500 to 50, and translating *μεδιμνοί* by *mines*, or pounds, Cousin has generously allowed 500 tons for the whole of the Imperial fleet!—Did he never think?

¹¹ I have read of a Greek legislator, who inflicted a *double* penalty on the crimes committed in a state of intoxication; but it seems agreed that this was rather a political than a moral law.

¹² Or even in three days, since they anchored the first evening in the neighbouring isle of Tenedos: the second day they sailed to Lesbos, the third to the promontory of Eubœa, and on the fourth they reached Argos (Homer, *Odyss.* P. 130—183. Wood's *Essay on Homer*, p. 40—46.). A pirate sailed from the Hellespont to the sea-port of Sparta in three days (Xenophon, *Hellen.* l. ii. c. 1.).

¹³ Caucana, near Camarina, is at least 50 miles (350 or 400 stadia) from Syracuse (Cluver, *Sicilia Antiqua*, p. 191.).

¹⁴ Procopius, *Gothic.* l. i. c. 3. Tibi tollit hinnitum apta quadrigis equa, in the Sicilian pastures of Grosphus (Horat. *Carm.* ii. 16.). Acragas.... magnanimūm quondam generator equorum (Virgil, *Æneid.* iii. 704.). Thero's horses, whose victories are immortalized by Pindar, were bred in this country.

¹⁵ The Caput vada of Procopius (where Justinian afterwards founded a city—de *Edific.* l. vi. c. 6.) is the promontory of Ammon in Strabo, the Brachodes of Ptolemy, the Capaudia of the moderns, a long narrow slip that runs into the sea (Shaw's *Travels*, p. 111.).

¹⁶ A centurion of Mark Antony expressed, though in a more manly strain, the same dislike to the sea and to naval combats (Plutarch in *Antonio*, p. 1730. edit. Hen. Steph.).

¹⁷ Sullecte is perhaps the Turris Hannibalis, an old building, now as large as the Tower of London. The march of Belisarius to Leptis, Adrumetum, etc. is illustrated by the campaign of Cæsar (Hirtius, de *Bello Africano*, with the *Analyse* of Guichard), and Shaw's *Travels* (p. 105—113.) in the same country.

¹⁸ Παράδεισος καλλιστος ἀπαντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. The paradises, a name and fashion adopted from Persia, may be represented by the royal garden of Ispahan (Voyage d'Olearius, p. 774.). See, in the Greek romances, their most perfect model (Longus, *Pastoral.* l. iv. p. 99—101. Achilles Tatius, l. i. p. 22, 23.).

¹⁹ The neighbourhood of Carthage, the sea, the land, and the rivers, are changed almost as much as the works of man. The isthmus, or neck, of the city is now confounded with the continent: the harbour is a dry plain; and the lake, or stagnum, no more than a morass, with six or seven feet water in the mid-channel. See d'Anville (*Géographie Ancienne*, tom. iii. p. 82.), Shaw (*Travels*, p. 77—84.), Marmol (*Description de l'Afrique*, tom. ii. p. 475.), and Thuanus (lvi. 12. tom. iii. p. 334.).

²⁰ From Delphi, the name of Delphicum was given, both in Greek and Latin, to a tripod; and, by an easy analogy, the same appellation was extended at Rome, Constantinople, and Carthage, to the royal

banqueting room (Procopius, Vandal l. i. c. 21. Ducange, Gloss. Græc. p. 277. *Δελφικόν*, ad Alexiad. p. 412.).

²¹ These orations always express the sense of the times, and sometimes of the actors. I have condensed that sense, and thrown away declamation.

²² The relics of St. Augustin were carried by the African bishops to their Sardinian exile (A. D. 500.); and it was believed in the viiith century that Liutprand, king of the Lombards, transported them (A. D. 721.) from Sardinia to Pavia. In the year 1695, the Augustin friars of that city found a brick arch, marble coffin, silver case, silk wrapper, bones, blood, etc. and perhaps an inscription of Agostino in Gothic letters. But this useful discovery has been disputed by reason and jealousy (Baronius, Annal. A. D. 725. N° 2—9. Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. xiii. p. 944. Montfaucon, Diarium Ital. p. 26—30. Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. v. dissert. lviii. p. 9. who had composed a separate treatise before the decree of the bishop of Pavia, and Pope Benedict XIII.).

²³ *Τὰ τῆς πολιτείας προοίμια*, is the expression of Procopius (de Edific. l. vi. c. 7.). Ceuta, which has been defaced by the Portuguese, flourished in nobles and palaces, in agriculture and manufactures, under the more prosperous reign of the Arabs (l'Afrique de Marmol, tom. ii. p. 236.).

²⁴ See the Second and third preambles to the Digest, or Pandects, promulgated A. D. 533, December 16. To the titles of *Vandalicus* and *Africanus*, Justinian, or rather Belisarius, had acquired a just claim: *Gothicus* was premature, and *Francicus* false and offensive to a great nation.

²⁵ See the original acts in Baronius (A. D. 535. N° 21—54.). The emperor applauds his own clemency to the heretics, cum sufficiat eis vivere.

²⁶ Dupin (Geograph. Sacra Africana, p. lix. ad Optat. Milev) observes and bewails this episcopal decay. In the more prosperous age of the church, he had noticed 690 bishoprics; but however minute were the dioceses, it is not probable that they all existed at the same time.

²⁷ The African laws of Justinian are illustrated by his German biographer (Cod. l. i. tit. 27. Novel. 36, 37. 131. Vit. Justinian. p. 349—377.).

²⁸ Mount Papua is placed by d'Anville (tom. iii. p. 92. and Tabul. Imp. Rom. Occident.) near Hippo Regius and the sea; yet this situation ill agrees with the long pursuit beyond Hippo, and the words of Procopius (l. ii. c. 4.), *ἐν τοῖς Νεμιδίας ἐσχατοῖς*.

²⁹ Shaw (Travels, p. 220.) most accurately represents the manners of the Bedoweens and Kabyles, the last of whom, by their language, are the remnant of the Moors: yet how changed—how civilized are these modern savages!—provisions are plenty among them, and bread is common.

³⁰ By Procopius it is styled a *lyre*; perhaps *harp* would have been more national. The instruments of music are thus distinguished by Venantius Fortunatus:

Romanusque *lyrá* tibi plaudat, Barbarus *harpá*.

³¹ Herodotus elegantly describes the strange effects of grief in another royal captive, Psammetichus of Egypt, who wept at the lesser, and was silent at the greatest of his calamities (l. iii. c. 14.). In the interview of Paulus Æmilius and Perseus, Belisarius might study his part: but it is probable that he never read either Livy or Plutarch; and it is certain that his generosity did not need a tutor.

³² After the title of *imperator* had lost the old military sense, and the Roman *auspices* were abolished by Christianity (see La Blérierie, Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxi. p. 302—332.), a triumph might be given with less inconsistency to a private general.

³³ If the Ecclesiastes be truly a work of Solomon, and not, like Prior's poem, a pious and moral composition of more recent times, in his name, and on the subject of his repentance. The latter is the opinion of the learned and free-spirited Grotius (Opp. Theolog. tom. i. p. 258.): and indeed the Ecclesiastes and Proverbs display a larger compass of thought and experience than seem to belong either to a Jew or a king.

³⁴ In the Belisaire of Marmontel, the king and the conqueror of Africa meet, sup, and converse without recollecting each other. It is surely a fault of that romance, that not only the hero, but all to whom he had been so conspicuously known, appear to have lost their eyes or their memory.

³⁵ Shaw, p. 59. Yet since Procopius (l. ii. c. 13.) speaks of a people of mount Atlas, as already distinguished by white bodies and yellow hair, the phenomenon (which is likewise visible in the Andes of Peru, Buffon, tom. iii. p. 504.) may naturally be ascribed to the elevation of the ground and the temperature of the air.

³⁶ The geographer of Ravenna (l. iii. c. xi. p. 129, 130, 131. Paris, 1688.) describes the Mauritania *Gaditana* (opposite to Cadiz), *ubi gens Vandalorum*, a Belisario devicta in Africâ, fugit, et nunquam comparuit.

³⁷ A single voice had protested, and Genseric dismissed, without a formal answer, the Vandals of Germany: but those of Africa derided

his prudence, and affected to despise the poverty of their forests (Procopius, Vandal. l. i. c. 22.).

³⁸ From the mouth of the great elector (in 1687), Tollius describes the secret royalty and rebellious spirit of the Vandals of Brandenburg, who could muster five or six thousand foldiers who had procured some canon, etc. (Itinerar. Hungar. p. 42. apud Dubos, Hist. de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. i. p. 182, 183.). The veracity, not of the elector, but of Tollius himself, may justly be suspected.

³⁹ Procopius (l. i. c. 22.) was in total darkness—*οὐδὲ μνημὴ τις οὐδὲ ὄνομα εἰς ἐμὲ σῶζεται*. Under the reign of Dagobert (A. D. 630.), the Slavonian tribes of the Sorbi and Venedi already bordered on Thuringia (Mascou, Hist. of the Germans, xv. 3, 4, 5.).

⁴⁰ Sallust represents the Moors as a remnant of the army of Heracles (de Bell. Jugurth. c. 21.), and Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 10.) as the posterity of the Canaanæans who fled from the robber Joshua (*λῆσῆς*). He quotes two columns, with a Phœnician inscription. I believe in the columns—I doubt the inscription—and I reject the pedigree.

⁴¹ Virgil (Georgic. iii. 339.) and Pomponius Mela (i. 8.) describe the wandering life of the African shepherds, similar to that of the Arabs and Tartars; and Shaw (p. 222.) is the best commentator on the poet and the geographer.

⁴² The customary gifts were a sceptre, a crown or cap, a white cloak, a figured tunic and shoes, all adorned with gold and silver; nor were these precious metals less acceptable in the shape of coin (Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 25.).

⁴³ See the African government and warfare of Solomon, in Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 10, 11, 12, 13. 19, 20.). He was recalled, and again restored; and his last victory dates in the xiiiith year of Justinian (A. D. 539.). An accident in his childhood had rendered him an eunuch (l. i. c. 11.): the other Romans generals were amply furnished with beards, *πωγωνοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι* (l. ii. c. 8.).

⁴⁴ This natural antipathy of the horse for the camel, is affirmed by the ancients (Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. vi. p. 438. l. vii. p. 483. 492. edit. Hutchinson. Polyæn. Stratagem. vii. 6, Plin. Hist. Nat. viii. 26. Ælian de Natur. Animal. l. iii. c. 7.); but it is disproved by daily experience, and derided by the best judges, the Orientals (Voyage d'Olearius, p. 553.).

⁴⁵ Procopius is the first who describes mount Aurasius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 13. De Edific. l. vi. c. 7.). He may be compared with Leo Africanus (dell' Africa, parte v. in Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 77. recto.), Marmol (tom. ii. p. 430.), and Shaw (p. 56—59.).

⁴⁶ Isidor. Chron. p. 722. edit. Grot. Mariana, Hist. Hispan. l. v. c.

8. p. 173. Yet according to Isidore, the siege of Ceuta, and the death of Theudis, happened, A. Æ. H. 586. A. D. 548. and the place was defended, not by the Vandals, but by the Romans.

⁴⁷ Procopius, Vandal. l. i. c. 24.

⁴⁸ See the original Chronicle of Isidore, and the vth and vith books of the History of Spain by Mariana. The Romans were finally expelled by Suintila king of the Visigoths (A. D. 621—626.), after their reunion to the Catholic church.

⁴⁹ See the marriage and fate of Amalafrida in Procopius (Vandal. l. i. c. 8, 9.), and in Cassiodorus (Var. ix. 1.) the expostulation of her royal brother. Compare likewise the Chronicle of Victor Tunnunenfis.

⁵⁰ Lilybæum was built by the Carthaginians. Olymp. xcv. 4.; and in the first Punic war, a strong situation, and excellent harbour, rendered that place an important object to both nations.

⁵¹ Compare the different passages of Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 5. Gothic. l. i. c. 3.).

⁵² For the reign and character of Amalasontha, see Procopius (Gothic. l. i. c. 2, 3, 4. and Anecd. c. 16. with the Notes of Alemannus), Cassiodorus (Var. viii, ix, x, and xi. 1.), and Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 59. and De Successione Regnorum, in Muratori, tom. i. p. 241.).

⁵³ The marriage of Theodoric with Audesleda, the sister of Clovis, may be placed in the year 495, soon after the conquest of Italy (de Buat, Hist. des Peuples, tom. ix. p. 213.). The nuptials of Eutharic and Amalasontha were celebrated in 515 (Cassiodor. in Chron. p. 453.).

⁵⁴ At the death of Theodoric, his grandson Athalaric is described by Procopius as a boy about eight years old—*ὄκτω γεγονώς ἐτη*. Cassiodorus, with authority and reason, adds two years to his age—*infantulum adhuc vix decennem*.

⁵⁵ The lake, from the neighbouring towns of Etruria, was styled either Vulfiniensis (now of Bolsena) or Tarquinienfis. It is surrounded with white rocks, and stored with fish and wild fowl. The younger Pliny (Epist. ii. 96.) celebrates two woody islands that floated on its waters: if a fable, how credulous the ancients!—if a fact, how careless the moderns! Yet, since Pliny, the island may have been fixed by new and gradual accessions.

⁵⁶ Yet Procopius discredits his own evidence (Anecd. c. 16.), by confessing that in his public history he had not spoken the truth. See the Epistles from queen Gundelina to the empress Theodora (Var. x. 20, 21. 23. and observe a suspicious word, *de illâ personâ*, etc.), with the elaborate Commentary of Buat (tom. x. p. 177—185.).

⁵⁷ For the conquest of Sicily, compare the narrative of Procopius with the complaints of Totila (Gothic. l. i. c. 5. l. iii. c. 16.). The Gothic queen had lately relieved that thankless island (Var. ix. 10, 11.).

⁵⁸ The ancient magnitude and splendour of the five quarters of Syracuse, are delineated by Cicero (in Verrem, actio ii. l. iv. c. 52, 53.), Strabo (l. vi. p. 415.), and d'Orville Sicula (tom. ii. p. 174—202.). The new city, restored by Augustus, shrank towards the island.

⁵⁹ Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 14, 15.) so clearly relates the return of Belisarius into Sicily (p. 146. edit. Hoefschelii), that I am astonished at the strange misapprehension and reproaches of a learned critic (Oeuvres de la Mothe le Vayer, tom. viii. p. 162, 163.).

⁶⁰ The ancient Alba was ruined in the first age of Rome. On the same spot, or at least in the neighbourhood, successively arose. 1. The villa of Pompey, etc. 2. A camp of the Prætorian cohorts. 3. The modern episcopal city of Albanum or Albano (Procop. Goth. l. ii. c. 4. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 914.).

⁶¹ A Sibylline oracle was ready to pronounce—*Africa captâ mundus cum nato peribit*; a sentence of portentous ambiguity (Gothic. l. i. c. 7.), which has been published in unknown characters by Opsopæus, an editor of the oracles. The Pere Maltret has promised a commentary; but all his promises have been vain and fruitless.

⁶² In his chronology, imitated in some degree from Thucydides, Procopius begins each spring the years of Justinian and of the Gothic war; and his first æra coincides with the 1st of April 535, and not 536, according to the Annals of Baronius (Pagi, Crit. tom. ii. p. 555, who is followed by Muratori and the editors of Sigonius). Yet in some passages we are at a loss to reconcile the dates of Procopius with himself, and with the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

⁶³ The series of the first Gothic war is represented by Procopius (l. i. c. 5—29. l. ii. c. 1—30. l. iii. c. 1.) till the captivity of Vitiges. With the aid of Sigonius (Opp. tom. i. de Imp. Occident. l. xvii, xviii.) and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v.), I have gleaned some few additional facts.

⁶⁴ Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 60. p. 702. edit. Grot. and tom. i. p. 221. Muratori, de Success. Reg. p. 241.

⁶⁵ Nero (says Tacitus, Annal. xv. 35.) Neapolim quasi Græcam urbem delegit. One hundred and fifty years afterwards, in the time of Septimius Severus, the *Hellenism* of the Neapolitans is praised by Philostratus: *γενος Ἑλληνες καὶ ἄστυκοι, ὅθεν καὶ τὰς σπῆδας τῶν λόγων Ἑλληνικοὶ εἰσι* (Icon. l. i. p. 763. edit. Olear.).

⁶⁶ The otium of Naples is praised by the Roman poets, by Virgil, Horace, Silius Italicus, and Statius (Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. iv. p. 1149,

1140.). In an elegant epistle (Sylv. l. iii. s. p. 94—98. edit. Markland), Statius undertakes the difficult task of drawing his wife from the pleasures of Rome to that calm retreat.

⁶⁷ This measure was taken by Roger I. after the conquest of Naples (A. D. 1189), which he made the capital of his new kingdom (Giannone, *Istoria Civile*, tom. ii. p. 169.) That city, the third in Christian Europe, is now at least twelve miles in circumference (Jul. Cæsar. *Capaccii Hist. Neapol.* l. i. p. 47.), and contains more inhabitants (350,000) in a given space, than any other spot in the known world.

⁶⁸ Not geometrical, but common, paces or steps, of 22 French inches (d'Anville, *Mésures Itinéraires*, p. 7, 8.): the 2363 do not make an English mile.

⁶⁹ Belisarius was reproved by Pope Sylverius for the massacre. He repeopled Naples, and imported colonies of African captives into Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia (*Hist. Miscell.* l. xvi. in Muratori, tom. i. p. 106, 107.).

⁷⁰ Beneventum was built by Diomede, the nephew of Meleager (Cluver, tom. ii. p. 1195, 1196.). The Calydonian hunt is a picture of savage life (Ovid. *Metamorph.* l. viii.). Thirty or forty heroes were leagued against a hog: the brutes (not the hog) quarrelled with a lady for the head.

⁷¹ The *Decennovium* is strangely confounded by Cluverius (tom. ii. p. 1007.) with the river Ufens. It was in truth a canal of nineteen miles, from Forum Appii to Terracina, on which Horace embarked in the night. The *Decennovium* which is mentioned by Lucan, Dion Cassius, and Cassiodorius, has been successively ruined, restored, and obliterated (d'Anville, *Analyse de l'Italie*, p. 185, etc.).

⁷² A Jew gratified his contempt and hatred for *all* the Christians, by inclosing three bands, each of ten hogs, and discriminated by the names of Goths, Greeks, and Romans. Of the first, almost all were found dead—almost all of the second were alive—of the third, half died, and the rest lost their bristles. No unfuitable emblem of the event.

⁷³ Bergier (*Hist. des Grands Chemins des Romains*, tom. i. p. 221—228. 440—444.) examines the structure and materials, while d'Anville (*Analyse de l'Italie*, p. 200—213.) defines the geographical line.

⁷⁴ Of the first recovery of Rome, the *year* (536) is certain, from the series of events, rather than from the corrupt, or interpolated, text of Procopius: the *month* (December) is ascertained by Evagrius (l. iv. c. 19.; and the *day* (the *tenth*) may be admitted on the slight evidence of Nicephorus Callistus (l. xvii. c. 13.). For this accurate chronology, we are indebted to the diligence and judgment of Pagi (tom. ii. p. 559, 560.).

⁷⁵ An horse of a bay or red colour was styled *Φαλιος* by the Greeks, *balan* by the Barbarians, and *spadix* by the Romans. *Honesti spadices*, says Virgil (*Georgic.* l. iii. 72. with the Observations of Martin and Heyne). *Σπαδιξ* or *βαιον*, signifies a branch of the palm-tree, whose name *Φοινιξ*, is synonymous to *red* (Aulus Gellius, ii. 26.).

⁷⁶ I interpret *βανδαλαριος*, not a proper name, but an office, standard-bearer, from *bandum* (*vexillum*), a Barbaric word adopted by the Greeks and Romans (Paul Diacon. l. i. c. 20. p. 760. Grot. *Nomina Gothica*, p. 575. Ducange, *Gloss. Latin.* tom. i. p. 539, 540.).

⁷⁷ M. d'Anville has given, in the *Mémoires* of the Academy for the year 1756 (tom. xxx. p. 198—236.), a plan of Rome on a smaller scale, but far more accurate than that which he had delineated in 1738 for Rollin's history. Experience had improved his knowledge; and, instead of Rossi's topography, he used the new and excellent map of Nolli. Pliny's old measure of *xiii* must be reduced to *viii* miles. It is easier to alter a text, than to remove hills or buildings.

⁷⁸ In the year 1709, Labat (*Voyages en Italie*, tom. iii. p. 218.) reckoned 138, 568 Christian souls, besides 8 or 10,000 Jews—without souls?—In the year 1763, the numbers exceeded 160,000.

⁷⁹ The accurate eye of Nardini (*Roma Antica*, l. i. c. viii. p. 31.) could distinguish the *tumultuarie opere di Belisario*.

⁸⁰ The fissure and leaning in the upper part of the wall, which Procopius observed (*Goth.* l. i. c. 13.), is visible to the present hour (*Donat. Roma Vetus*, l. i. c. 17. p. 53, 54.).

⁸¹ Lipsius (*Opp.* tom. ii. *Poliorcet.* l. iii.) was ignorant of this clear and conspicuous passage of Procopius (*Goth.* l. i. c. 21.). The engine was named *οναγρος*, the wild ass, a *calcitrando* (Hen. Steph. *Thesaur. Linguae Græc.* tom. ii. p. 1340, 1341. tom. iii. p. 877.). I have seen an ingenious model, contrived and executed by general Melville, which imitates or surpasses the art of antiquity.

⁸² The description of this mausoleum, or mole, in Procopius (l. i. c. 25.), is the first and best. The height above the walls *σχεδον ες λιθον βολην*. On Nolli's great plan, the sides measure 260 English feet.

⁸³ Praxiteles excelled in Fauns, and that of Athens was his own master-piece. Rome now contains above thirty of the same character. When the ditch of St. Angelo was cleansed under Urban VIII. the workmen found the sleeping Faun of the Barberini palace; but a leg, a thigh, and the right arm, had been broken from that beautiful statue (Winckelmann, *Hist. de l'Art*, tom. ii. p. 52, 53. tom. iii. p. 265.).

⁸⁴ Procopius has given the best description of the temple of Janus, a national deity of Latium (Heyne, *Excurs.* v. ad l. vii. *Æneid*). It

was once a gate in the primitive city of Romulus and Numa (Nardini, p. 13. 256. 329.). Virgil has described the ancient rite, like a poet and an antiquarian.

⁸⁵ *Vivarium* was an angle in the new wall inclosed for wild beasts (Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 23.) The spot is still visible in Nardini (l. iv. c. 2. p. 159, 160.) and Nolli's great plan of Rome.

⁸⁶ For the Roman trumpet and its various notes, consult Lipsius, de Militiâ Romanâ (Opp. tom. iii. l. iv. Dialog. x. p. 125—129.). A mode of distinguishing the *charge* by the horse-trumpet of solid brass, and the *retreat* by the foot trumpet of leather and light wood, was recommended by Procopius, and adopted by Belisarius (Goth. l. ii. c. 23.).

⁸⁷ Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 3.) has forgot to name these aqueducts; nor can such a double interfection, at such a distance from Rome, be clearly ascertained from the writings of Frontinus Fabretti and Eschinard, de Aquis and de Agro Romano, or from the local maps of Lameti and Cingolani. Seven or eight miles from the city (50 stadia), on the road to Albano, between the Latin and Appian ways, I discern the remains of an aqueduct (probably the Septimian), a series (630 paces) of arches twenty-five feet high (ὑψηλῶ εἰσαγαν).

⁸⁸ They made sausages, αλλαντας, of mule's flesh: unwholesome, if the animals had died of the plague. Otherwise the famous Bologna sausages are said to be made of ass flesh (Voyages de Labat, tom. ii. p. 218.).

⁸⁹ The name of the palace, the hill, and the adjoining gate, were all derived from the senator Pincius. Some recent vestiges of temples and churches are now smoothed in the garden of the Minims of the Trinità del Monte (Nardini, l. iv. c. 7. p. 196. Eschinard, p. 209, 210. the old plan of Buffalino, and the great plan of Nolli). Belisarius had fixed his station between the *Pincian* and Salarian gates (Procop. Goth. l. i. c. 15.).

⁹⁰ From the mention of the *primum et secundum velum*, it should seem that Belisarius, even in a siege, represented the emperor, and maintained the proud ceremonial of the Byzantine palace.

⁹¹ Of this act of sacrilege, Procopius (Goth. l. i. c. 25.) is a dry and reluctant witness. The narratives of Liberatus (Breviarium, c. 22.) and Anastasius (de Vit. Pont. p. 39.) are characteristic, but passionate. Hear the execrations of Cardinal Baronius (A. D. 536. N° 123. A. D. 538. N° 4—20.): portentum, facinus omni execratione dignum.

⁹² The old Capena was removed by Aurelian to, or near, the modern gate of St. Sebastian (see Nolli's plan). That memorable spot has been consecrated by the Egerian grove, the memory of Numa, triumphal arches, the sepulchres of the Scipios, Metelli, etc.

⁹³ The expression of Procopius has an invidious cast—*τυχην εκ της ασφαλως την σφισι συμβησομενην παραδοκειν* (Goth. l. ii. c. 4.). Yet he is speaking of a woman.

⁹⁴ Anastasius (p. 40.) has preserved this epithet of *Sanguinarius*, which might do honour to a tyger.

⁹⁵ This transaction is related in the public history (Goth. l. ii. c. 8.) with candour or caution; in the Anecdotes (c. 7.) with malevolence or freedom; but Marcellinus, or rather his continuator (in Chron.), casts a shade of premeditated assassination over the death of Constantine. He had performed good service at Rome and Spoleto (Procop. Goth. l. i. c. 7. 14.); but Alemannus confounds him with a Constantianus comes stabuli.

⁹⁶ They refused to serve after his departure; sold their captives and cattle to the Goths; and swore never to fight against them. Procopius introduces a curious digression on the manners and adventures of this wandering nation, a part of whom finally emigrated to Thule or Scandinavia (Goth. l. ii. c. 14, 15.).

⁹⁷ This national reproach of perfidy (Procop. Goth. l. ii. c. 25.) offends the ear of La Mothe le Vayer (tom. viii. p. 163—165,) who criticises, as if he had not read, the Greek historian.

⁹⁸ Baronius applauds his treason, and justifies the Catholic bishops—*qui ne sub heretico principe degant omnem lapidem movent*—an useful caution. The more rational Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 54.) hints at the guilt of perjury, and blames at least the *imprudence* of Datius.

⁹⁹ St. Datius was more successful against devils than against Barbarians. He travelled with a numerous retinue, and occupied at Corinth a large house (Baronius, A. D. 538. N° 89. A. D. 539. N° 20.).

¹⁰⁰ *Μυριαδὶς τριακοντα* (compare Procopius, Goth. l. ii. c. 7. 21.). Yet such population is incredible; and the second or third city of Italy need not repine if we only decimate the numbers of the present text. Both Milan and Genoa revived in less than thirty years (Paul Diacon. de Gestis Langobard. l. ii. c. 38.).

¹⁰¹ Besides Procopius, perhaps too Roman, see the Chronicles of Marius and Marcellinus, Jornandes (in Success. Regn. in Muratori, tom. i. p. 241.), and Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 32. in tom. ii. of the Historians of France). Gregory supposes a defeat of Belisarius, who, in Aimoin (de Gestis Franc. l. ii. c. 23. in tom. iii. p. 59.), is slain by the Franks.

¹⁰² Agathias, l. i. p. 14, 15. Could he have seduced or subdued the Gepidæ or Lombards of Pannonia, the Greek historian is confident that he must have been destroyed in Thrace.

¹⁰³ The king pointed his spear—the bull overturned a tree on his head—he expired the same day. Such is the story of Agathias; but the original historians of France (tom. ii. p. 202. 403. 558. 667.) impute his death to a fever.

¹⁰⁴ Without losing myself in a labyrinth of species and names—the aurochs, urus, bison, bubalus, bonafus, buffalo, etc. (Buffon, Hist. Nat. tom. xi. and Supplement, tom. iii. vi.), it is certain, that in the sixth century a large wild species of horned cattle was hunted in the great forests of the Vosges in Lorraine, and the Ardennes (Greg. Turon. tom. ii. l. x. c. 10. p. 369.).

¹⁰⁵ In the siege of Auximum, he first laboured to demolish an old aqueduct, and then cast into the stream, 1. dead bodies; 2. mischievous herbs; and, 3. quick lime, which is named (says Procopius, l. ii. c. 29.) *τιτανος* by the ancients; by the moderns *ασβεστος*. Yet both words are used as synonymous in Galen, Dioscorides, and Lucian (Hen. Steph. Thesaur. Ling. Græc. tom. iii. p. 743.).

¹⁰⁶ The Goths suspected Mathafuintha as an accomplice in the mischief, which perhaps was occasioned by accidental lightning.

¹⁰⁷ In strict philosophy, a limitation of the rights of war seems to imply nonsense and contradiction. Grotius himself is lost in an idle distinction between the *jus naturæ* and the *jus gentium*, between poison and infection. He balances in one scale the passages of Homer (Odyss. A. 259, etc.) and Florus (l. ii. c. 20. N° 7. ult.); and in the other, the examples of Solon (Pausanias, l. x. c. 37.) and Belisarius. See his great work *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (l. iii. c. 4. f. 15, 16, 17. and in Barbeyrac's version, tom. ii. p. 257, etc.). Yet I can understand the benefit and validity of an agreement, tacit or express, mutually to abstain from certain modes of hostility. See the Amphictyonic oath in Eschines, de Falsâ Legatione.

¹⁰⁸ Ravenna was taken, not in the year 540, but in the latter end of 539; and Pagi (tom. ii. p. 569.) is rectified by Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 62.), who proves, from an original act on papyrus (Antiquit. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii. dissert. xxxii. p. 999—1007. Maffei, Istoria Diplomati. p. 155—160.), that before the 3d of January 540, peace and free correspondence were restored between Ravenna and Faenza.

¹⁰⁹ He was seized by John the Sanguinary, but an oath or sacrament was pledged for his safety in the Basilicâ Julii (Hist. Miscell. l. xvii. in Muratori, tom. i. p. 107.). Anastasius (in Vit. Pont. p. 40.) gives a dark but probable account. Montfaucon is quoted by Mascou (Hist. of the Germans, xii. 21.) for a votive shield representing the captivity of Vitiges, and now in the collection of signor Landi at Rome.

¹¹⁰ Vitiges lived two years at Constantinople, and imperatoris in affectu *convictus* (or *conjunctus*) rebus excessit humanis. His widow, *Mathasuenta*, the wife and mother of the patricians, the elder and younger Germanus, united the streams of Anician and Amali blood (Jornandes, c. 60. p. 221. in Muratori, tom. i.).

¹¹¹ Procopius, Goth. l. iii. c. 1. Aimoin, a French monk of the xith century, who had obtained, and has disfigured, some authentic information of Belisarius, mentions, in his name, 12,000 *pueri* or slaves—quos propriis alimus stipendiis—besides 18,000 foldiers (Historians of France, tom. iii. De Gestis Franc. l. ii. c. 6. p. 48.).

¹¹² The diligence of Alemannus could add but little of the four first and most curious chapters of the Anecdotes. Of these strange Anecdotes, a part may be true, because probable—and a part true, because improbable. Procopius must have *known* the former, and the latter he could scarcely *invent*.

¹¹³ Procopius insinuates (Anecdote. c. 4.) that when Belisarius returned to Italy (A. D. 543), Antonina was sixty years of age. A forced, but more polite construction, which refers that date to the moment when he was writing (A. D. 559), would be compatible with the manhood of Photius (Gothic. l. i. c. 10.) in 536.

¹¹⁴ Compare the Vandalic War (l. i. c. 12.) with the Anecdotes (c. 1.) and Alemannus (p. 2, 3.). This mode of baptismal adoption was revived by Leo the philosopher.

¹¹⁵ In November 537, Photius arrested the pope (Liberat. Brev. c. 22. Pagi, tom. ii. p. 562.). About the end of 539, Belisarius sent Theodosius—τοῦ τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ αὐτῆς ἐφείκτο—on an important and lucrative commission to Ravenna (Goth. l. ii. c. 18.).

¹¹⁶ Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 204.) styles him *Photinus*, the son in-law of Belisarius; and he is copied by the Historia Miscella and Anastasius.

¹¹⁷ The continuator of the Chronicle of Marcellinus gives, in a few decent words, the substance of the Anecdotes: Belisarius de Oriente evocatus, in offensam periculumque incurrens grave, et invidiæ subjacens rursus remittitur in Italiam (p. 54.).

CHAP. XLII.

¹ It will be a pleasure, not a task, to read Herodotus (l. vii. c. 104. 134. p. 550. 615.). The conversation of Xerxes and Demaratus at Thermopylæ, is one of the most interesting and moral scenes in history. It was the torture of the royal Spartan to behold, with anguish and remorse, the virtue of his country.

² See this proud inscription in Pliny (Hist. Natur. vii. 27.). Few men have more exquisitely tasted of glory and disgrace; nor could Juvenal (Satir. x.) produce a more striking example of the vicissitudes of fortune, and the vanity of human wishes.

³ Γραικός ἐξ ὧν τὰ προτερα εἶδεν ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἤκοντα εἶδον, ὅτι μὴ τραγῶδες, καὶ ναυτὰς λωποδύτας. This last epithet of Procopius is too nobly translated by pirates; naval thieves is the proper word: strippers of garments, either for injury or insult (Demosthenes contra Conon. in Reiske Orator. Græc. tom. ii. p. 1264.).

⁴ See the third and fourth books of the Gothic War: the writer of the Anecdotes cannot aggravate these abuses.

⁵ Agathias, l. v. p. 157, 158. He confines this weakness of the emperor and the empire to the old age of Justinian; but, alas! he was never young.

⁶ This mischievous policy, which Procopius (Anecd. c. 19.) imputes to the emperor, is revealed in his epistle to a Scythian prince, who was capable of understanding it. Ἀγαν προμηθεὶ καὶ ἀγχινεστατον, says Agathias (l. v. p. 170, 171.).

⁷ Gens Germana feritate ferociore, (says Velleius Paterculus of the Lombards (ii. 106.) Langobardos paucitas nobilitat. Plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium sed præliis et periclitando tuti sunt (Tacit. de Moribus German. c. 40.). See likewise Strabo (l. vii. p. 446.). The best geographers place them beyond the Elbe, in the bishopric of Magdeburgh and the middle march of Brandenburg; and their situation will agree with the patriotic remark of the Count de Hertzberg, that most of the Barbarian conquerors issued from the same countries which still produce the armies of Prussia.

⁸ The Scandinavian origin of the Goths and Lombards, as stated by Paul Warnefrid, surnamed the deacon, is attacked by Cluverius (Germania Antiq. l. iii. c. 26. p. 102, etc.), a native of Prussia, and defended by Grotius (Prolegom. ad Hist. Goth. p. 28, etc.), the Swedish ambassador.

⁹ Two facts in the narrative of Paul Diaconus (l. i. c. 20.) are expressive of national manners: 1. Dum *ad tabulam* luderet—while he played at draughts. 2. Camporum viridantia *lina*. The cultivation of flax supposes property, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures.

¹⁰ I have used, without undertaking to reconcile, the facts in Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 14. l. iii. c. 33, 34. l. iv. c. 18. 25.), Paul Diaconus (de Gestis Langobard. l. i. c. 1—23. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. p. 405—419.), and Jornandes (de Success. Regnorum, p. 242.). The patient reader may draw some light from

Mascou (Hist. of the Germans, and Annotat. xxiii.) and de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, etc. tom. ix, x, xi.).

¹¹ I adopt the appellation Bulgarians, from Ennodius (in Panegyri. Theodorici, Opp. Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1598, 1599.), Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 5. p. 194. et de Regn. Successione, p. 242.), Theophanes (p. 185.), and the Chronicles of Cassiodorus and Marcellinus. The name of Huns is too vague; the tribes of the Cutturgurians and Utturgurians are too minute and too harsh.

¹² Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 19.). His verbal message (he owns himself an illiterate Barbarian) is delivered as an epistle. The style is savage, figurative, and original.

¹³ This sum is the result of a particular list, in a curious MS. fragment of the year 550, found in the library of Milan. The obscure geography of the times provokes and exercises the patience of the Count de Buat (tom. xi. p. 69—189.). The French minister often loses himself in a wilderness which requires a Saxon and Polish guide.

¹⁴ *Panicum milium*. See Columella, l. ii. c. 9. p. 430. edit Gefner. Plin. Hist. Natur. xviii. 24, 25. The Sarmatians made a pap of millet, mingled with mare's milk or blood. In the wealth of modern husbandry, our millet feeds poultry, and not heroes. See the dictionaries of Bomare and Miller.

¹⁵ For the name and nation, the situation and manners, of the Slavonians, see the original evidence of the sixth century, in Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 26. l. iii. c. 14.), and the emperor Maurice or Maurice (Stratagemat. l. ii. c. 5. apud Mascou, Annotat. xxxi.) The Stratagems of Maurice have been printed only, as I understand, at the end of Scheffer's edition of Arrian's Tactics, at Upsal, 1664 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. l. iv. c. 8. tom. iii. p. 278.), a scarce, and hitherto, to me, an inaccessible book.

¹⁶ Antes eorum fortissimi.... Taylis qui rapidus et vorticosus in Histri fluente furens devolvitur (Jornandes, c. 5. p. 194. edit. Murrator. Procopius, Goth. l. iii. c. 14. et de Edific. l. iv. c. 7.). Yet the same Procopius mentions the Goths and Huns as neighbours, γειτονικοῖς, to the Danube (de Edific. l. iv. c. 1.).

¹⁷ The national title of *Anticus*, in the laws and inscriptions of Justinian, was adopted by his successors, and is justified by the pious Ludewig (in Vit. Justinian. p. 515.). It had strangely puzzled the civilians of the middle age.

¹⁸ Procopius, Goth. l. iv. c. 25.

¹⁹ An inroad of the Huns is connected, by Procopius, with a comet; perhaps that of 541 (Persic. l. ii. c. 4.). Agathias (l. v. p. 154, 155.) borrows from his predecessor some early facts.

²⁰ The

²⁰ The cruelties of the Sclavonians are related or magnified by Procopius (Goth. l. iii. c. 29. 38.). For their mild and liberal behaviour to their prisoners, we may appeal to the authority, somewhat more recent, of the emperor Maurice (Stratagem. l. ii. c. 5.).

²¹ Topirus was situate near Philippi in Thrace, or Macedonia, opposite to the isle of Thafos, twelve days journey from Constantinople (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 676. 840.).

²² According to the malevolent testimony of the Anecdotes (c. 18.), these inroads had reduced the provinces south of the Danube to the state of a Scythian wilderness.

²³ From Caf to Caf; which a more rational geography would interpret, from Imaus, perhaps, to mount Atlas. According to the religious philosophy of the Mahometans, the basis of mount Caf is an emerald, whose reflection produces the azure of the sky. The mountain is endowed with a sensitive action in its roots or nerves; and their vibration, at the command of God, is the cause of earthquakes (D'Herbelot, p. 230, 231.).

²⁴ The Siberian iron is the best and most plentiful in the world; and in the southern parts, above sixty mines are now worked by the industry of the Russians (Strahlenberg, Hist. of Siberia, p. 342. 387. Voyage en Siberie, par l'Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche, p. 603—608. edit. in 12mo, Amsterdam, 1770). The Turks offered iron for sale; yet the Roman ambassadors, with strange obstinacy, persisted in believing that it was all a trick, and that their country produced none (Menander in Excerpt Leg. p. 152.).

²⁵ Of Irgana-kon (Abulghazi Kahn, Hist. Généalogique des Tatars, P. ii. c. 5. p. 71—77. c. 15. p. 155.). The tradition of the Moguls, of the 450 years which they passed in the mountains, agrees with the Chinese periods of the history of the Huns and Turks (De Guignes, tom. i. part. ii. p. 376.) and the twenty generations, from their restoration to Zingis.

²⁶ The country of the Turks, now of the Calmucks, is well described in the Genealogical History, p. 521—562. The curious notes of the French translator are enlarged and digested in the second volume of the English version.

²⁷ Vissdelou, p. 141. 151. The fact, though it strictly belongs to a subordinate and successive tribe, may be introduced here.

²⁸ Procopius, Persic. l. i. c. 12. l. ii. c. 3. Peyssonel (Observations sur les Peuples Barbares, p. 99, 100.) defines the distance between Caffa and the old Bosphorus at xvi long Tartar leagues.

²⁹ See, in a Memoir of M. de Boze (Mém. de l'Académie des inscriptions, tom. vi. p. 549—565.), the ancient kings and medals of the

Cimmerian Bosphorus; and the gratitude of Athens, in the Oration of Demosthenes against Leptines (in Reiske, Orator. Græc. tom. i. p. 466, 467.).

³⁰ For the origin and revolutions of the first Turkish empire, the Chinese details are borrowed from De Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. P. ii. p. 367—462.) and Visselou (Supplement à la Bibliothèque Orient. d'Herbelot, p. 82—114.). The Greek or Roman hints are gathered in Menander (p. 108—164.) and Theophylact Simocatta (l. vii. c. 7, 8.).

³¹ The river Til, or Tula, according to the geography of De Guignes (tom. i. part ii. p. lviii. and 352.), is a small, though grateful, stream of the desert, that falls into the Orhon, Selinga, etc. See Bell, Journey from Petersburg to Pekin (vol. ii. p. 124.); yet his own description of the Keat, down which he sailed into the Oby, represents the name and attributes of the *black river* (p. 139.).

³² Theophylact, l. vii. c. 7, 8. And yet his *true* Avars are invisible even to the eyes of M. de Guignes; and what can be more illustrious than the *false*? The right of the fugitive Ogors to that national appellation is confessed by the Turks themselves (Menander, p. 108.).

³³ The Alani are still found in the Genealogical History of the Tartars (p. 617.), and in d'Anville's maps. They opposed the march of the generals of Zingis round the Caspian sea, and were overthrown in a great battle. (Hist. de Gengiscan, l. iv. c. 9. p. 447.).

³⁴ The embassies and first conquests of the Avars may be read in Menander (Excerpt. Legat. p. 99, 100, 101. 154, 155.), Theophanes (p. 196.), the Historia Miscella (l. xvi. p. 109.), and Gregory of Tours (l. iv. c. 23. 29. in the Historians of France, tom. ii. p. 214. 217.).

³⁵ Theophanes (Chron. p. 204.) and the Hist. Miscella (l. xvi. p. 110.), as understood by De Guignes (tom. i. part ii. p. 354.), appear to speak of a Turkish embassy to Justinian himself; but that of Maniach, in the fourth year of his successor Justin, is positively the first that reached Constantinople (Menander, p. 108.).

³⁶ The Russians have found characters, rude hieroglyphics, on the Irtysh and Yenisei, on medals, tombs, idols, rocks, obelisks, etc. (Strahlenberg, Hist. of Siberia, p. 324. 346. 406. 429.). Dr. Hyde (de Religione Veterum Persarum, p. 521, etc.) has given two alphabets of Thibet and of the Eygours. I have long harboured a suspicion that *all* the Scythian, and *some*, perhaps *much*, of the Indian science, was derived from the Greeks of Bactriana.

³⁷ All the details of these Turkish and Roman embassies, so curious in the history of human manners, are drawn from the Extracts of

Menander (p. 106—110. 151—154. 161—164., in which we often regret the want of order and connection.

³⁸ See d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 568. 929.); Hyde (de Religione Vet. Persarum, c. 21. p. 290, 291.); Pocock (Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 70, 71.); Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 176.); Texeira (in Stevens, Hist. of Persia, l. i. c. 34.).

³⁹ The fame of the new law for the community of women, was soon propagated in Syria (Aflleman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 402.) and Greece (Procop. Persic. l. i. c. 5.):

⁴⁰ He offered his own wife and sister to the prophet; but the prayers of Nushirvan saved his mother, and the indignant monarch never forgave the humiliation to which his filial piety had stooped: pedes tuos deosculatus (said he to Mazdak), cujus fætor adhuc nares occupat (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 71.).

⁴¹ Procopius, Persic. l. i. c. 11. Was not Proclus over-wise? Was not the danger imaginary?—The excuse, at least, was injurious to a nation not ignorant of letters: *ἡ γραμμασιὼν οἱ βαρβαροὶ τὰς παιδῶν ποιεῖνται ἀλλ' ὅπλων σκευή.* Whether any mode of adoption was practised in Persia, I much doubt.

⁴² From Procopius and Agathias, Pagi (tom. ii. p. 543. 626.) has proved that Chosroes Nushirvan ascended the throne in the vth year of Justinian (A. D. 531, April 1.—A. D. 532, April 1.). But the true chronology, which harmonizes with the Greeks and Orientals, is ascertained by John Malala (tom. ii. 211.). Cabades, or Kobad, after a reign of forty-three years and two months, sickened the 8th, and died the 13th, of September, A. D. 531, aged eighty-two years. According to the annals of Eutychius, Nushirvan reigned forty-seven years and six months; and his death must consequently be placed in March, A. D. 579.

⁴³ Procopius, Persic. l. i. c. 23. Brisson de Regn. Pers. p. 494. The gate of the palace of Ispahan is, or was, the fatal scene of disgrace or death (Chardin, Voyage en Perse, tom. iv. p. 312, 313.).

⁴⁴ In Persia, the prince of the waters is an officer of state. The number of wells and subterraneous channels is much diminished, and with it the fertility of the soil: 400 wells have been recently lost near Tauris, and 42,000 were once reckoned in the province of Khorasan (Chardin, tom. iii. p. 99, 100. Tavernier, tom. i. p. 416.).

⁴⁵ The character and government of Nushirvan is represented sometimes in the words of d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 680, etc. from Khondemir), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 179, 180—very rich). Abulpharagius (Dynast. vii. p. 94, 95—very poor), Tarikh Schikard (p. 144—150.), Texeira (in Stevens, l. i. c. 35.), Aflleman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 404—410.), and the Abbé Fourmont (Hist. de

l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. vii. p. 325—334.), who has translated a spurious or genuine testament of Nushirvan.

⁴⁶ A thousand years before his birth, the judges of Persia had given a solemn opinion — τῷ βασιλευοντι Περσέων εἶναι ποιεῖν το ἀν βουλευτοῖς (Herodot. l. iii. c. 31. p. 210. edit. Wesseling). Nor had this constitutional maxim been neglected as an useless and barren theory.

⁴⁷ On the literary state of Persia, the Greek versions, philosophers, sophists, the learning or ignorance of Chosroes, Agathias (l. ii. c. 66—71.) displays much information and strong prejudices.

⁴⁸ Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 745. vi. vii.

⁴⁹ The Shah Nameh, or book of Kings, is perhaps the original record of history which was translated into Greek by the interpreter Sergius (Agathias, l. v. p. 141.), preserved after the Mahometan conquest, and versified in the year 994, by the national poet Ferdoussi. See d'Anquetil (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxxi. p. 379.), and Sir William Jones (Hist. of Nader Shah, p. 161.).

⁵⁰ In the fifth century, the name of Restom, or Rostam, an hero who equalled the strength of twelve elephants, was familiar to the Armenians (Moses Chorenensis, Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 7. p. 96. edit. Whiston). In the beginning of the seventh, the Persian romance of Rostam and Isfendiar was applauded at Mecca (Sale's Koran, c. xxxi. p. 335.). Yet this exposition of ludicrum novæ historiæ, is not given by Maracci (Refutat. Alcoran. p. 544—548.).

⁵¹ Procop. (Goth. l. iv. c. 10.). Kobad had a favourite Greek physician, Stephen of Edeffa (Persic. l. ii. c. 26.). The practice was ancient; and Herodotus relates the adventures of Democedes of Crotona (l. iii. c. 125—137.).

⁵² See Pagi (tom. ii. p. 626.). In one of the treaties, an honourable article was inserted for the toleration and burial of the Catholics (Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 142.). Nushizad, a son of Nushirvan, was a Christian, a rebel, and—a martyr? (D'Herbelot, p. 681.).

⁵³ On the Persian language, and its three dialects, consult d'Anquetil (p. 339—343.) and Jones (p. 153—185.): ἀγχιῶ τινι γλωττῇ καὶ ἀμυροτάτῳ, is the character which Agathias (l. ii. p. 66.) ascribes to an idiom renowned in the East for poetical softness.

⁵⁴ Agathias specifies the Gorgias, Phædon, Parmenides, and Timæus. Renaudot (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii. p. 246—261.) does not mention this Barbaric version of Aristotle.

⁵⁵ Of these fables, I have seen three copies in three different languages: 1. In Greek, translated by Simeon Seth (A. D. 1100.) from the Arabic, and published by Starck at Berlin in 1697, in 12mo. 2. In Latin, a version from the Greek, Sapiientia Indorum, inserted by père

Pouffin at the end of his edition of Pachymer (p. 547—620. edit. Roman). 3. In *French*, from the Turkish, dedicated, in 1540, to Sultan Soliman. Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et de Lokman, par MM. Galland et Cardonne. Paris, 1778, 3 vol. in 12mo. Mr. Warton (*History of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. 129—131.) takes a larger scope.

⁵⁶ See the *Historia Shahiludii* of Dr. Hyde (*Syntagm. Dissertat.* tom. ii. p. 61—69.).

⁵⁷ The endless peace (Procopius, *Perfic.* l. i. c. 21.) was concluded or ratified in the vith year, and iiii consulship, of Justinian (A. D. 533, between January 1, and April 1. Pagi, tom. ii. p. 550.). Marcellinus, in his *Chronicle*, uses the style of Medes and Persians.

⁵⁸ Procopius, *Perfic.* l. i. c. 26.

⁵⁹ Almondar, king of Hira, was deposed by Kobad, and restored by Nushirvan. His mother, from her beauty, was surnamed *Celestial Water*, an appellation which became hereditary, and was extended for a more noble cause (liberality in famine) to the Arab princes of Syria (Pocock, *Specimen Hist. Arab.* p. 69, 70.).

⁶⁰ Procopius, *Perfic.* l. ii. c. 1. We are ignorant of the origin and object of this *strata*, a paved road of ten days journey from Auranitis to Babylonia. (See a Latin note in Delisle's *Map. Imp. Orient.*) Wesseling and d'Anville are silent.

⁶¹ I have blended, in a short speech, the two orations of the Arsacides of Armenia and the Gothic ambassadors. Procopius, in his public history, feels, and makes us feel, that Justinian was the true author of the war (*Perfic.* l. ii. c. 2, 3.).

⁶² The invasion of Syria, the ruin of Antioch, etc. are related in a full and regular series by Procopius (*Perfic.* l. ii. c. 5—14.). Small collateral aid can be drawn from the Orientals: yet not they, but D'Herbelot himself (p. 680.), should blush, when he blames them for making Justinian and Nushirvan contemporaries. On the geography of the seat of war, D'Anville (*l'Euphrate et le Tigre*) is sufficient and satisfactory.

⁶³ In the public history of Procopius (*Perfic.* l. ii. c. 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.); and with some slight exceptions, we may reasonably shut our ears against the malevolent whisper of the *Anecdotes* (c. 2, 3. with the Notes, as usual, of Alemannus).

⁶⁴ The Lazic war, the contest of Rome and Persia on the Phasis, is tediously spun through many a page of Procopius (*Perfic.* l. ii. c. 15, 17, 28, 29, 30. *Gothic.* l. iv. c. 7—16.) and Agathias (l. ii. iii. and iv. p. 55—132, 141.).

⁶⁵ The *Periplus*, or circumnavigation of the Euxine sea, was described in Latin by Sallust, and in Greek by Arrian: 1. The former work,

which no longer exists, has been restored by the *singular* diligence of M. de Broffes, first president of the parliament of Dijon (Hist. de la République Romaine, tom. ii. l. iii. p. 199—298.), who ventures to assume the character of the Roman historian. His description of the Euxine is ingeniously formed of *all* the fragments of the original, and of *all* the Greeks and Latins whom Sallust might copy, or by whom he might be copied; and the merit of the execution atones for the whimsical design. 2. The Periplus of Arrian is addressed to the emperor Adrian (in Geograph. Minor. Hudson, tom. i.), and contains whatever the governor of Pontus had seen, from Trebizond to Dioscurias; whatever he had heard from Dioscurias to the Danube; and whatever he knew from the Danube to Trebizond.

⁶⁶ Besides the many occasional hints from the poets, historians, etc. of antiquity, we may consult the geographical descriptions of Colchos, by Strabo (l. xi. p. 760—765.) and Pliny (Hist. Natur. vi. 5. 19, etc.).

⁶⁷ I shall quote, and have used, three modern descriptions of Mingrelia and the adjacent countries. 1. Of the père Archangeli Lamberti (Relations de Thevenot, part. i. p. 31—52. with a Map), who has all the knowledge and prejudices of a missionary. 2. Of Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. i. p. 54. 68—168.): his observations are judicious; and his own adventures in the country are still more instructive than his observations. 3. Of Peyssonel (Observations sur les Peuples Barbares, p. 49, 50, 51. 58. 62. 64, 65. 71, etc. and a more recent treatise, Sur le Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 1—53.): he had long resided at Caffa, as consul of France; and his erudition is less valuable than his experience.

⁶⁸ Pliny, Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. 15. The gold and silver mines of Colchos attracted the Argonauts (Strab. l. i. p. 77.). The sagacious Chardin could find no gold in mines, rivers, or elsewhere. Yet a Mingrelian lost his hand and foot for shewing some specimens at Constantinople of native gold.

⁶⁹ Herodot. l. ii. c. 104, 105. p. 150, 151. Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 33. edit. Weffeling. Dionys. Perieget. 689. and Eustath. ad loc. Scholiast. ad Apollonium Argonaut. l. iv. 282—291.

⁷⁰ Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. xxi. c. 6. L'Isthme. . . , couvert de villes et nations qui ne sont plus.

⁷¹ Bougainville, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 33. on the African voyage of Hanno and the commerce of antiquity.

⁷² A Greek historian, Timosthenes, had affirmed, in eam ecc nationes dissimilibus linguis descendere; and the modest Pliny is content to add, et a postea a nostris cxxx interpretibus negotia ibi gesta (vi. 5.); but the word nunc deserta covers a multitude of past fictions.

⁷³ Buffon (Hist. Nat. tom. iii. p. 433—437.) collects the unanimous suffrage of naturalists and travellers. If, in the time of Herodotus, they were in truth *μελαγχρόες* and *γλοτρίχες* (and he had observed them with care), this precious fact is an example of the influence of climate on a foreign colony.

⁷⁴ The Mingrelian ambassador arrived at Constantinople with two hundred persons; but he eat (*sold*) them day by day, till his retinue was diminished to a secretary and two valets (Tavernier, tom. i. p. 365.). To purchase his mistress, a Mingrelian gentleman sold twelve priests and his wife to the Turks. (Chardin, tom. i. p. 66.

⁷⁵ Strabo, l. xi. p. 765. Lamberti, Relation de la Mingrelie. Yet we must avoid the contrary extreme of Chardin, who allows no more than 20,000 inhabitants to supply an annual exportation of 12,000 slaves: an absurdity unworthy of that judicious traveller.

⁷⁶ Herodot. l. iii. c. 97. See, in l. vii. c. 79. their arms and service in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece.

⁷⁷ Xenophon, who had encountered the Colchians in his retreat (Anabasis, l. iv. p. 320. 343. 348. edit. Hutchinson; and Forster's Dissertation. p. liii—lviii. in Spelman's English version, vol. ii.), styles them *αυτονομοι*. Before the conquest of Mithridates, they are named by Appian *εθνος αρειμανες* (de Bell. Mithridatico, c. 15. tom. i. p. 661, of the last and best edition, by John Schweighæuser, Lipsiæ, 1785. 3 vols. large octavo).

⁷⁸ The conquest of Colchos by Mithridates and Pompey, is marked by Appian (de Bell. Mithridat.) and Plutarch (in Vit. Pomp.).

⁷⁹ We may trace the rise and fall of the family of Polemo, in Strabo (l. xi. p. 755. l. xii. p. 867.), Dion Cassius or Xiphilin (p. 588. 593. 601. 719. 754. 915. 946. edit. Reimar). Suetonius (in Neron. c. 18. in Vespasian, c. 8.), Eutropius (vii. 14.), Josephus (Antiq. Judaic. l. xx. c. 7. p. 970. edit. Havercamp), and Eusebius (Chron. with Scaliger, Animadvers. p. 196.).

⁸⁰ In the time of Procopius, there were no Roman forts on the Phasis. Pityus and Sebastopolis were evacuated on the Rumour of the Persians (Goth. l. iv. c. 4.); but the latter was afterwards restored by Justinian (de Edif. l. iv. c. 7.).

⁸¹ In the time of Pliny, Arrian, and Ptolemy, the Lazi were a particular tribe on the northern skirts of Colchos (Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 222.). In the age of Justinian, they spread, or at least reigned, over the whole country. At present, they have migrated along the coast towards Trebizond, and compose a rude sea-faring people, with a peculiar language (Chardin, p. 149. Peyssonel, p. 64.).

⁸² John Malala, Chron. tom. ii. p. 134—137. Theophanes, p. 144. Hist. Miscell. l. xv p. 103. The fact is authentic, but the date seems too recent. In speaking of their Persian alliance, the Lazi contemporaries of Justinian employ the most obsolete words—*ἐν γράμμασι μνημεῖα, πρόγονοι*, etc. Could they belong to a connection which had not been dissolved above twenty years?

⁸³ The sole vestige of Petra subsists in the writings of Procopius and Agathias. Most of the towns and castles of Lazica may be found by comparing their names and position with the map of Mingrelia, in Lamberti.

⁸⁴ See the amusing letters of Pietro della Valle, the Roman traveller (Viaggi, tom. ii. 207. 209. 213. 215. 266. 286. 300. tom. iii. p. 54. 127.). In the years 1618, 1619, and 1620, he conversed with Shah Abbas, and strongly encouraged a design which might have united Persia and Europe against their common enemy the Turk.

⁸⁵ See Herodotus (l. i. c. 140. p. 69.), who speaks with diffidence, Larcher (tom. i. p. 399—401. Notes sur Herodote), Procopius Persic, l. i. c. 11.), and Agathias (l. ii. p. 61, 62.). This practice, agreeable to the Zendavesta (Hyde, de Relig. Pers. c. 34. p. 414—421.), demonstrates that the burial of the Persian kings (Xenophon, Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 658.), *τι γὰρ τῶν βασιλέων τὰς γῆς μὴ μίχθηναι*, is a Greek fiction, and that their tombs could be no more than cenotaphs.

⁸⁶ The punishment of flaying alive could not be introduced into Persia by Sapor (Briffon, de Regn. Pers. l. ii. p. 578.), nor could it be copied from the foolish tale of Marfyas the Phrygian piper, most foolishly quoted as a precedent by Agathias (l. iv. p. 132, 133.).

⁸⁷ In the palace of Constantinople there were thirty silentiaries, who are styled *hastati ante fores cubiculi*, *τῆς σιγῆς ἐπιστάται*, an honourable title, which conferred the rank, without imposing the duties, of a senator (Cod. Theodof. l. vi. tit. 23. Gothofred. Comment. tom. ii. p. 129.).

⁸⁸ On these judicial orations, Agathias (l. iii. p. 81—89. l. iv. p. 108—119.) lavishes eighteen or twenty pages of false and florid rhetoric. His ignorance or carelessness overlooks the strongest argument against the king of Lazica—his former revolt.

⁸⁹ Procopius represents the practice of the Gothic court of Ravenna (Goth. l. i. c. 7.); and foreign ambassadors have been treated with the same jealousy and rigour in Turkey (Busbequius, epist. iii. p. 149. 242, etc.), Russia (Voyage d'Olearius), and China (Narrative of M. de Lange, in Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 189—311.).

⁹⁰ The negotiations and treaties between Justinian and Chosroes

are copiously explained by Procopius (*Perfic.* l. ii. c. 10. 13. 26, 27, 28. *Gothic.* l. ii. c. 11. 15.), Agathias (*l.* iv. p. 141, 142.), and Menander (in *Excerpt. Legat.* p. 132—147.). Consult Barbeyrac, *Hist. des Anciens Traités*, tom. ii. p. 154. 181—184. 193—200.

⁹¹ D'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 680, 681, 294, 295.

⁹² See Buffon, *Hist. Naturelle*, tom. iii. p. 449. This Arab cast of features and complexion, which has continued 3400 years (Ludolph, *Hist. et Comment. Æthiopic.* l. i. c. 4.) in the colony of Abyssinia, will justify the suspicion, that race, as well as climate, must have contributed to form the negroes of the adjacent and similar regions.

⁹³ The Portuguese missionaries, Alvarez (*Ramusio*, tom. i. fol. 204. rect. 274. vers.), Bermudez (*Purcha's Pilgrims*, vol. ii. l. v. c. 7. p. 1149—1188.), Lobo (*Relation, etc.* par M. le Grand, with xv *Dissertations.* Paris, 1728), and Tellez (*Relations de Thevenot*, part iv.), could only relate of modern Abyssinia what they had seen or invented. The erudition of Ludolphus (*Hist. Æthiopica*, Francofurt. 1681. *Commentarius*, 1691. *Appendix*, 1694), in twenty-five languages, could add little concerning its ancient history. Yet the fame of Caled, or Ellisthæus, the conqueror of Yemen, is celebrated in national songs and legends.

⁹⁴ The negotiations of Justinian with the Axumites, or Æthiopians, are recorded by Procopius (*Perfic.* l. i. c. 19, 20.) and John Malala (tom. ii. p. 163—165. 193—196.). The historian of Antioch quotes the original narrative of the ambassador Nonnosus, of which Photius (*Bibliot. cod.* iii.) has preserved a curious extract.

⁹⁵ The trade of the Axumites to the coast of India and Africa, and the isle of Ceylon, is curiously represented by Cosmas Indicopleustes (*Topograph. Christian.* l. ii. p. 132. 138, 139, 140. l. xi. p. 338, 339.).

⁹⁶ Ludolph, *Hist. et Comment. Æthiop.* l. ii. c. 3.

⁹⁷ The city of Negra, or Nag'ran, in Yemen, is surrounded with palm-trees, and stands in the high-road between Saana the capital, and Mecca; from the former ten, from the latter twenty days journey of a caravan of camels (*Abulfeda, Descript. Arabiæ*, p. 52.).

⁹⁸ The martyrdom of St. Arethas, prince of Negra, and his three hundred and forty companions, is embellished in the legends of Metaphrastes and Nicephorus Callistus, copied by Baronius (*A. D.* 522. N° 22—66. *A. D.* 523. N° 16—29.), and refuted, with obscure diligence, by Basnage (*Hist. des Juifs*, tom. xii. l. viii. c. ii. p. 333—348.), who investigates the state of the Jews in Arabia and Æthiopia.

⁹⁹ Alvarez (in *Ramusio*, tom. i. fol. 219 vers. 221 vers.) saw the

flourishing state of Axume in the year 1520—luogo molto buono e grande. It was ruined in the same century by the Turkish invasion. No more than one hundred houses remain; but the memory of its past greatness is preserved by the regal coronation (Ludolph, Hist. et Comment. l. ii. c. 11.)

¹⁰⁰ The revolutions of Yemen in the sixth century must be collected from Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 19, 20.), Theophanes Byzant. (apud Phot. cod. lxiii. p. 80.), St. Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 144, 145, 188, 189, 206, 207. who is full of strange blunders), Pocock (Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 62, 65.), D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 12, 477.), and Sale's Preliminary Discourse and Koran (c. 105.). The revolt of Abrahah is mentioned by Procopius; and his fall, though clouded with miracles, is an historical fact.

CHAP. XLIII.

¹ For the troubles of Africa, I neither have nor desire another guide than Procopius, whose eye contemplated the image, and whose ear collected the reports, of the memorable events of his own times. In the second book of the Vandalic war he relates the revolt of Stozas (c. 14—24.), the return of Belisarius (c. 15.), the victory of Germanus (c. 16, 17, 18.), the second administration of Solomon (c. 19, 20, 21.), the government of Sergius (c. 22, 23.), of Areobindus (c. 24.), the tyranny and death of Gontharis (c. 25, 26, 27, 28.); nor can I discern any symptoms of flattery or malevolence in his various portraits.

² Yet I must not refuse him the merit of painting, in lively colours, the murder of Gontharis. One of the assassins uttered a sentiment not unworthy of a Roman patriot: "If I fail," said Artasires, "in the first stroke, kill me on the spot, lest the rack should extort a discovery of my accomplices."

³ The Moorish wars are occasionally introduced into the narrative of Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 19—23, 25, 27, 28. Gothic. l. iv. c. 17.); and Theophanes adds some prosperous and adverse events in the last years of Justinian.

⁴ Now Tibesh, in the kingdom of Algiers. It is watered by a river, the Sujerass, which falls into the Mejerda (*Bagradas*). Tibesh is still remarkable for its walls of large stones (like the Coliseum of Rome), a fountain, and a grove of walnut-trees: the country is fruitful, and the neighbouring Bereberes are warlike. It appears from an inscription, that, under the reign of Adrian, the road from Carthage to Tebeste

was constructed by the third legion (Marmol, Description de l'Afrique, tom. ii. p. 442, 443. Shaw's Travels, p. 64, 65, 66.).

⁵ Procopius, Anecd. c. 18. The series of the African history attests this melancholy truth.

⁶ In the second (c. 30.) and third books (c. 1—40.), Procopius continues the history of the Gothic war from the fifth to the fifteenth year of Justinian. As the events are less interesting than in the former period, he allots only half the space to double the time. Jornandes, and the Chronicle of Marcellinus, afford some collateral hints. Sigonius, Pagi, Muratori, Mascou, and De Buat, are useful, and have been used.

⁷ Sylverius, bishop of Rome, was first transported to Patara, in Lycia, and at length starved (sub eorum custodiâ inediâ confectus) in the isle of Palmaria, A. D. 538. June 20. (Liberat. in Breviar. c. 22. Anastasius, in Sylverio. Baronius, A. D. 540. N° 2, 3. Pagi, in Vit. Pont. tom. i. p. 285, 286.). Procopius (Anecd. c. 1.) accuses only the empress and Antonina.

⁸ Palmaria, a small island, opposite to Terracina and the coast of the Volsci (Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. 7. p. 1014.).

⁹ As the Logothete Alexander and most of his civil and military colleagues, were either disgraced or despised, the ink of the Anecdotes (c. 4, 5. 18.) is scarcely blacker than that of the Gothic History (l. iii. c. 1. 3, 4. 9. 20, 21, etc.).

¹⁰ Procopius (l. iii. c. ii. 8, etc.) does ample and willing justice to the merit of Totila. The Roman historians, from Sallust and Tacitus, were happy to forget the vices of their countrymen in the contemplation of Barbaric virtue.

¹¹ Procopius, l. iii. c. 12. The soul of an hero is deeply impressed on the letter; nor can we confound such genuine and original acts with the elaborate and often empty speeches of the Byzantine historians.

¹² The avarice of Bessas is not dissembled by Procopius (l. iii. c. 17. 20.). He expiated the loss of Rome by the glorious conquest of Petraea (Goth. l. iv. c. 12.): but the same vices followed him from the Tyber to the Phasis (c. 13.); and the historian is equally true to the merits and defects of his character. The chastisement which the author of the romance of *Belisaire* has inflicted on the oppressor of Rome, is more agreeable to justice than to history.

¹³ During the long exile, and after the death of Vigilius, the Roman church was governed, at first by the archdeacon, and at length (A. D. 555.) by the pope Pelagius, who was not thought guiltless of the sufferings of his predecessor. See the original lives of the popes under the name of Anastasius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 130, 131.), who relates several curious incidents of the sieges of Rome and the wars of Italy.

¹⁴ Mount Garganus, now Monte St. Angelo, in the kingdom of Naples, runs three hundred stadia into the Adriatic sea (Strab. l. vi. p. 436.), and in the darker ages was illustrated by the apparition, miracles, and church of St. Michael the archangel. Horace, a native of Apulia or Lucania, had seen the elms and oaks of Garganus labouring and bellowing with the north wind that blew on that lofty coast (Carm. ii. 9. Epist. ii. i. 201.).

¹⁵ I cannot ascertain this particular camp of Hannibal; but the Punic quarters were long and often in the neighbourhood of Arpi (T. Liv. xxii. 9. 12. xxiv. 3, etc.).

¹⁶ Totila. . . . Romam ingreditur. . . . ac evertit muros domos aliquantas igni comburens, ac omnes Romanorum res in prædam accepit, hos ipsos Romanos in Campaniam captivos abduxit. Post quam devastationem, xl aut amplius dies, Roma fuit ita desolata, ut nemo ibi hominum, nisi (*nullæ?*) bestiarum morarentur (Marcellin. in Chron. p. 54.).

¹⁷ The *tribuli* are small engines with four spikes, one fixed in the ground, the three others erect or adverse (Procopius, Gothic. l. iii. c. 24. Just. Lipsius, Poliorcetay, l. v. c. 3.). The metaphor was borrowed from the tribuli (*land caltrops*), an herb with a prickly fruit, common in Italy (Martin, ad Virgil. Georgic. l. 153. vol. ii. p. 33.).

¹⁸ Ruscia, the *navale Thuriorum*, was transferred to the distance of sixty stadia to Ruscianum, Rossano, an archbishopric without suffragans. The republic of Sybaris is now the estate of the duke of Corigliano (Riedesel, Travels into Magna Græcia and Sicily, p. 166—171.).

¹⁹ This conspiracy is related by Procopius (Gothic. l. iii. c. 31, 32.) with such freedom and candour, that the liberty of the Anecdotes gives him nothing to add.

²⁰ The honours of Belisarius are gladly commemorated by his secretary (Procop. Goth. l. iii. c. 35. l. iv. c. 21.). The title of *Στρατηγός* is ill translated, at least in this instance, by *præfectus prætorio*; and to a military character, *magister militum* is more proper and applicable (Ducange, Gloss. Græc. p. 1458, 1459.).

²¹ Alemannus (ad Hist. Arcanam, p. 68.), Ducange (Familia Byzant. p. 98.), and Heineccius (Hist. Juris Civilis, p. 434.), all three represent Anastasius as the son of the daughter of Theodora; and their opinion firmly reposes on the unambiguous testimony of Procopius (Anecd. c. 4, 5.—*θυγατρίδω* twice repeated). And yet I will remark, 1. That, in the year 547, Theodora could scarcely have a grandson of the age of puberty; 2. That we are totally ignorant of this daughter and her husband; and, 3. That Theodora concealed

her bastards, and that her grandson by Justinian would have been heir-apparent of the empire.

²² The ἀμαρτηματα, or sins, of the hero in Italy and after his return, are manifested ἀπαρκαλυπτως, and most probably swelled by the author of the Anecdotes (c. 4, 5.). The designs of Antonina were favoured by the fluctuating jurisprudence of Justinian. On the law of marriage and divorce, that emperor was trocho versatillior (Heineccius, Element. Juris Civil. ad Ordinem Pandect. P. iv. N° 233.).

²³ The Romans were still attached to the monuments of their ancestors; and according to Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 22.), the galley of Æneas, of a single rank of oars, 25 feet in breadth, 120 in length, was preserved entire in the *navalia*, near Monte Testaceo, at the foot of the Aventine (Nardini, Roma Antica, l. vii. c. 9. p. 466. Donatus, Roma Antiqua, l. iv. c. 13. p. 334.). But all antiquity is ignorant of this relic.

²⁴ In these seas, Procopius searched without success for the isle of Calypso. He was shewn, at Phæacia or Corcyra, the petrified ship of Ulysses (Odyss. xiii. 163.); but he found it a recent fabric of many stones, dedicated by a merchant to Jupiter Cassius (l. iv. c. 22.). Eustathius had supposed it to be the fanciful likeness of a rock.

²⁵ M. d'Anville (Mémoires de l'Acad. tom. xxxii. p. 513—528.) illustrates the gulph of Ambracia; but he cannot ascertain the situation of Dodona. A country in sight of Italy is less known than the wilds of America.

²⁶ See the acts of Germanus in the public (Vandal. l. ii. c. 16, 17, 18. Goth. l. iii. c. 31, 32.) and private history (Anecdotes. c. 5.), and those of his son Justin, in Agathias (l. iv. p. 130, 131.). Notwithstanding an ambiguous expression of Jornandes, fratri suo, Alemannus has proved that he was the son of the emperor's brother.

²⁷ Conjuncta Aniciorum gens cum Amalâ stirpe spem adhuc utriusque generis promittit (Jornandes, c. 60. p. 703.). He wrote at Ravenna before the death of Totila.

²⁸ The third book of Procopius is terminated by the death of Germanus (Add. l. iv. c. 23, 24, 25, 26.).

²⁹ Procopius relates the whole series of this second Gothic war and the victory of Narses (l. iv. c. 21. 26—35.). A splendid scene! Among the six subjects of epic poetry which Tasso revolved in his mind, he hesitated between the conquests of Italy by Belisarius and by Narses (Hayley's Works, vol. iv. p. 70.).

³⁰ The country of Narses is unknown, since he must not be confounded with the Persarmenian. Procopius styles him (Goth. l. ii. c. 13.) βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίης; Paul Warnefrid (l. ii. c. 3. p. 776.),

Chartularius: Marcellinus adds the name of Cubicularius. In an inscription on the Salarian bridge, he is entitled Ex-consul, Ex-præpositus, Cubiculi Patricius (Mascou, Hist. of the Germans, l. xiii. c. 25.). The law of Theodosius against eunuchs was obsolete or abolished (Annotation xx.); but the foolish prophecy of the Romans subsisted in full vigour (Procop. l. iv. c. 21.).

³¹ Paul Warnefrid, the Lombard, records with complacency the succour, service, and honourable dismissal of his countrymen—*reipublicæ Romanæ adversus æmulos adjutores fuerant*) l. ii. c. i. p. 774. edit. Grot.). I am surprised that Alboin, their martial king, did not lead his subjects in person.

³² He was, if not an impostor, the son of the blind Zames, saved by compassion, and educated in the Byzantine court by the various motives of policy, pride, and generosity (Procop. Persic. l. i. c. 23.).

³³ In the time of Augustus, and in the middle ages, the whole waste from Aquileia to Ravenna was covered with woods, lakes, and morasses. Man has subdued nature, and the land has been cultivated, since the waters are confined and embanked. See the learned researches of Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi*, tom. i. dissert. xxi. p. 253, 254.), from Vitruvius, Strabo, Herodian, old charters, and local knowledge.

³⁴ The Flaminian way, as it is corrected from the Itineraries, and the best modern maps, by d'Anville (*Analyse de l'Italie*, p. 147—162.), may be thus stated: ROME to Narni, 51 Roman miles; Terni, 57; Spoleto, 75; Foligno, 88; Nocera, 103; Cagli, 142; Intercisa, 157; Fossombrone, 160; Fano, 176; Pesaro, 184; RIMINI, 208—about 189 English miles. He takes no notice of the death of Totila; but Wesseling (*Itinerar.* p. 614.) exchanges, for the field of *Taginas*, the unknown appellation of *Ptanas*, eight miles from Nocera.

³⁵ *Taginæ*, or rather *Tadinæ*, is mentioned by Pliny; but the bishopric of that obscure town, a mile from Gualdo in the plain, was united, in the year 1007, with that of Nocera. The signs of antiquity are preserved in the local appellations, *Fossato*, the camp; *Capraia*, Caprea; *Bastia*, *Busta Gallorum*. See Cluverius (*Italia Antiqua*, l. ii. c. 6. p. 615, 616, 617.), Lucas Holstenius (*Annotat. ad Cluver.* p. 85, 86.), Guazzesi (*Dissertat.* p. 177—217. a professed enquiry), and the maps of the ecclesiastical state and the march of Ancona, by Le Maire and Magini.

³⁶ The battle was fought in the year of Rome 458; and the consul Decius, by devoting his own life, assured the triumph of his country and his colleague Fabius (T. Liv. x. 28, 29.). Procopius ascribes to Camillus the victory of the *Busta Gallorum*; and his error is branded by Cluverius with the national reproach of *Græcorum nugamenta*.

³⁷ Theophanes, Chron. p. 193. Hist. Miscell. l. xvi. p. 108.

³⁸ Evagrius, l. iv. c. 24. The inspiration of the Virgin revealed to Narfes the day, and the word, of battle (Paul Diacon. l. ii. c. 3. p. 776.).

³⁹ *Ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλευσούσης τοῦ πεμπτοῦ ἔαλω.* In the year 536 by Belisarius, in 546 by Totila, in 547 by Belisarius, in 549 by Totila, and in 552 by Narfes. Maltretus had inadvertently translated *sextum*; a mistake which he afterwards retracts: but the mischief was done; and Cousin, with a train of French and Latin readers, have fallen into the snare.

⁴⁰ Compare two passages of Procopius (l. iii. c. 26. l. iv. c. 24.), which, with some collateral hints from Marcellinus and Jornandes, illustrate the state of the expiring senate.

⁴¹ See, in the example of Prusias, as it is delivered in the fragments of Polybius (Excerpt. Legat. xcvi. p. 927, 928.), a curious picture of a royal slave.

⁴² The *Δρακων* of Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 35.) is evidently the Sarnus. The text is accused or altered by the rash violence of Cluverius (l. iv. c. 3. p. 1156.): but Camillo Pellegrini of Naples (Discorsi sopra la Campania Felice, p. 330, 331.) has proved from old records, that as early as the year 822 that river was called the Dracontio, or Draconcello.

⁴³ Galen (de Method. Medendi, l. v. apud Cluver. l. iv. c. 3. p. 1159, 1160.) describes the lofty site, pure air, and rich milk, of mount Lactarius, whose medicinal benefits were equally known and sought in the time of Symmachus (l. vi. epist. 18.) and Cassiodorus (Var. xi. 10.). Nothing is now left except the name of the town of *Lettere*.

⁴⁴ Buat (tom. xi. p. 2, etc.) conveys to his favourite Bavaria this remnant of Goths, who by others are buried in the mountains of Uri, or restored to their native isle of Gothland (Mascou, Annot. xxi.)

⁴⁵ I leave Scaliger (Animadvers. in Euseb. p. 59.) and Salmasius (Exercitatio Plinian. p. 51, 52.) to quarrel about the origin of Cumæ, the oldest of the Greek colonies in Italy (Strab. l. v. p. 372. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 4.), already vacant in Juvenal's time (Satir. iii.), and now in ruins.

⁴⁶ Agathias (l. i. c. 21.) settles the Sibyll's cave under the wall of Cumæ: he agrees with Servius (ad l. vi. Æneid.): nor can I perceive why their opinion should be rejected by Heyne, the excellent editor of Virgil (tom. ii. p. 650, 651.). In urbe mediâ secreta religio! But Cumæ was not yet built; and the lines (l. vi. 96, 97.) would become ridiculous, if Æneas were actually in a Greek city.

⁴⁷ There is some difficulty in connecting the 35th chapter of the ivth

book of the Gothic War of Procopius with the first book of the history of Agathias. We must now relinquish a statesman and foldier, to attend the footsteps of a poet and rhetorician (l. i. p. 11. l. ii. p. 51. edit. Louvre).

⁴⁸ Among the fabulous exploits of Buccelin, he discomfited and slew Belisarius, subdued Italy and *Sicily*, etc. See, in the Historians of France, Gregory of Tours (tom. ii. l. iii. c. 32. p. 203.); and Aimoin (tom. iii. l. ii. de Gestis Francorum, c. 23. p. 59.)

⁴⁹ Agathias notices their superstition in a philosophic tone (l. i. p. 18.). At Zug, in Switzerland, idolatry still prevailed in the year 613: St. Columban and St. Gall were the apostles of that rude country; and the latter founded an hermitage, which has swelled into an ecclesiastical principality and a populous city, the seat of freedom and commerce.

⁵⁰ See the death of Lothaire in Agathias (l. ii. p. 38.) and Paul Warnefrid, surnamed Diaconus (l. ii. c. 3. p. 775.). The Greek makes him rave and tear his flesh. He had plundered churches.

⁵¹ Père Daniel (Hist. de la Milice Française, tom. i. p. 17—21.) has exhibited a fanciful representation of this battle, somewhat in the manner of the Chevalier Folard, the once famous editor of Polybius, who fashioned to his own habits and opinions all the military operations of antiquity.

⁵² Agathias (l. ii. p. 47.) has produced a Greek epigram of six lines on this victory of Narfes, which is favourably compared to the battles of Marathon and Plataea. The chief difference is indeed in their consequences—so trivial in the former instance—so permanent and glorious in the latter.

⁵³ The Beroia and Brincas of Theophanes or his transcriber (p. 201.) must be read or understood Verona and Brixia.

⁵⁴ ΕΛΙΠΕΤΟ γὰρ, οἰμαι, αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ ἀβελτηρίας τὰς ἀσπίδας, τυχὸν καὶ τὰ κράνη ἀμφοτέρωθεν οὐκ ἐκ βαρβιτῆς ἀπιδόσθαι (Agathias, l. ii. p. 48.). In the first scene of Richard III. our English poet has beautifully enlarged on this idea; for which, however, he was not indebted to the Byzantine historian.

⁵⁵ Maffei has proved (Verona illustrata, P. i. l. x. p. 257. 289.), against the common opinion, that the dukes of Italy were instituted before the conquest of the Lombards by Narfes himself. In the Pragmatic Sanction (Nº 23.); Justinian restrains the judices militares.

⁵⁶ See Paulus Diaconus, l. iii. c. 2. p. 776. Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 133.) mentions some risings in Italy by the Franks, and Theophanes (p. 201.) hints at some Gothic rebellions.

⁵⁷ The Pragmatic Sanction of Justinian, which restores and regulates the

the civil state of Italy, consists of xxvii articles: it is dated August 15, A. D. 554; is addressed to Narfes, V. J. Præpositus Sacri Cubiculi, and to Antiochus, Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ; and has been preserved by Julian Antecessor, and in the Corpus Juris Civilis, after the novels and edicts of Justinian, Justin, and Tiberius.

⁵⁸ A still greater number was consumed by famine in the southern provinces, without (εἰτος) the Ionian gulph. Acorns were used in the place of bread. Procopius had seen a deserted orphan suckled by a she-goat. Seventeen passengers were lodged, murdered, and eaten, by two women, who were detected and slain by the eighteenth, etc.

⁵⁹ Quinta regio Picenî est; quondam uberrimæ multitudinis, cccix millia Picentium in fidem P. R. venere (Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 18.). In the time of Vespasian, this ancient population was already diminished.

⁶⁰ Perhaps fifteen or sixteen millions. Procopius (Anecd. c. 18.) computes that Africa lost five millions, that Italy was thrice as extensive, and that the depopulation was in a larger proportion. But his reckoning is inflamed by passion, and clouded with uncertainty.

⁶¹ In the decay of these military schools, the satire of Procopius (Anecd. c. 24. Aleman. p. 102, 103.) is confirmed and illustrated by Agathias (l. v. p. 159.), who cannot be rejected as an hostile witness.

⁶² The distance from Constantinople to Melanthias, Villa Cæsariana (Ammian. Marcellin. xxx. 11.), is variously fixed at 102 or 140 stadia (Suidas, tom. ii. p. 522, 523. Agathias, l. v. p. 158.), or xviii or xix miles (Itineraria, p. 138. 230. 323. 332. and Wesseling's Observations). The first xii miles, as far as Rhegium, were paved by Justinian, who built a bridge over a morass or gullet between a lake and the sea (Procop. de Edif. l. iv. c. 8.).

⁶³ The Atyras (Pompon. Mela, l. ii. c. 2. p. 169. edit. Voss.). At the river's mouth, a town or castle of the same name was fortified by Justinian (Procop. de Edif. l. iv. c. 2. Itinerar. p. 570. and Wesseling).

⁶⁴ The Bulgarian war, and the last victory of Belisarius, are imperfectly represented in the prolix declamation of Agathias (l. 5. p. 154—174.) and the dry Chronicle of Theophanes (p. 197, 198.).

⁶⁵ Ινδοί. They could scarcely be real Indians; and the Æthiopians, sometimes known by that name, were never used by the ancients as guards or followers: they were the trifling, though costly, objects of female and royal luxury (Terent. Eunuch. act i. scene ii. Sueton. in August. c. 83. with a good note of Casaubon, in Caligulâ, c. 57.).

⁶⁶ The Sergius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 21, 22. Anecd. c. 5.) and Marcellus (Goth. l. iii. c. 32.) are mentioned by Procopius. See Theophanes, p. 197. 201.

⁶⁷ Alemannus (p. 3.) quotes an old Byzantine MS. which has been printed in the *Imperium Orientale* of Banduri.

⁶⁸ Of the disgrace and restoration of Belisarius, the genuine original record is preserved in the fragment of John Malala (tom. ii. p. 234—243.) and the exact Chronicle of Theophanes (p. 194—204.). Cedrenus (Compend. p. 387, 388.) and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 69.) seem to hesitate between the obsolete truth and the growing falsehood.

⁶⁹ The source of this idle fable may be derived from a miscellaneous work of the xiith century, the *Chiliads* of John Tzetzes, a monk (Basil. 1546. ad calcem Lycophront. Colon. Allobrog. 1614. in Corp. Poet. Græc.). He relates the blindness and beggary of Belisarius in ten vulgar or *political* verses (Chiliad. iii. N° 88. 339—348. in Corp. Poet. Græc. tom. ii. p. 311.).

Εκπωμα ξυλινον κρατων εβοα τω μιλιω
 Βελισαριω οβολον δοτε τω στρατηλατη,
 'Ον τυχη μεν εδοξασεν, αποτυφλοι δ' ο φθονος.

This moral or romantic tale was imported into Italy with the language and manuscripts of Greece; repeated before the end of the xvth century by Crinitus, Pontanus, and Volaterranus; attacked by Alciat, for the honour of the law; and defended by Baronius (A. D. 561. N° 2, etc.), for the honour of the church. Yet Tzetzes himself had read in *other* chronicles, that Belisarius did not lose his fight, and that he recovered his fame and fortunes.

⁷⁰ The statue in the villa Borghese at Rome, in a sitting posture, with an open hand, which is vulgarly given to Belisarius, may be ascribed with more dignity to Augustus in the act of propitiating Nemesis (Winkelman, *Hist. de l'Art*, tom. iii. p. 266.). *Ex nocturno visu etiam stipem, quotannis, die certo, emendicabat a populo, cavam manum assēs porrigentibus præbens* (Sueton. in August. c. 91. with an excellent note of Casaubon).

⁷¹ The *rubor* of Domitian is stigmatized, quaintly enough, by the pen of Tacitus (in Vit. Agric. c. 45.); and has been likewise noticed by the younger Pliny (Panegy. c. 48.) and Suetonius (in Domitian, c. 18. and Casaubon ad locum). Procopius (Anecd. c. 8.) foolishly believes that only *one* bust of Domitian had reached the viith century.

⁷² The studies and science of Justinian are attested by the confession (Anecd. c. 8. 13.), still more than by the praises (Gothic. l. iii. c. 31. de Edific. l. i. Proem. c. 7.), of Procopius. Consult the copious index of Alemannus, and read the life of Justinian by Ludewig (p. 135—142.).

⁷³ See in the C. P. Christiana of Ducange (l. i. c. 24. N° 1.), a

chain of original testimonies, from Procopius in the viith, to Gyllius in the xvith, century.

⁷⁴ The first comet is mentioned by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 190. 219.) and Theophanes (p. 154.); the second by Procopius (Perfic. l. ii. c. 4.). Yet I strongly suspect their identity. The paleness of the sun (Vandal. l. ii. c. 14.) is applied by Theophanes (p. 158.) to a different year.

⁷⁵ Seneca's viith book of Natural Questions displays, in the theory of comets, a philosophic mind. Yet should we not too candidly confound a vague prediction, a *veniet tempus*, etc. with the merit of real discoveries.

⁷⁶ Astronomers may study Newton and Halley. I draw my humble science from the article COMETE, in the French Encyclopédie by M. d'Alembert.

⁷⁷ Whiston, the honest, pious, visionary Whiston, had fancied, for the æra of Noah's flood (2242 years before Christ), a prior apparition of the same comet which drowned the earth with its tail.

⁷⁸ A Dissertation of Freret (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 357—377.) affords an happy union of philosophy and erudition. The phenomenon in the time of Ogyges was preserved by Varro (apud Augustin. de Civitate Dei, xxi. 8.), who quotes Castor, Dion of Naples, and Adrastus of Cyzicus—nobiles mathematici. The two subsequent periods are preserved by the Greek mythologists and the spurious books of Sibylline verses.

⁷⁹ Pliny (Hist. Nat. ii. 23.) has transcribed the original memorial of Augustus. Mairan, in his most ingenious letters to the P. Parennin, missionary in China, removes the games and the comet of September, from the year 44 to the year 43, before the Christian æra; but I am not totally subdued by the criticism of the astronomer (Opuscules, p. 275—351.).

⁸⁰ This last comet was visible in the month of December 1680. Bayle, who begun his *Penfées sur la Comète* in January 1681 (Oeuvres, tom. iii.), was forced to argue that a *supernatural* comet would have confirmed the ancients in their idolatry. Bernoulli (see his *Eloge*, in Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 99.) was forced to allow that the tail, though not the head, was a *sign* of the wrath of God.

⁸¹ Paradise Lost was published in the year 1667; and the famous lines (l. ii. 708, etc.), which startled the licenser, may allude to the recent comet of 1664, observed by Cassini at Rome in the presence of queen Christina (Fontenelle, in his *Eloge*, tom. v. p. 338.). Had Charles II. betrayed any symptoms of curiosity or fear?

⁸² For the cause of earthquakes, see Buffon (tom. i. p. 502—536.

Supplément à l'Hist. Naturelle, tom. v. p. 382—390. edition in 4to), Valmont de Bomare (Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, *Tremblemens de Terre, Pyrites*), Watfon (Chemical Essays, tom. i. p. 181—209.).

⁸³ The earthquakes that shook the Roman world in the reign of Justinian, are described or mentioned by Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 25. Anecd. c. 18.), Agathias (l. ii. p. 52, 53, 54. l. v. p. 145—152.), John Malala (Chron. tom. ii. p. 140—146. 176, 177. 183. 193. 220. 229. 231. 233, 234.), and Theophanes (p. 151. 183. 189. 191—196.).

⁸⁴ An abrupt height, a perpendicular cape, between Aradus and Botrys, named by the Greeks *Θειοπροσωπον*, and *ευπροσωπον* or *λιθοπροσωπον* by the scrupulous Christians (Polyb. l. v. p. 411. Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 12. p. 87. cum Isaac Voss. Observat. Maundrell, Journey, p. 32, 33. Pocock's Description, vol. ii. p. 99.).

⁸⁵ Botrys was founded (ann. ante Christ. 935—903.) by Ithobal, king of Tyre (Marsham, Canon Chron. p. 387, 388.). Its poor representative, the village of Patrone, is now destitute of an harbour.

⁸⁶ The university, splendour, and ruin of Berytus, are celebrated by Heineccius (p. 351—356.) as an essential part of the history of the Roman law. It was overthrown in the xxvth year of Justinian, A. D. 551, July 9. (Theophanes, p. 192.): but Agathias (l. ii. p. 51, 52.) suspends the earthquake till he has atchieved the Italian war.

⁸⁷ I have read with pleasure Mead's short but elegant treatise concerning Pestilential Disorders, the viiith edition, London, 1722.

⁸⁸ The great plague which raged in 542 and the following years (Pagi, Critica, tom. ii. p. 518.), must be traced in Procopius (Persic. l. ii. c. 22, 23.), Agathias (l. v. p. 153, 154.), Evagrius (l. iv. c. 29.), Paul Diaconus (l. ii. c. 4. p. 776, 777.), Gregory of Tours (tom. ii. l. iv. c. 5. p. 205.), who styles it *Lues Inguinaria*, and the Chronicles of Victor Tunnunensis (p. 9. in Thesaur. Temporum), of Marcellinus (p. 54.) and of Theophanes (p. 153.).

⁸⁹ Dr. Freind (Hist. Medicin. in Opp. p. 416—420. Lond. 1733.) is satisfied that Procopius must have studied physic from his knowledge and use of the technical words. Yet many words that are now scientific, were common and popular in the Greek idiom.

⁹⁰ See Thucydides, l. ii. c. 47—54. p. 127—133. edit. Duker, and the poetical description of the same plague by Lucretius (l. vi. 1136—1284.). I was indebted to Dr. Hunter for an elaborate commentary on this part of Thucydides, a quarto of 600 pages (Venet. 1603, apud Juntas), which was pronounced in St. Mark's library by Fabius Paullinus Utinensis, a physician and philosopher.

⁹¹ Thucydides (c. 51.) affirms that the infection could only be once taken; but Evagrius, who had family experience of the plague,

observes, that some persons who had escaped the first, sunk under the second attack; and this repetition is confirmed by Fabius Paullinus (p. 588.). I observe, that on this head physicians are divided; and the nature and operation of the disease may not always be similar.

⁹² It was thus that Socrates had been saved by his temperance in the plague of Athens (Aul. Gellius, Noct. Attic. ii. 1.) Dr. Mead accounts for the peculiar salubrity of religious houses, by the two advantages of seclusion and abstinence (p. 18, 19.).

⁹³ Mead proves that the plague is contagious, from Thucydides, Lucretius, Aristotle, Galen, and common experience (p. 10—20.); and he refutes (Preface, p. ii—xiii.) the contrary opinion of the French physicians who visited Marseilles in the year 1720. Yet these were the recent and enlightened spectators of a plague which, in a few months, swept away 50,000 inhabitants (sur la Peste de Marseille, Paris 1786.) of a city that, in the present hour of prosperity and trade, contains no more than 90,000 souls (Necker, sur les Finances, tom. i. p. 231.).

⁹⁴ The strong assertions of Procopius—*στε γὰρ ἰατρῶ στε ἰδιωτῶ*—are overthrown by the subsequent experience of Evagrius.

⁹⁵ After some figures of rhetoric, the sands of the sea, etc. Procopius (Anecd. c. 18.) attempts a more definite account: that *μυριάδας μυριάδων μυριάς* had been exterminated under the reign of the Imperial daemon. The expression is obscure in grammar and arithmetic; and a literal interpretation would produce several millions of millions. Alemanus (p. 80.) and Cousin (tom. iii. p. 178.) translate this passage “two hundred millions;” but I am ignorant of their motives. If we drop the *μυριάδας*, the remaining *μυριάδων μυριάς*, a myriad of myriads, would furnish one hundred millions, a number not wholly inadmissible.

NOTES

TO THE

EIGHTH VOLUME.

CHAP. XLIV.

¹ THE civilians of the darker ages have established an absurd and incomprehensible mode of quotation, which is supported by authority and custom. In their references to the Code, the Pandects, and the Institutes, they mention the number, not of the *book*, but only of the *law*; and content themselves with reciting the first words of the *title* to which it belongs; and of these titles there are more than a thousand. Ludewig (Vit. Justiniani, p. 268.) wishes to shake off this pedantic yoke; and I have dared to adopt the simple and rational method of numbering the book, the title, and the law.

² Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and Scotland, have received them as common law or reason; in France, Italy, etc. they possess a direct or indirect influence; and they were respected in England, from Stephen to Edward I. our national Justinian (Duk. de Usû et Auctoritate Juris Civilis, l. ii. c. i. 8—15. Heineccius, Hist. Juris Germanici, c. 3, 4. N° 55—124. and the legal historians of each country).

³ Francis Hottoman, a learned and acute lawyer of the xvth century, wished to mortify Cujacius and to please the Chancellor de l'Hôpital. His Anti-Tribonianus (which I have never been able to procure) was published in French in 1609; and his sect was propagated in Germany (Heineccius, Opp. tom. iii. sylloge iii. p. 171—183.).

⁴ At the head of these guides, I shall respectfully place the learned and perspicuous Heineccius, a German professor, who died at Halle in the year 1741 (see his Eloge in the Nouvelle Bibliothèque Germanique, tom. ii. p. 51—64.). His ample works have been collected in eight volumes in 4to, Geneva, 1743—1748. The treatises which I have separately used are. 1. Historia Juris Romani et Germanici, Lugd. Batav. 1740, in 8°. 2. Syntagma Antiquitatum Romanam Jurisprudentiam illustrantium, 2 vols. in 8°, Traject. ad Rhenum. 3. Elementa Juris Civilis secundum Ordinem Institutionum, Lugd. Bat. 1751, in 8°. 4. Elementa J. C. secundum Ordinem Pandectarum, Traject. 1772, in 8°, 2 vols.

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⁵ Our original text is a fragment de Origine Juris (Pandect. l. i. tit. ii.), of Pomponius, a Roman lawyer, who lived under the Antonines (Heinecc. tom. iii. syll. iii. p. 66—126.). It has been abridged, and probably corrupted, by Tribonian, and since restored by Bynkershoek (Opp. tom. i. p. 279—304.).

⁶ The constitutional history of the kings of Rome may be studied in the first book of Livy, and more copiously in Dionysius Halicarnassensis (l. ii. p. 80—96. 119—130. l. iv. p. 198—220.), who sometimes betrays the character of a rhetorician and a Greek.

⁷ This threefold division of the law was applied to the three Roman kings by Justus Lipsius (Opp. tom. iv. p. 279.); is adopted by Gravina (Origines Juris Civilis, p. 28. edit. Lips. 1737); and is reluctantly admitted by Mascou, his German editor.

⁸ The most ancient Code or Digest was styled *Jus Papirianum*, from the first compiler, Papirius, who flourished somewhat before or after the *Regifugium* (Pandect. l. i. tit. ii.). The best judicial critics, even Bynkershoek (tom. i. p. 284, 285.) and Heineccius (Hist. J. C. R. l. i. c. 16, 17. and Opp. tom. iii. sylloge iv. p. 1—8.), give credit to this tale of Pomponius, without sufficiently adverting to the value and rarity of such a monument of the third century, of the *illiterate* city. I much suspect that the Caius Papirius, the Pontifex Maximus, who revived the laws of Numa (Dionys. Hal. l. iii. p. 171.), left only an oral tradition; and that the *Jus Papirianum* of Granius Flaccus (Pandect. l. l. tit. xvi. leg. 144.) was not a commentary, but an original work, compiled in the time of Cæsar (Censorin. de Die Natali, l. iii. p. 13. Duker de Latinitate J. C. p. 157.).

⁹ A pompous, though feeble, attempt to restore the original, is made in the *Histoire de la Jurisprudence Romaine* of Terrasson, p. 22—72. Paris, 1750, in folio; a work of more promise than performance.

¹⁰ In the year 1444, seven or eight tables of brass were dug up between Cortona and Gubio. A part of these, for the rest is Etruscan, represents the primitive state of the Pelasgic letters and language, which are ascribed by Herodotus to that district of Italy (l. i. c. 56, 57, 58.); though this difficult passage may be explained of a Crestona in Thrace (Notes de Larcher, tom. i. p. 256—261.). The savage dialect of the Eugubine tables has exercised, and may still elude, the divination of criticism; but the root is undoubtedly Latin, of the same age and character as the *Saliare Carmen*, which, in the time of Horace, none could understand. The Roman idiom, by an infusion of Doric and Æolic Greek, was gradually ripened into the style of the xii tables, of the Duillian column, of Ennius, of Terence, and of

Cicero (Gruter. Inscript. tom. i. p. cxlii. Scipion Maffei, *Historia Diplomatica*, p. 241—258. Bibliothèque Italique, tom. iii. p. 30—41. 174—205. tom. xiv. p. 1—52.).

¹¹ Compare Livy (l. iii. c. 31—59.) with Dionysius Halicarnassensis (l. x. p. 644—xi. p. 691.). How concise and animated is the Roman—how prolix and lifeless the Greek? Yet he has admirably judged the masters, and defined the rules, of historical composition.

¹² From the historians, Heineccius (Hist. J. R. l. i. N° 26.) maintains that the twelve tables were of brass—*æreas*: in the text of Pomponius we read *eboreas*; for which Scaliger has substituted *roboreas* (Bynkershoek, p. 286.). Wood, brass, and ivory, might be successively employed.

¹³ His exile is mentioned by Cicero (Tusculan. Quæstion. v. 36.); his statue by Pliny (Hist. Nat. xxxiv. 11.). The letter, dream, and prophecy of Heraclitus are alike spurious (Epistolæ Græc. Diversæ. p. 337.).

¹⁴ This intricate subject of the Sicilian and Roman money, is ably discussed by Dr. Bentley (Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, p. 427—479), whose powers in this controversy were called forth by honour and resentment.

¹⁵ The Romans, or their allies, sailed as far as the fair promontory of Africa (Polyb. l. iii. p. 177. edit. Casaubon, in folio). Their voyages to Cumæ, etc. are noticed by Livy and Dionysius.

¹⁶ This circumstance would alone prove the antiquity of Charondas, the legislator of Rhegium and Catana, who, by a strange error of Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. xii. p. 485—492.), is celebrated long afterwards as the author of the policy of Thurium.

¹⁷ Zaleucus, whose existence has been rashly attacked, had the merit and glory of converting a band of outlaws (the Locrians) into the most virtuous and orderly of the Greek republics (See two Memoirs of the Baron de St. Croix, sur la Legislation de la Grande Grèce; Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xlii. p. 276—333.). But the laws of Zaleucus and Charondas, which imposed on Diodorus and Stobæus, are the spurious composition of a Pythagorean sophist, whose fraud has been detected by the critical sagacity of Bentley (p. 335—377.).

¹⁸ I seize the opportunity of tracing the progress of this national intercourse: 1. Herodotus and Thucydides (A. U. C. 300—350.) appear ignorant of the name and existence of Rome (Joseph. contra Apion. tom. ii. l. i. c. 12. p. 444. edit. Havercamp). 2. Theopompus (A. U. C. 400. Plin. iii. 9.) mentions the invasion of the Gauls, which is noticed in looser terms by Heraclides Ponticus (Plutarch in Camillo, p. 292. edit. H. Stephan). 3. The real or fabulous embassy

of the Romans to Alexander (A. U. C. 430), is attested by Clitarchus (Plin. iii. 9.), by Aristus and Asclepiades (Arrian, l. vii. p. 294, 295.), and by Memnon of Heraclea (apud Photium, cod. ccxxiv. p. 725.); tacitly denied by Livy. 4. Theophrastus (A. U. C. 440) primus externorum aliqua de Romanis diligentius scripsit (Plin. iii. 9.). 5. Lycophron (A. U. C. 480—500.) scattered the first seed of a Trojan colony and the fable of the Æneid (Cassandra, 1226—1280.):

Της και θαλασσης σκηπτρα και μοναρχιαν
Λαβοντες.

A bold prediction before the end of the first Punic war!

¹⁹ The tenth table, de modo sepulturæ, was borrowed from Solon (Cicero de Legibus, ii. 23—26.): the furtum per lancem et licium conceptum, is derived by Heineccius from the manners of Athens (Antiquitat. Rom. tom. ii. p. 167—175.). The right of killing a nocturnal thief, was declared by Moses, Solon, and the Decemvirs (Exodus, xxii. 3.). Demosthenes contra Timocratem, tom. i. p. 736. edit. Reiske. Macrob. Saturnalia, l. i. c. 4. Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum, tit. vii. N° 1. p. 218. edit. Cannegieter).

²⁰ Βραχέως και απεριττως is the praise of Diodorus (tom. i. l. xii. p. 494.), which may be fairly translated by the *eleganti atque absolute brevitæ verborum* of Aulus Gellius (Noct. Attic. xxi. 1.).

²¹ Listen to Cicero (de Legibus, ii. 23.) and his representative Crassus (de Oratore, i. 43, 44.).

²² See Heineccius (Hist. J. R. N° 29—33.). I have followed the restoration of the xii. tables by Gravina (Origines J. C. p. 280—307.) and Teraillon (Hist. de la Jurisprudence Romaine, p. 94—205.).

²³ Finis æqui juris (Tacit. Annal. iii. 27.). Fons omnis publici et privati juris (T. Liv. iii. 34.).

²⁴ De principiis juris, et quibus modis ad hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem legum perventum sit *altius* differam (Tacit. Annal. iii. 25.). This deep disquisition fills only two pages; but they are the pages of Tacitus. With equal sense, but with less energy, Livy (iii. 34.) had complained, in hac immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo, etc.

²⁵ Suetonius in Vespasiano, c. 8.

²⁶ Cicero ad Familiares, viii. 8.

²⁷ Dionysius, with Arbuthnot, and most of the moderns (except Eifenschmidt de Ponderibus, etc. p. 137—140.), represent the 100,000 *asses* by 10,000 Attic drachmæ, or somewhat more than 300 pounds sterling. But their calculation can apply only to the later times, when the *as* was diminished to $\frac{1}{24}$ th of its ancient weight: nor can I believe that in the first ages, however destitute of the precious metals, a

single ounce of silver could have been exchanged for seventy pounds of copper or brass. A more simple and rational method is, to value the copper itself according to the present rate, and, after comparing the mint and the market price, the Roman and averdupois weight, the primitive *as* or Roman pound of copper may be appreciated at one English shilling, and the 100,000 *asses* of the first class amounted to 5000 pounds sterling. It will appear from the same reckoning, that an ox was sold at Rome for five pounds, a sheep for ten shillings, and a quarter of wheat for one pound ten shillings (Festus, p. 330. edit. Dacier. Plin. Hist. Natur. xviii. 4.): nor do I see any reason to reject these consequences, which moderate our ideas of the poverty of the first Romans.

²⁸ Consult the common writers on the Roman Comitia, especially Sigonius and Beaufort. Spanheim (de Præstantiâ et Usû Numismatum, tom. ii. dissert. x. p. 192, 193.) shews, on a curious medal, the Cista, Pontes, Septa, Diribitor. etc.

²⁹ Cicero (de Legibus, iii. 16, 17, 18.) debates this constitutional question, and assigns to his brother Quintus the most unpopular side.

³⁰ Præ tumultu recusantium perferre non potuit (Sueton. in August. c. 34.). See Propertius (l. ii. eleg. 6.). Heineccius, in a separate history, has exhausted the whole subject of the Julian and Papian-Poppæan laws (Opp. tom. vii. P. i. p. 1—479.).

³¹ Tacit. Annal. i. 15. Lipsius, Excursus E. in Tacitum.

³² Non ambigitur senatum jus facere posse, is the decision of Ulpian (l. xvi. ad Edict. in Pandect. l. i. tit. iii. leg. 9.). Pomponius taxes the *comitia* of the people as a *turba hominum* (Pandect. l. i. tit. ii. leg. 9.).

³³ The *jus honorarium* of the prætors and other magistrates, is strictly defined in the Latin text of the Institutes (l. i. tit. ii. No 7.), and more loosely explained in the Greek paraphrase of Theophilus (p. 33—38. edit. Reitz), who drops the important word *honorarium*.

³⁴ Dion Cassius (tom. i. l. xxxvi. p. 100.) fixes the perpetual edicts in the year of Rome 686. Their institution, however, is ascribed to the year 585 in the Acta Diurna, which have been published from the papers of Ludovicus Vives. Their authenticity is supported or allowed by Pighius (Annal. Roman. tom. ii. p. 377, 378.), Grævius (ad Sueton. p. 778.), Dodwell (Prælection. Cambden, p. 665.), and Heineccius: but a single word, *Scutum cimbricum*, detects the forgery (Moyle's Works, vol. i. p. 303.).

³⁵ The history of edicts is composed, and the text of the perpetual edict is restored, by the master-hand of Heineccius (Opp. tom. vii. P. ii. p. 1—564.); in whose researches I might safely acquiesce.

In the Academy of Inscriptions, M. Bouchaud has given a series of memoirs to this interesting subject of law and literature.

³⁶ His laws are the first in the Code. See Dodwell (Prælect. Cambden. p. 319—340.), who wanders from the subject in confused reading and feeble paradox.

³⁷ Totam illam veterem et squalentem sylvam legum novis principum rescriptorum et edictorum securibus ruscatis et cæditis (Apologet. c. 4. p. 50. edit. Havercamp). He proceeds to praise the recent firmness of Severus, who repealed the useless or pernicious laws without any regard to their age or authority.

³⁸ The constitutional style of *Legibus Solutus* is misinterpreted by the art or ignorance of Dion Cassius (tom. i. l. liii. p. 713.). On this occasion his editor, Reimar, joins the universal censure which freedom and criticism have pronounced against that slavish historian.

³⁹ The word (*Lex Regia*) was still more recent than the *thing*. The slaves of Commodus or Caracalla would have started at the name of royalty.

⁴⁰ See Gravina (Opp. p. 501—512.) and Beaufort (République Romaine, tom. i. p. 255—274.). He has made a proper use of two dissertations by John Frederick Gronovius and Noodt, both translated, with valuable notes, by Barbeyrac, 2 vols. in 12mo, 1731.

⁴¹ Institut. l. i. tit. ii. N° 6. Pandect. l. i. tit. iv. leg. 1. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. xvii. leg. 1. N° 7. In his Antiquities and Elements, Heineccius has amply treated de constitutionibus principum, which are illustrated by Godefroy (Comment. ad Cod. Theodos. l. i. tit. i, ii, iii.) and Gravina (p. 87—90.).

⁴² Theophilus, in Paraphras. Græc. Institut. p. 33, 34. edit. Reitz. For his person, time, writings, see the Theophilus of J. H. Mylius, Excurs. iii. p. 1034—1073.

⁴³ There is more envy than reason in the complaint of Macrinus (Jul. Capitolin. c. 13.): Nefas esse leges videri Commodi et Caracallæ et hominum imperitorum voluntates. Commodus was made a Divus by Severus (Dodwell, Prælect. viii. p. 324, 325.). Yet he occurs only twice in the Pandects.

⁴⁴ Of Antoninus Caracalla alone 200 constitutions are extant in the Code, and with his father 160. These two princes are quoted fifty times in the Pandects and eight in the Institutes (Teraillon, p. 265.).

⁴⁵ Plin. Secund. Epistol. x. 66. Sueton. in Domitian. c. 23.

⁴⁶ It was a maxim of Constantine, contra jus rescripta non valeant (Cod. Theodos. l. i. tit. ii. leg. 1.). The emperors reluctantly allow some scrutiny into the law and the fact, some delay, petition, etc.; but these insufficient remedies are too much in the discretion and at the peril of the judge.

⁴⁷ A compound of vermillion and cinnabar, which marks the Imperial diplomas from Leo I. (A. D. 470) to the fall of the Greek empire (Bibliothèque Raisonnée de la Diplomatie, tom. i. p. 509—514. Lami, de Eruditione Apostolorum, tom. ii. p. 720—726.).

⁴⁸ Schulting, Jurisprudentia Ante-Justiniana, p. 681—718. Cujacius assigned to Gregory the reigns from Hadrian to Gallienus, and the continuation to his fellow-labourer Hermogenes. This general division may be just; but they often trespassed on each other's ground.

⁴⁹ Scævola, most probably Q. Cervidius Scævola the master of Papinian, considers this acceptance of fire and water as the essence of marriage (Pandect. l. xxiv. tit. i. leg. 66. See Heineccius, Hist. J. R. N° 317.)

⁵⁰ Cicero (de Officiis, iii. 19.) may state an ideal case, but St. Ambrose (de Officiis, iii. 2.) appeals to the practice of his own times, which he understood as a lawyer and a magistrate (Schulting ad Ulpian. Fragment. tit. xxii. N° 28. p. 643, 644.).

⁵¹ The furtum lance licioque conceptum was no longer understood in the time of the Antonines (Aulus Gellius, xvi. 10.). The Attic derivation of Heineccius (Antiquit. Rom. l. iv. tit. i. No 13—21.) is supported by the evidence of Aristophanes, his scholiast, and Pollux.

⁵² In his Oration for Murena (c. 9—13.) Cicero turns into ridicule the forms and mysteries of the civilians, which are represented with more candour by Aulus Gellius (Noct. Attic. xx. 10.), Gravina (Opp. p. 265, 266, 267.) and Heineccius (Antiquitat. l. iv. tit. vi.).

⁵³ The series of the civil lawyers is deduced by Pomponius (de Origine Juris Pandect. l. i. tit. ii.). The moderns have discussed, with learning and criticism, this branch of literary history; and among these I have chiefly been guided by Gravina (p. 41—79.) and Heineccius (Hist. J. R. N° 113—351.). Cicero more especially in his books de Oratore de Claris Oratoribus, de Legibus, and the Clavis Ciceroniana of Ernesti (under the names of *Mucius*, etc.), afford much genuine and pleasing information. Horace often alludes to the morning labours of the civilians (Serm. l. i. 10. Epist. II. i. 103, etc.).

Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus

Sub galli cantum, consultor ubi ostia pulsat,

- - - - -

Romæ dulce diu fuit et solemne, reclusa

Mane domo vigilare, clienti promere jura.

⁵⁴ Crassus, or rather Cicero himself, proposes (de Oratore, l. i. 41, 42.) an idea of the art or science of jurisprudence, which the eloquent, but illiterate, Antonius (i. 58.) affects to deride. It was partly executed

by Servius Sulpicius (in Bruto, c. 41.), whose praises are elegantly varied in the classic Latinity of the Roman Gravina (p. 60.).

⁵⁵ *Peturbatricem autem omnium harum rerum academiam, hanc ab Arcefila et Carneade recentem, exoremus ut fileat, nam si invaserit in hæc, quæ satis scite instructa et composita videantur, nimis edet ruinas, quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo* (de Legibus, i. 13.). From this passage alone, Bentley (Remarks on Free-thinking, p. 250.) might have learned how firmly Cicero believed in the specious doctrines which he has adorned.

⁵⁶ The stoic philosophy was first taught at Rome by Panætius, the friend of the younger Scipio (see his life in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. p. 75—89.).

⁵⁷ As he is quoted by Ulpian (leg. 40. ad Sabinum in Pandect. l. xlvii. tit. ii. leg. 21.). Yet Trebatius, after he was a leading civilian, *qui familiam duxit*, became an epicurean (Cicero ad Fam. vii. 5.). Perhaps he was not constant or sincere in his new sect.

⁵⁸ See Gravina (p. 45—51.) and the ineffectual cavils of Mascou. Heineccius (Hist. J. R. N° 125.) quotes and approves a dissertation of Everard Otto, de *Stoicâ Jurisconsultorum Philosophiâ*.

⁵⁹ We have heard of the Catonian rule, the Aquilian stipulation, and the Manilian forms, of 211 maxims, and of 247 definitions (Pandect. l. L. tit. xvi, xvii.).

⁶⁰ Read Cicero, l. i. de Oratore, Topica, pro Murena.

⁶¹ See Pomponius (de Origine Juris Pandect. l. i. tit. ii. leg. 2. N° 47.), Heineccius (ad Institut l. i. tit. ii. N° 8. l. ii. tit. xxv. in Element. et Antiquitat.), and Gravina (p. 41—45.). Yet the monopoly of Augustus, an harsh measure, would appear with some softening in contemporary evidence; and it was probably veiled by a decree of the senate.

⁶² I have perused the Diatribe of Gotfridus Mascovius, the learned Mascou, de *Sectis Jurisconsultorum* (Lipsiæ, 1728, in 12mo, p. 276.), a learned treatise on a narrow and barren ground.

⁶³ See the character of Antistius Labeo in Tacitus (Annal. iii. 75.) and in an epistle of Ateius Capito (Aul. Gellius, xiii. 12.), who accuses his rival of *libertas nimia et vecors*. Yet Horace would not have lashed a virtuous and respectable senator; and I must adopt the emendation of Bentley, who reads *Labieno* *infanior* (Serm. l. iii. 82.). See Mascou, de *Sectis*, c. I. p. 1—24.).

⁶⁴ Justinian (Institut. l. iii. tit. xxiii. and Theophil. Verf. Græc. p. 677. 680.) has commemorated this weighty dispute, and the verses of Homer that were alleged on either side as legal authorities. It was decided by Paul (leg. 33. ad Edict. in Pandect. l. xviii. tit. i. leg. 1.),

since, in a simple exchange, the buyer could not be discriminated from the seller.

⁶⁵ This controversy was likewise given for the Proculians, to supersede the indecency of a search, and to comply with the aphorism of Hippocrates, who was attached to the septenary number of two weeks of years, or 700 of days (Institut. l. i. tit. xxii.). Plutarch and the Stoics (de Placit. Philosoph. l. v. c. 24.) assign a more natural reason. Fourteen years is the age—περὶ ἣν ὁ σπέρματικὸς κρινεται ὁρῶς. See the *vestigia* of the sects in Mascou, c. ix. p. 145—276.

⁶⁶ The series and conclusion of the sects are described by Mascou (c. ii—vii. p. 24—120.), and it would be almost ridiculous to praise his equal justice to these obsolete sects.

⁶⁷ At the first summons he flies to the turbot-council; yet Juvenal (Satir. iv. 75—81.) styles the præfect or *bailiff* of Rome sanctissimus legum interpres. From his science, says the old scholiast, he was called, not a man, but a book. He derived the singular name of Pegasus from the galley which his father commanded.

⁶⁸ Tacit. Annal. xvii. 7. Sueton. in Nerone, c. 37.

⁶⁹ Mascou, de Sectis, c. viii. p. 120—144. de Herisgundis, a legal term which was applied to these eclectic lawyers: *herciscere* is synonymous to dividere.

⁷⁰ See the Theodosian Code, l. i. tit. iv. with Godefroy's Commentary tom. i. p. 30—35.). This decree might give occasion to Jesuitical disputes like those in the Lettres Provinciales, whether a judge was obliged to follow the opinion of Papinian or of a majority, against his judgment, against his conscience, etc. Yet a legislator might give that opinion, however false, the validity not of truth, but of law.

⁷¹ For the legal labours of Justinian, I have studied the Preface to the Institutes; the 1st, 2d, and 3d Prefaces to the Pandects; the 1st and 2d Prefaces to the Code; and the Code itself (l. i. tit. xvii. de Veteri Jure enucleando). After these original testimonies, I have consulted, among the moderns, Heineccius (Hist. J. R. N° 383—404.), Teraillon (Hist. de la Jurisprudence Romaine, p. 295—356.), Gravina (Opp. p. 93—100.), and Ludewig, in his Life of Justinian (p. 19—123. 318—321.: for the Code and Novels, p. 209—261.; for the Digest or Pandects, p. 262—317.).

⁷² For the character of Tribonian, see the testimonies of Procopius (Perfic. l. i. c. 23, 24. Anecd. c. 13. 20.) and Suidas (tom. iii. p. 501. edit. Kuster). Ludewig (in Vit. Justinian. p. 175—209.) works hard, very hard, to white-wash—the black-a-moor.

⁷³ I apply the two passages of Suidas to the same man; every circumstance so exactly tallies. Yet the lawyers appear ignorant; and

Fabrieius is inclined to separate the two characters (Bibliot. Græc. tom. i. p. 341. ii. p. 518. iii. p. 418. xii. p. 346. 353. 474).

⁷⁴ This story is related by Hesychius (de Viris Illustribus), Procopius (Anecd. c. 13.), and Suidas (tom. iii. p. 501.). Such flattery is incredible?

—Nihil est quod credere de se

Non potest, cum laudatur Diis æqua potestas.

Fontenelle (tom. i. p. 32—39.) has ridiculed the impudence of the modest Virgil. But the false Fontenelle places his king above the divine Augustus; and the great Boileau has not blushed to say “Le destin à ses yeux n’oseroit braver.” Yet neither Augustus nor Louis XIV. were fools.

⁷⁵ Πανδέκται (general receivers) was a common title of the Greek miscellanies (Plin. Præfat. ad Hist. Natur.). The *digesta* of Scævola, Marcellinus, Celsus, were already familiar to the civilians: but Justinian was in the wrong when he used the two appellations as synonymous. Is the word *Pandects* Greek or Latin—masculine or feminine? The diligent Brenckman will not presume to decide these momentous controversies (Hist. Pandect. Florentin. p. 300—304.).

⁷⁶ Angelus Politianus (l. v. Epist. ult.) reckons thirty-seven (p. 192—200.) civilians quoted in the Pandects—a learned, and, for his times, an extraordinary list. The Greek Index to the Pandects enumerates thirty-nine; and forty are produced by the indefatigable Fabrieius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. iii. p. 488—502.). Antoninus Augustus (de Nominibus Propriis. Pandect. apud Ludewig, p. 283.) is said to have added fifty-four names; but they must be vague or second-hand references.

⁷⁷ The Στοιχοί of the ancient MSS. may be strictly defined as sentences or periods of a complete sense, which, on the breadth of the parchment rolls or volumes, composed as many lines of unequal length. The number of Στοιχοί in each book served as a check on the errors of the scribes (Ludewig, p. 211—215. and his original author Suicer. Thesaur. Ecclesiast. tom. i. p. 1021—1036.).

⁷⁸ An ingenious and learned oration of Schultingius (Jurisprudentia Ante-Justiniana, p. 883—907.) justifies the choice of Tribonian, against the passionate charges of Francis Hotoman and his sectaries.

⁷⁹ Strip away the crust of Tribonian, and allow for the use of technical words, and the Latin of the Pandects will be found not unworthy of the *silver* age. It has been vehemently attacked by Laurentius Valla, a fastidious grammarian of the xvth century, and by his apologist Floridus Sabinus. It has been defended by Alciat and a nameless advocate (most probably James Capellus). Their various treatises are

collected by Duker (*Opuscula de Latinitate veterum Jurisconsultorum*, Lugd. Bat. 1721, in 12mo).

⁸⁰ *Nomina quidem veteribus fervavimus, legum autem veritatem nostram fecimus. Itaque siquid erat in illis seditiosum, multa autem talia erant ibi reposita, hoc decisum est et definitum, et in perspicuum finem deducta est quæque lex* (Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. xvii. leg. 3. N^o 10.). A frank confession!

⁸¹ The number of these *emblemata* (a polite name for forgeries) is much reduced by Bynkershoek (in the iv. last books of his *Observations*), who poorly maintains the right of Justinian and the duty of Tribonian.

⁸² The *antinomies*, or opposite laws of the Code and Pandects, are sometimes the cause, and often the excuse, of the glorious uncertainty of the civil law, which so often affords what Montaigne calls “*Questions pour l’Ami.*” See a fine passage of Franciscus Balduinus in Justinian (l. ii. p. 259, etc. apud Ludewig, p. 305, 306.).

⁸³ When Fust, or Faustus, sold at Paris his first printed bibles as manuscripts, the price of a parchment copy was reduced from four or five hundred to sixty, fifty, and forty crowns. The public was at first pleased with the cheapness, and at length provoked by the discovery of the fraud (*Maittaire, Annal. Typograph. tom. i. p. 12. ; first edition*).

⁸⁴ This execrable practice prevailed from the viiith, and more especially from the xiith, century, when it became almost universal (*Montfaucon, in the Mémoires de l’Académie, tom. vi. p. 606, etc. Bibliothèque Raisonnée de la Diplomatie, tom. i. p. 176.*).

⁸⁵ Pomponius (*Pandect. l. i. tit. ii. leg. 2.*) observes, that of the three founders of the civil law, Mucius, Brutus, and Manilius, extant volumina, scripta Manilii monumenta; that of some old republican lawyers, hæc versantur eorum scripta inter manus hominum. Eight of the Augustan sages were reduced to a compendium: of Cæcellius, scripta non extant sed unus liber, etc.; of Trebatius, minus frequentantur; of Tubero, libri parum grati sunt. Many quotations in the Pandects are derived from books which Tribonian never saw; and, in the long period from the viiith to the xiiith century of Rome, the *apparent* reading of the moderns successively depends on the knowledge and veracity of their predecessors.

⁸⁶ *All*, in several instances, repeat the errors of the scribe and the transpositions of some leaves in the Florentine Pandects. This fact, if it be true, is decisive. Yet the Pandects are quoted by Ivo of Chartres (who died in 1117), by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Vacarius, our first professor, in the year 1140 (*Selden ad Fletam, c. 7. tom. ii. p. 1080—1085.*). Have our British MSS. of the Pandects been collated?

⁸⁷ See the description of this original in Brenckman (Hist. Pandect. Florent. l. i. c. 2, 3. p. 4—17. and l. ii.). Politian, an enthusiast, revered it as the authentic standard of Justinian himself (p. 407, 408.); but this paradox is refuted by the abbreviations of the Florentine MS. (l. ii. c. 3. p. 117—130.) It is composed of two quarto volumes, with large margins, on a thin parchment, and the Latin characters betray the hand of a Greek scribe.

⁸⁸ Brenckman, at the end of his history, has inserted two dissertations, on the republic of Amalphi, and the Pisan war in the year 1135, etc.

⁸⁹ The discovery of the Pandects at Amalphi (A. D. 1137.) is first noticed (in 1501.) by Ludovicus Bologninus (Brenckman, l. i. c. xi. p. 73, 74. l. iv. c. 2. p. 417—425.), on the faith of a Pisan chronicle (p. 409, 410.), without a name or a date. The whole story, though unknown to the xiith century, embellished by ignorant ages, and suspected by rigid criticism, is not, however, destitute of much internal probability (l. i. c. 4—8. p. 17—50.). The Liber Pandectarum of Pisa was undoubtedly consulted in the xivth century by the great Bartolus (p. 406, 407. See l. i. c. 9. p. 50—62.).

⁹⁰ Pisa was taken by the Florentines in the year 1406; and in 1411 the Pandects were transported to the capital. These events are authentic and famous.

⁹¹ They were new bound in purple, deposited in a rich casket, and shewn to curious travellers by the monks and magistrates bare-headed, and with lighted tapers (Brenckman, l. i. c. 10, 11, 12. p. 62—93.).

⁹² After the collations of Politian, Bologninus, and Antoninus Augustinus, and the splendid edition of the Pandects by Taurellus (in 1551), Henry Brenckman, a Dutchman, undertook a pilgrimage to Florence, where he employed several years in the study of a single manuscript. His Historia Pandectarum Florentinorum (Utrecht, 1722, in 4to), though a monument of industry, is a small portion of his original design.

⁹³ Χρυσεία χαλκείων, ἑκατομβοί εννεαβοίων, apud Homerum patrem omnis virtutis (1st Præfat. ad Pandect.). A line of Milton or Tasso would surprise us in an act of parliament. Quæ omnia obtinere sancimus in omne ævum. Of the first Code, he says (2d Præfat.), in æternum valitutum. Man and for ever!

⁹⁴ *Novellæ* is a classic adjective, but a barbarous substantive (Ludewig, p. 245.). Justinian never collected them himself: the nine collations, the legal standard of modern tribunals, consist of ninety-eight Novels; but the number was encreased by the diligence of Julian, Haloander, and Contius (Ludewig, p. 249, 258. Aleman. Not. in Anecd. p. 98.).

⁹⁵ Montesquieu, *Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des*
Notes. F

Romains, c. 20. tom. iii. p. 501. in 4to. On this occasion he throws aside the gown and cap of a President à Mortier.

⁹⁶ Procopius, Anecd. c. 28. A similar privilege was granted to the church of Rome (Novel. ix.). For the general repeal of these mischievous indulgences, see Novel. cxi. and Edict. v.

⁹⁷ Lactantius, in his Institutes of Christianity, an elegant and specious work, proposes to imitate the title and method of the civilians. *Quidam prudentes et arbitri æquitatis Institutiones Civilis Juris compositas ediderunt* (Institut. Divin. l. i. c. 1.). Such as Ulpian, Paul, Florentinus, Marcian.

⁹⁸ The emperor Justinian calls him *suum*, though he died before the end of the second century. His Institutes are quoted by Servius, Boethius, Priscian, etc. and the Epitome by Arrian is still extant. (See the Prolegomena and Notes to the edition of Schulting, in the Jurisprudentia Ante-Justiniana, Lugd. Bat. 1717. Heineccius, Hist. J. R. N° 313. Ludewig, in Vit. Just. p. 199.)

⁹⁹ See the Annales Politiques de l'Abbé de St. Pierre, tom. i. p. 25. who dates in the year 1735. The most ancient families claim the immemorial possession of arms and fiefs. Since the Crusades, some, the most truly respectable, have been created by the king for merit and services. The recent and vulgar crowd is derived from the multitude of venal offices without trust or dignity, which continually ennoble the wealthy plebeians.

¹⁰⁰ If the option of a slave was bequeathed to several legatees, they drew lots, and the losers were entitled to their share of his value: ten pieces of gold for a common servant or maid under ten years; if above that age, twenty; if they knew a trade, thirty; notaries or writers, fifty; midwives or *physicians*, sixty; eunuchs under ten years, thirty pieces; above, fifty; if tradesmen, seventy (Cod. l. vi. tit. xliii. leg. 3.). These legal prices are generally below those of the market.

¹⁰¹ For the state of slaves and freedmen, see Institutes, l. i. tit. iii—vii. l. ii. tit. ix. l. iii. tit. viii, ix. Pandects or Digest, l. i. tit. v, vi. l. xxxviii. tit. i—iv. and the whole of the xlth book. Code, l. vi. tit. iv, v. l. vii. tit. i—xxiii.). Be it henceforwards understood that, with the original text of the Institutes and Pandects, the correspondent articles in the Antiquities and Elements of Heineccius are implicitly quoted; and, with the xxvii first books of the Pandects, the learned and rational Commentaries of Gerard Noodt (Opera, tom. ii. p. 1—590, the end. Lugd. Bat. 1724).

¹⁰² See the patria potestas in the Institutes (l. i. tit. ix.), the Pandects (l. i. tit. vi, vii.), and the Code (l. viii. tit. xlvii, xlviii, xlix.). *Jus potestatis quod in liberos habemus proprium est civium Romanorum.*

Nulhi enim alii sunt homines, qui talem in liberos habeant potestatem qualem nos habemus.

¹⁰³ Dionysius Hal. l. ii. p. 94, 95. Gravina (Opp. p. 286.) produces the words of the xii tables. Papinian (in Collatione Legum Roman. et Mosaicarum, tit. iv. p. 204.) styles this patria potestas, lex regia: Ulpian (ad Sabin. l. xxvi. in Pandect. l. i. tit. vi. leg. 8.) says, jus potestatis moribus receptum; and furiosus filium in potestate habebit. How sacred—or rather how absurd!

¹⁰⁴ Pandect. l. xlvii. tit. ii. leg. 14. N° 13. leg. 38. N° 1. Such was the decision of Ulpian and Paul.

¹⁰⁵ The trina mancipatio is most clearly defined by Ulpian (Fragment, x. p. 591, 592. edit. Schulting); and best illustrated in the Antiquities of Heineccius.

¹⁰⁶ By Justinian, the old law, the jus necis of the Roman father (Institut. l. iv. tit. ix. N° 7.), is reported and reprobated. Some legal vestiges are left in the Pandects (l. xliii. tit. xxix. leg. 3. N° 4.) and the Collatio Legum Romanarum et Mosaicarum (tit. ii. N° 3. p. 189.).

¹⁰⁷ Except on public occasions, and in the actual exercise of his office. In publicis locis atque muneribus, atque actionibus patrum, jura cum filiorum qui in magistratû sunt, potestatibus collata interquiescere paululum et connivere, etc. (Aul. Gellius, Noctes Atticæ, ii. 2.). The lessons of the philosopher Taurus were justified by the old and memorable example of Fabius; and we may contemplate the same story in the style of Livy (xxiv. 44.) and the homely idiom of Claudius Quadrigarius the annalist.

¹⁰⁸ See the gradual enlargement and security of the filial *peculium* in the Institutes (l. ii. tit. ix.), the Pandects (l. xv. tit. i. l. xli. tit. i.), and the Code (l. iv. tit. xxvi, xxvii.).

¹⁰⁹ The examples of Erixo and Arius are related by Seneca (de Clementiâ, i. 14, 15.), the former with horror, the latter with applause.

¹¹⁰ Quod latronis magis quam patris jure eum interfecit, nam patria potestas in pietate debet non in atrocitate consistere (Marcian, Institut. l. xiv. in Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. ix. leg. 5.).

¹¹¹ The Pompeian and Cornelian laws de *ficariis* and *parricidis*, are repeated, or rather abridged, with the last supplements of Alexander Severus. Constantine, and Valentinian, in the Pandects (l. xlviii. tit. viii, ix.) and Code (l. ix. tit. xvi, xvii.). See likewise the Theodosian Code (l. ix. tit. xiv, xv.), with Godefroy's Commentary (tom. iii. p. 84—113.), who pours a flood of ancient and modern learning over these penal laws.

¹¹² When the Chremes of Terence reproaches his wife for not obeying his orders and exposing their infant, he speaks like a father

and a master, and silences the scruples of a foolish woman. See Apuleius (Metamorph. l. x. p. 337. edit. Delphin.).

¹¹³ The opinion of the lawyers, and the discretion of the magistrates, had introduced in the time of Tacitus some legal restraints, which might support his contrast of the boni mores of the Germans to the bonæ leges alibi—that is to say, at Rome (de Moribus Germanorum, c. 19.). Tertullian ad Nationes, l. i. c. 15.) refutes his own charges and those of his brethren, against the heathen jurisprudence.

¹³⁴ The wise and humane sentence of the civilian Paul (l. ii. Sententiarum in Pandect. l. xxv. tit. iii. leg. 4.) is represented as a mere moral precept by General Noodt (Opp. tom. i. in Julius Paulus, p. 567—588. and Amica Responsio, p. 591—606.), who maintains the opinion of Justus Lipsius (Opp. tom. ii. p. 409. ad Belgas, cent. i. epist. 85.), and as a positive binding law by Bynkershoek (de Jure occidendi Liberos, Opp. tom. i. p. 318—340. Curæ secundæ, p. 391—427.). In a learned but angry controversy the two friends deviated into the opposite extremes.

¹¹⁵ Dionys. Hal. l. ii. p. 92, 93. Plutarch, in Numa, p. 140, 141. Το σωμα και το ηθος καθαρον και αβικτον επι τω γαμεντι γενεσθαι.

¹¹⁶ Among the winter *frumenta*, the *triticum*, or bearded wheat; the *filigo*, or the unbearded; the *far*, *adoreæ*, *oryza*, whose description perfectly tallies with the rice of Spain and Italy. I adopt this identity on the credit of M. Paucton in his useful and laborious *Métrologie* (p. 517—529.).

¹¹⁷ Aulus Gellius (Noctes Atticæ, xviii. 6.) gives a ridiculous definition of Ælius Melissus, Matrona, quæ semel, *materfamilias* quæ sæpius peperit, as porcetra and scrophæ in the sow kind. He then adds the genuine meaning, quæ in matrimonium vel in manum convenerat.

¹¹⁸ It was enough to have tasted wine, or to have stolen the key of the cellar (Plin. Hist. Nat. xiv. 14.).

¹¹⁹ Solon requires three payments per month. By the Misna, a daily debt was imposed on an idle, vigorous, young husband; twice a week on a citizen; once on a peasant; once in thirty days on a camel-driver; once in six months on a seaman. But the student or doctor was free from tribute; and no wife, if she received a weekly sustenance, could sue for a divorce: for one week a vow of abstinence was allowed. Polygamy divided, without multiplying, the duties of the husband (Selden, Uxor Ebraica, l. iii. c. 6. in his works, vol. ii. p. 717—720.).

¹²⁰ On the Oppian law we may hear the mitigating speech of Valerius Flaccus, and the severe censorial oration of the elder Cato

(Liv. xxxiv. 1—8.). But we shall rather hear the polished historian of the eighth, than the rough orators of the sixth, century of Rome. The principles, and even the style, of Cato are more accurately preserved by Aulus Gellius (x. 23.).

¹²¹ For the system of Jewish and Catholic matrimony, see Selden (*Uxor Ebraica*, Opp. vol. ii. p. 529—860.), Bingham (*Christian Antiquities*, l. xxii.), and Chardon (*Hist. des Sacramens*, tom. vi.).

¹²² The civil laws of marriage are exposed in the *Institutes* (l. i. tit. x.), the *Pandects* (l. xxiii, xxiv, xxv.), and the *Code* (l. v.): but as the title *de ritu nuptiarum* is yet imperfect, we are obliged to explore the fragments of Ulpian (tit. ix. p. 590, 591.) and the *Collatio Legum Mosaicarum* (tit. xvi. p. 790, 791.), with the Notes of Pithæus and Schulting. They find, in the Commentary of Servius (on the 1st *Georgic* and the 4th *Æneid*), two curious passages.

¹²³ According to Plutarch (p. 57.), Romulus allowed only three grounds of a divorce—drunkenness, adultery, and false keys. Otherwise, the husband who abused his supremacy forfeited half his goods to the wife, and half to the goddesses Ceres, and offered a sacrifice (with the remainder?) to the terrestrial deities. This strange law was either imaginary or transient.

¹²⁴ In the year of Rome 523, Spurius Carvilius Ruga repudiated a fair, a good, but a barren, wife (*Dionysius Hal.* l. ii. p. 93. Plutarch, in *Numa*, p. 141. *Valerius Maximus*, l. ii. c. 1. *Aulus Gellius*, iv. 3.). He was questioned by the censors, and hated by the people, but his divorce stood unimpeached in law.

¹²⁵ —Sic fiunt octo mariti

Quinque per autumnos.

(*Juvenal. Satir.* vi. 20.)

A rapid succession, which may yet be credible, as well as the non-*consulum* numero, sed *maritorum annos suos computant*, of Seneca (*de Beneficiis*, iii. 16.). Jerom saw at Rome a triumphant husband bury his twenty-first wife, who had interred twenty two of his less sturdy predecessors (Opp. tom. i. p. 90. ad *Gerontiam*). But the ten husbands, in a month of the poet Martial, is an extravagant hyperbole (l. vi. epigram. 7.).

¹²⁶ *Sacellum Viriplacæ* (*Valerius Maximus*, l. ii. c. 1.) in the Palatine region appears in the time of Theodosius, in the description of Rome by *Publius Victor*.

¹²⁷ *Valerius Maximus*, l. ii. c. 9. With some propriety he judges divorce more criminal than celibacy: *illo namque conjugalia sacra spreta tantum, hoc etiam injuriose tractata*.

¹²⁸ See the laws of Augustus and his successors, in Heineccius, ad

Legem Papiam-Poppæam, c. 19. in Opp. tom. vi. P. i. p. 323—333.

¹²⁹ Aliæ sunt leges Cæsarum, aliæ Christi; aliud Papinianus, aliud Paulus *noster* præcipit (Jerom. tom. i. p. 198. Selden, Uxor Ebraica, l. iii. c. 31. p. 847—853.).

¹³⁰ The Institutes are silent, but we may consult the Codes of Theodosius (l. iii. tit. xvi. with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. i. p. 310—315.) and Justinian (l. v. tit. xvii.), the Pandects (l. xxiv. tit. ii.) and the Novels (xxii. cxvii. cxxvii. cxxxiv. cxl.). Justinian fluctuated to the last between civil and ecclesiastical law.

¹³¹ In pure Greek, *πορνεία* is not a common word; nor can the proper meaning, fornication, be strictly applied to matrimonial sin. In a figurative sense, how far, and to what offences, may it be extended? Did Christ speak the Rabbinical or Syriac tongue? Of what original word is *πορνεία* the translation? How variously is that Greek word translated in the versions ancient and modern! There are two (Mark, x. 11. Luke, xvi. 18.) to one (Matthew, xix. 9.) that such ground of divorce was not excepted by Jesus. Some critics have presumed to think, by an evasive answer, he avoided the giving offence either to the school of Sammai or to that of Hillel (Selden, Uxor Ebraica, l. iii. c. 18—22. 28. 31.).

¹³² The principles of the Roman jurisprudence are exposed by Justinian (Institut. l. i. tit. x.); and the laws and manners of the different nations of antiquity concerning forbidden degrees, etc. are copiously explained by Dr. Taylor in his Elements of Civil Law (p. 108. 314—339.), a work of amusing, though various, reading; but which cannot be praised for philosophical precision.

¹³³ When her father Agrippa died (A. D. 44), Berenice was sixteen years of age (Joseph. tom. i. Antiquit. Judaic. l. xix. c. 9. p. 952. edit. Havercamp). She was therefore above fifty years old when Titus (A. D. 79) *invitus invitam invisit*. This date would not have adorned the tragedy or pastoral of the tender Racine.

¹³⁴ The *Ægyptia conjunx* of Virgil (*Æneid*, viii. 688.) seems to be numbered among the monsters who warred with Mark Antony against Augustus, the senate and the gods of Italy.

¹³⁵ The humble but legal rights of concubines and natural children, are stated in the Institutes (l. i. tit. x.), the Pandects (l. i. tit. vii.), the Code (l. v. tit. xxv.), and the Novels (lxxiv. lxxxix.). The researches of Heineccius and Giannone (ad Legem Juliam et Papiam-Poppæam, c. iv. p. 164—175. Opere Posthume, p. 108—158.) illustrate this interesting and domestic subject.

¹³⁶ See the article of guardians and wards in the Institutes (l. i. tit. xiii—xxvi.), the Pandects (l. xxvi, xxvii.), and the Code (l. v. tit. xxviii—lxx.).

¹³⁷ Institut. l. ii. tit. i, ii. Compare the pure and precise reasoning of Caius and Heineccius (l. ii. tit. i. p. 69—91.) with the loose prolixity of Theophilus (p. 207—265.). The opinions of Ulpian are preserved in the Pandects (l. i. tit. viii. leg. 41. N° 1.).

¹³⁸ The *heredium* of the first Romans is defined by Varro (de Re Rusticâ, l. i. c. 2. p. 141. c. 10. p. 160, 161. edit. Gesner), and clouded by Pliny's declamation (Hist. Natur. xviii. 2.). A just and learned comment is given in the Administration des Terres chez les Romains (p. 12—66.).

¹³⁹ The *res mancipi* is explained from faint and remote lights by Ulpian (Fragment. tit. xviii. p. 618, 619.) and Bynkershoek (Opp. tom. i. p. 306—315.). The definition is somewhat arbitrary; and as none except myself have assigned a reason, I am diffident of my own.

¹⁴⁰ From this short prescription, Hume (Essays, vol. i. p. 423.) infers that there could not *then* be more order and settlement in Italy than *now* amongst the Tartars. By the civilian of his adversary Wallace, he is reproached, and not without reason, for overlooking the conditions (Institut. l. ii. tit. vi.).

¹⁴¹ See the Institutes (l. i. tit. iv, v.) and the Pandects (l. vii.). Noodt has composed a learned and distinct treatise de *Usufructu* (Opp. tom. i. p. 387—478.).

¹⁴² The questions de *Servitutibus* are discussed in the Institutes (l. ii. tit. iii.) and Pandects (l. viii.). Cicero (pro Murenâ, c. 9.) and Lactantius (Institut. Divin. l. i. c. 1.) affect to laugh at the insignificant doctrine, de aquâ pluviâ arcendâ, etc. Yet it might be of frequent use among litigious neighbours, both in town and country.

¹⁴³ Among the patriarchs, the first born enjoyed a mystic and spiritual primogeniture (Genesis, xxv. 31.). In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a double portion of inheritance (Deuteronomy, xxi. 17. with Le Clerc's judicious Commentary).

¹⁴⁴ At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the discretion of their brothers. See the *κληρονομικαὶ* pleadings of Iſæus (in the viith volume of the Greek Orators), illustrated by the version and comment of Sir William Jones, a scholar, a lawyer, and a man of genius.

¹⁴⁵ In England, the eldest son alone inherits *all* the land, a law, says the orthodox judge Blackstone (Commentaries on the Laws of England, vol. ii. p. 215.), unjust only in the opinion of younger brothers. It may be of some political use in sharpening their industry.

¹⁴⁶ Blackstone's Tables (vol. ii. p. 202.) represent and compare the degrees of the civil with those of the canon and common law. A separate tract of Julius Paulus, de gradibus et affinibus, is inserted

or abridged in the Pandects (l. xxxviii. tit. x.). In the viith degrees he computes (N° 18.) 1024 persons.

¹⁴⁷ The Voconian law was enacted in the year of Rome 584. The younger Scipio, who was then xvii years of age (Frenshemius, Supplement. Livian. xlv. 40.), found an occasion of exercising his generosity to his mother, sisters, etc. (Polybius, tom. ii. l. xxxi. p. 1453—1464. edit. Gronov. a domestic witness).

¹⁴⁸ Legem Voconiam (Ernesti, Clavis Ciceroniana) magnâ voce bonis lateribus (at lxx years of age) suasissem, says old Cato (de Senectute, c. 5.). Aulus Gellius (vii. 13. xvii. 6.) has saved some passages.

¹⁴⁹ See the law of succession in the Institutes of Caius (l. ii. tit. viii. p. 130—144.) and Justinian (l. iii. tit. i—vi. with the Greek version of Theophilus, p. 515—575. 588—600.), the Pandects (l. xxxviii. tit. vi—xvii.), the Code (l. vi. tit. lv—lx.), and the Novels (cxviii.).

¹⁵⁰ That succession was the *rule*, testament the *exception*, is proved by Taylor (Elements of Civil Law, p. 519—527.), a learned, rambling, spirited, writer. In the iid and iiid books the method of the Institutes is doubtless preposterous; and the Chancellor Daguesseau (Oeuvres, tom. i. p. 275.) wishes his countryman Domat in the place of Tribonian. Yet *covenants* before *successions* is not surely the *natural order of the civil laws*.

¹⁵¹ Prior examples of testaments are perhaps fabulous. At Athens a *childless* father only could make a will (Plutarch, in Solone, tom. i. p. 164. See Ifæus and Jones).

¹⁵² The testament of Augustus is specified by Suetonius (in August. c. 101. in Neron. c. 4.), who may be studied as a code of Roman antiquities. Plutarch (Opuscul. tom. ii. p. 976.) is surprised *ὅταν δὲ διαθηκὰς γραφῶσιν ἕτερος μὲν ἀπολείπῃσι κληρονομίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ πωλῶσιν τὰς οὐσίας*. The language of Ulpian (Fragment. tit. xx. p. 627. edit. Schulting) is almost too exclusive—*solum in usû est*.

¹⁵³ Justinian (Novell. cxv. N° 3, 4.) enumerates only the public and private crimes, for which a son might likewise disinherit his father.

¹⁵⁴ The *substitutions fidei-commissaires* of the modern civil law is a feudal idea grafted on the Roman jurisprudence, and bears scarcely any resemblance to the ancient *fidei-commissa* (Institutions du Droit François, tom. i. p. 347—383. Dénisart, Décisions de Jurisprudence, tom. iv. p. 577—604.). They were stretched to the fourth degree by an abuse of the clixth Novel; a partial, perplexed, declamatory law.

¹⁵⁵ Dion Cassius (tom. ii. l. lvi. p. 814. with Reimar's Notes) specifies in Greek money the sum of 25,000 drachms.

¹⁵⁶ The revolutions of the Roman laws of inheritance are finely,

though sometimes fancifully, deduced by Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxvii.).

¹⁵⁷ Of the civil jurisprudence of successions, testaments, codicils, legacies, and trusts, the principles are ascertained in the Institutes of Caius (l. ii. tit. ii—ix. p. 91—144.), Justinian (l. ii. tit. x—xxv.), and Theophilus (p. 328—514.); and the immense detail occupies twelve books (xxviii—xxxix.) of the Pandects.

¹⁵⁸ The Institutes of Caius (l. ii. tit. ix, x. p. 144—214.), of Justinian (l. iii. tit. xiv—xxx. l. iv. tit. i—vi.), and of Theophilus (p. 616—837.), distinguish four sorts of obligations—*aut re*, *aut verbis*, *aut litteris*, *aut consensu*: but I confess myself partial to my own division.

¹⁵⁹ How much is the cool, rational evidence of Polybius (l. vi. p. 693. l. xxxi. p. 1459, 1460.) superior to vague, indiscriminate applause—*omnium maxime et præcipue fidem coluit* (A. Gellius, xx. i.).

¹⁶⁰ The *Jus prætorium de Pactis et Transactionibus* is a separate and satisfactory treatise of Gerard Noodt (*Opp. tom. i. p. 483—564.*). And I will here observe that the universities of Holland and Brandenburg, in the beginning of the present century, appear to have studied the civil law on the most just and liberal principles.

¹⁶¹ The nice and various subject of contracts by consent, is spread over four books (xvii—xx.) of the Pandects, and is one of the parts best deserving of the attention of an English student.

¹⁶² The covenants of rent are defined in the Pandects (l. xix.) and the Code (l. iv. tit. lxxv.). The quinquennium, or term of five years, appears to have been a custom rather than a law; but in France all leases of land were determined in nine years. This limitation was removed only in the year 1775 (*Encyclopédie Méthodique*, tom. i. de la Jurisprudence, p. 668, 669.); and I am sorry to observe that it yet prevails in the beautiful and happy country where I am permitted to reside.

¹⁶³ I might implicitly acquiesce in the sense and learning of the three books of G. Noodt, de *fœnore et usuris* (*Opp. tom. i. p. 175—268.*), The interpretation of the *asses* or *centesima usuræ* at twelve, the *unciariæ* at one, per cent. is maintained by the best critics and civilians: Noodt (l. ii. c. 2. p. 207.), Gravina (*Opp. p. 205*, etc. 210.), Heineccius (*Antiquitat. ad Institut. l. iii. tit. xv.*), Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxii. c. 22. tom. ii. p. 36. *Defence de l'Esprit des Loix*, tom. iii. p. 478, etc.), and above all John Frederic Gro-novius (*de Pecuniâ Veteri*, l. iii. c. 13. p. 213—227. and his three *Antexegeſes*, p. 455—655.), the founder, or at least the champion,

of this probable opinion; which is, however, perplexed with some difficulties.

¹⁶⁴ *Primo xii tabulis sancitum est ne quis unciario fœnore amplius excerceret* (Tacit. *Annal.* vi. 16.), Pour peu (says Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, l. xxii. c. 22.) qu'on soit versé dans l'histoire de Rome, on verra qu'une pareille loi ne devoit pas être l'ouvrage des decemvirs. Was Tacitus ignorant—or stupid? But the wiser and more virtuous patricians might sacrifice their avarice to their ambition and might attempt to check the odious practice by such interest as no lender would accept, and such penalties as no debtor would incur.

¹⁶⁵ Justinian has not condescended to give usury a place in his *Institutes*; but the necessary rules and restrictions are inserted in the *Pandects* (l. xxii. tit. i, ii.) and the *Code* (l. iv. tit. xxxii, xxxiii.).

¹⁶⁶ The fathers are unanimous (Barbeyrac, *Morale des Peres*, p. 144, etc.): Cyprian, Lactantius, Basil, Chrysostom (see his frivolous arguments in Noodt, l. i. c. 7. p. 188.), Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Jerom, Augustin, and a host of councils and casuists.

¹⁶⁷ Cato, Seneca, Plutarch, have loudly condemned the practice or abuse of usury. According to the etymology of *fœnus* and *τοκος*, the principal is supposed to *generate* the interest: a breed of barren metal, exclaims Shakespeare—and the stage is the echo of the public voice.

¹⁶⁸ Sir William Jones has given an ingenious and rational *Essay on the Law of Bailment* (London, 1781, p. 127. in 8°). He is perhaps the only lawyer equally conversant with the year-books of Westminster, the *Commentaries* of Ulpian, the Attic pleadings of Isæus, and the sentences of Arabian and Persian cadhis.

¹⁶⁹ Noodt (*Opp.* tom. i. p. 137—172.) has composed a separate treatise, *ad Legem Aquiliam* (*Pandect.* l. ix. tit. ii.).

¹⁷⁰ Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Attic.* xx. 1.) borrowed this story from the *Commentaries* of Q. Labco on the xii tables.

¹⁷¹ The narrative of Livy (i. 28.) is weighty and solemn. *At tu dictis Albane maneres* is an harsh reflection, unworthy of Virgil's humanity (*Æneid*, viii. 643.). Heyne, with his usual good taste, observes that the subject was too horrid for the shield of Æneas (tom. iii. p. 229.).

¹⁷² The age of Draco (*Olympiad.* xxxix. 1.) is fixed by Sir John Marsham, (*Canon Chronicus*, p. 593—596.) and Corfini (*Fasti Attici*, tom. iii. p. 62.). For his laws, see the writers on the government of Athens, Sigonius, Meursius, Potter, etc.

¹⁷³ The viiith de delictis, of the xii tables is delineated by Gravina (*Opp.* p. 292, 293. with a *Commentary*, p. 214—230.). Aulus

Gellius (xx. 1.) and the *Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum* afford much original information.

¹⁷⁴ Livy mentions two remarkable and flagitious æras, of 3000 persons accused, and of 190 noble matrons convicted, of the crime of poisoning (xl. 43. viii. 18.). Mr. Hume discriminates the ages of private and public virtue (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 22, 23.). I would rather say that such ebullitions of mischief (as in France in the year 1600) are accidents and prodigies which leave no marks on the manners of a nation.

¹⁷⁵ The xii tables and Cicero (*pro Roscio Amerino*, c. 25, 26.) are content with the sack; Seneca (*Excerpt. Controvers. v. 4.*) adorns it with serpents; Juvenal pities the guiltless monkey (*innocua simia*—*Satir. xiii. 156.*). Hadrian (*apud Dositheum Magistrum*, l. iii. c. 16. p. 874—876. with Schulting's Note), Modestinus (*Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. ix. leg. 9.*), Constantine (*Cod. l. ix. tit. xvii.*), and Justinian (*Institut. l. iv. tit. xviii.*), enumerate all the companions of the parricide. But this fanciful execution was simplified in practice. *Hodie tamen vivi exuruntur vel ad bestias dantur* (Paul, *Sentent. Recept. l. v. tit. xxiv. p. 512. edit. Schulting.*).

¹⁷⁶ The first parricide at Rome was L. Ostius, after the second Punic war (Plutarch in *Romulo*, tom. i. p. 57.). During the Cimbric, P. Malleolus was guilty of the first matricide (*Liv. Epitom. l. lxxviii.*).

¹⁷⁷ Horace talks of the formidine fustis (l. ii. *epist. ii. 154.*); but Cicero (*de Republicâ*, l. iv. *apud Augustin. de Civitat. Dei*, ix. 6. in *Fragment. Philosoph. tom. iii. p. 393. edit. Olivet*) affirms that the decemvirs made libels a capital offence: *cum perpauca res capite sanxissent—perpauca!*

¹⁷⁸ Bynkershoek (*Observat. Juris Rom. l. i. c. 1. in Opp. tom. i. p. 9, 10, 11.*) labours to prove that the creditors divided not the *body*, but the *price*, of the insolvent debtor. Yet his interpretation is one perpetual harsh metaphor; nor can he surmount the Roman authorities of Quintilian, Cæcilius, Favonius, and Tertullian. See Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Attic. xxi.*

¹⁷⁹ The first speech of Lyfias (*Reiske, Orator. Græc. tom. v. p. 2—48.*) is in defence of an husband who had killed the adulterer. The right of husbands and fathers at Rome and Athens is discussed with much learning by Dr. Taylor (*Lectiones Lyfiacæ*, c. xi. in *Reiske, tom. vi. p. 301—308.*).

¹⁸⁰ See Casaubon ad *Athenæum*, l. i. c. 5. p. 19. *Percurrent raphanique mugilesque* (*Catull. p. 41, 42. edit. Vossian.*). *Hunc mugilis intrat* (*Juvenal, Satir. x. 317.*). *Hunc perminxere calones* (*Horat. l. i. Satir. ii. 44.*) *familiæ stuprandum dedit*, . . . *fraudi non fuit* (*Val. Maxim. l. vi. c. 1. N° 13.*).

¹⁸¹ This law is noticed by Livy (ii. 8.) and Plutarch (in Publicola, tom. i. p. 187.); and it fully justifies the public opinion on the death of Cæsar, which Suetonius could publish under the Imperial government. *Jure cæsus existimatur* (in Julio, c. 76.). Read the letters that passed between Cicero and Marius a few months after the ides of March (ad Fam. xi. 27, 28.).

¹⁸² Πρωτοι δε Αθηναιοι τον τε σιδηρον κατεθεντο. Thucyd. l. i. c. 6. The historian who considers this circumstance as the test of civilization, would disdain the barbarism of an European court.

¹⁷³ He first rated at *millies* (800,000 *l.*) the damages of Sicily (Divinatio in Cæcilium, c. 5.), which he afterwards reduced to *quadringenties* (320,000 *l.*—I Actio in Verrem, c. 18.), and was finally content with *tricies* (24,000 *l.*). Plutarch (in Ciceron. tom. iii. p. 1584.) has not dissembled the popular suspicion and report.

¹⁸⁴ Verres lived near thirty years after his trial, till the second triumvirate, when he was proscribed by the taste of Mark-Antony for the sake of his Corinthian plate (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiv. 3.).

¹⁸⁵ Such is the number assigned by Valerius Maximus (l. ix. c. 2. N° 1.). Florus (iv. 21.) distinguishes 2000 senators and knights. Appian (de Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 95. tom. ii. p. 133. edit. Schweighæuser) more accurately computes 40 victims of the senatorian rank, and 1600 of the equestrian census or order.

¹⁸⁶ For the penal laws (Leges Corneliæ, Pompeiæ, Juliæ, of Sylla, Pompey, and the Cæsars), see the sentences of Paulus (l. iv. tit. xviii—xxx. p. 497—528. edit. Schulting), the Gregorian Code (Fragment. l. xix. p. 705, 706. in Schulting), the Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum (tit. i—xv.), the Theodosian Code (l. ix.), the Code of Justinian (l. ix.), the Pandects (l. xlviii.), the Institutes (l. iv. tit. xviii.), and the Greek version of Theophilus (p. 917—926.).

¹⁸⁷ It was a guardian who had poisoned his ward. The crime was atrocious; yet the punishment is reckoned by Suetonius (c. 9.) among the acts in which Galba shewed himself acer vehemens, et in delictis coercendis immodicus.

¹⁸⁸ The abactores or abigeatores, who drove one horse, or two mares or oxen, or five hogs, or ten goats, were subject to capital punishment (Paul, Sentent. Recept. l. iv. tit. xviii. p. 497, 498.). Hadrian (ad Concil. Bæticæ), most severe where the offence was most frequent, condemns the criminals, ad gladium, ludi damnationem (Ulpian, de Officio Proconsulis, l. viii. in Collatione Legum Mosaic. et Rom. tit. xi. p. 235.).

¹⁸⁹ Till the publication of the Julius Paulus of Schulting (l. ii. tit. xxvi. p. 317—323.), it was affirmed and believed, that the Julian

laws punished adultery with death; and the mistake arose from the fraud or error of Tribonian. Yet Lipsius had suspected the truth from the narratives of Tacitus (Annal. ii. 50. iii. 24. iv. 42.), and even from the practice of Augustus, who distinguished the *treasonable* frailties of his female kindred.

¹⁹⁰ In cases of adultery, Severus confined to the husband the right of public accusation (Cod. Justinian. l. ix. tit. ix. leg. 1.). Nor is this privilege unjust—so different are the effects of male or female infidelity.

¹⁹¹ Timon (l. i.) and Theopompus (l. xliii. apud Athenæum, l. xii. p. 517.) describe the luxury and lust of the Etruscans: *πολυ μὲν τοῖς γὰρ χοιρῶσι συνόντες τοῖς παῖσι καὶ τοῖς μεῖρακμοῖς*. About the same period (A. U. C. 445) the Roman youth studied in Etruria (Liv. ix. 36.).

¹⁹² The Persians had been corrupted in the same school: *ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μάστιγες παῖσι μισγόνται* (Herodot. l. i. c. 135.). A curious dissertation might be formed on the introduction of pæderasty after the time of Homer, its progress among the Greeks of Asia and Europe, the vehemence of their passions, and the thin device of virtue and friendship which amused the philosophers of Athens. But, *scelera ostendi oportet dum puniuntur, abscondi flagitia*.

¹⁹³ The name, the date, and the provisions of this law, are equally doubtful (Gravina, Opp. p. 432, 433. Heineccius, Hist. Jur. Rom. N° 108. Ernesti, Clav. Ciceron. in Indice Legum). But I will observe that the *nefanda* Venus of the honest German is styled *aversa* by the more polite Italian.

¹⁹⁴ See the oration of Æschines against the catamite Timarchus (in Reiske, Orator. Græc. tom. iii. p. 21—184.).

¹⁹⁵ A crowd of disgraceful passages will force themselves on the memory of the classic reader: I will only remind him of the cool declaration of Ovid:

Odi concubitus qui non utrumque resolvunt.

Hoc est quod puerum tangar amore *minus*.

¹⁹⁶ Ælius Lampridius, in Vit. Heliogabal. in Hist. August. p. 112. Aurelius Victor, in Philippo. Codex Theodos. l. ix. tit. vii. leg. 7. and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. iii. p. 63. Theodosius abolished the subterraneous brothels of Rome, in which the prostitution of both sexes was acted with impunity.

¹⁹⁷ See the laws of Constantine and his successors against adultery, sodomy, etc. in the Theodosian (l. ix. tit. vii. leg. 7. l. xi. tit. xxxvi. leg. 1. 4.) and Justinian Codes (l. ix. tit. ix. leg. 30, 31.). These princes speak the language of passion as well as of justice, and fraudulently ascribe their own severity to the first Cæsars.

¹⁹⁸ Justinian, Novel. lxxvii. cxxxiv. cxli. Procopius, in *Anecdot.* c. ii. 16. with the Notes of Alemannus. Theophanes, p. 151. Cedrenus, p. 368. Zonaras, l. xiv. p. 64.

¹⁹⁹ Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, l. xii. c. 6. That eloquent philosopher conciliates the rights of liberty and of nature, which should never be placed in opposition to each other.

²⁰⁰ For the corruption of Palestine, 2000 years before the Christian æra, see the history and laws of Moses. Ancient Gaul is stigmatised by Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. v. p. 356.), China by the Mahometan and Christian travellers (*Ancient Relations of India and China*, p. 34. translated by Renaudot, and his bitter critic Père Premare, *Lettres Edifiantes*, tom. xix. p. 435.), and native America by the Spanish historians (Garcilasso de la Vega, l. iii. c. 13. Rycaut's translation; and *Dictionnaire de Bayle*, tom. iii. p. 88.). I believe, and hope, that the negroes, in their own country, were exempt from this moral pestilence.

²⁰¹ The important subject of the public questions and judgments at Rome is explained with much learning, and in a classic style, by Charles Sigonius (l. iii. de *Judiciis*, in *Opp.* tom. iii. 679—864.); and a good abridgment may be found in the *République Romaine* of Beaufort (tom. ii. l. v. p. 1—121.). Those who wish for more abstruse law, may study Noodt (*de Jurisdictione et Imperio Libri duo*, tom. i. p. 93—134.), Heineccius (*ad Pandect. l. i. et ii. ad Institut. l. iv. tit. xvii. Element. ad Antiquitat.*), and Gravina (*Opp.* 230—251.).

²⁰² The office, both at Rome and in England, must be considered as an occasional duty, and not a magistracy or profession. But the obligation of an unanimous verdict is peculiar to our laws, which condemn the jurymen to undergo the torture from whence they have exempted the criminal.

²⁰³ We are indebted for this interesting fact to a fragment of Asconius Pedianus, who flourished under the reign of Tiberius. The loss of his Commentaries on the Orations of Cicero has deprived us of a valuable fund of historical and legal knowledge.

²⁰⁴ Polyb. l. vi. p. 643. The extension of the empire and city of Rome, obliged the exile to seek a more distant place of retirement.

²⁰⁵ Qui de se statuebant, humabantur corpora, manebant testamenta; pretium festinandi. Tacit. *Annal.* vi. 25. with the Notes of Lipsius.

²⁰⁶ Julius Paulus (*Sentent. Recept. l. v. tit. xii. p. 476.*), the Pandects (l. xlviii. tit. xxi.), the Code (l. ix. tit. 50.), Bynkershoek (tom. i. p. 59. *Observat. J. C. R.* iv. 4.), and Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxix. c. 9.), define the civil limitations of the liberty and privileges of suicide. The criminal penalties are the production of a later and darker age.

²⁰⁷ Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxvi. 24. When he fatigued his subjects in building the Capitol, many of the labourers were provoked to dispatch themselves; he nailed their dead bodies to crosses.

²⁰⁸ The sole resemblance of a violent and premature death has engaged Virgil (*Æneid* vi. 434—439.) to confound suicides with infants, lovers, and persons unjustly condemned. Heyne, the best of his editors, is at a loss to deduce the idea, or ascertain the jurisprudence, of the Roman poet.

CHAP. XLV.

¹ See the family of Justin. and Justinian in the *Familia Byzantina* of Ducange, p. 89—101. The devout civilians Ludewig (in *Vit. Justinian.* p. 131.) and Heineccius (*Hist. Juris Roman.* p. 374.) have since illustrated the genealogy of their favourite prince.

² In the story of Justin's elevation I have translated, into simple and concise prose, the eight hundred verses of the two first books of Corippus, *de Laudibus Justin.* Appendix *Hist. Byzant.* p. 401—416. Rome, 1777.

³ It is surprising how Pagi (*Critica in Annal. Baron.* tom. ii. p. 639.) could be tempted by any chronicles to contradict the plain and decisive text of Corippus (*vicina dona*, l. ii. 354. *vicina dies*, l. iv. 1), and to postpone, till A. D. 567, the consulship of Justin.

⁴ Theophan, *Chronograph.* p. 205. Whenever Cedrenus or Zonaras are mere transcribers, it is superfluous to allege their testimony.

⁵ Corippus, l. iii. 390. The unquestionable sense relates to the Turks, the conquerors of the Avars; but the word *scultor* has no apparent meaning, and the sole MS. of Corippus, from whence the first edition (1581, apud Plantin) was printed, is no longer visible. The last editor, Foggini of Rome, has inserted the conjectural emendation of *soldan*: but the proofs of Ducange (Joinville, *Differt.* xvi. p. 238—240.) for the early use of this title among the Turks and Persians, are weak or ambiguous. And I must incline to the authority of d'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orient.* p. 825.), who ascribes the word to the Arabic and Chaldaean tongues, and the date to the beginning of the xith century, when it was bestowed by the khalif of Bagdad on Mahmud prince of Gazna, and conqueror of India.

⁶ For these characteristic speeches, compare the verse of Corippus (l. iii. 251—401.) with the prose of Menander (*Excerpt. Legation.* p. 102, 103.). Their diversity proves that they did not copy each other; their resemblance, that they drew from a common original,

⁷ For the Austrasian war, see Menander (Excerpt. Legat. p. 110.), Gregory of Tours (Hist. Franc. l. iv. c. 29.), and Paul the deacon (de Gest. Langobard. l. ii. c. 10.).

⁸ Paul Warnefrid, the deacon of Friuli, de Gest. Langobard. l. i. c. 23, 24. His pictures of national manners, though rudely sketched, are more lively and faithful than those of Bede, or Gregory of Tours.

⁹ The story is told by an impostor (Theophylact. Simocat. l. vi. c. 10.); but he had art enough to build his fictions on public and notorious facts.

¹⁰ It appears from Strabo, Pliny, and Ammianus Marcellinus, that the same practice was common among the Scythian tribes (Muratori, Scriptores Rer. Italic. tom. i. p. 424.). The *scalps* of North America are likewise trophies of valour. The skull of Cunimund was preserved above two hundred years among the Lombards; and Paul himself was one of the guests to whom duke Ratchis exhibited this cup on a high festival (l. ii. c. 28.).

¹¹ Paul, l. i. c. 27. Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 110, 111.

¹² Ut hactenus etiam tam apud Bajoariorum gentem, quam et Saxonum sed et alios ejusdem linguæ homines . . . in eorum carminibus celebretur. Paul, l. i. c. 27. He died A. D. 799 (Muratori, in Præfat. tom. i. p. 307.). These German songs, some of which might be as old as Tacitus (de Moribus Germ. c. 2.), were compiled and transcribed by Charlemagne. Barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur scripsit memoriæque mandavit (Eginard, in Vit. Carol. Magn. c. 29. p. 130, 131.). The poems, which Goldast commends (Animadvers. ad Eginard. p. 207.), appear to be recent and contemptible romances.

¹³ The other nations are rehearsed by Paul (l. ii. c. 6. 26.). Muratori (Antichità Italiane, tom. i. dissert. i. p. 4.) has discovered the village of the Bavarians, three miles from Modena.

¹⁴ Gregory the Roman (Dialog. l. iii. c. 27, 28. apud Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 579, N° 10.), supposes that they likewise adored this shegoat. I know but of one religion in which the god and the victim are the same.

¹⁵ The charge of the deacon against Narfes (l. ii. c. 5.) may be groundless; but the weak apology of the cardinal (Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 567, N° 8—12.) is rejected by the best critics—Pagi (tom. ii. p. 639, 640.), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 160—163.), and the last editors, Horatius Blancus (Script. Rerum Italic. tom. i. p. 427, 428.) and Philip Argelatus (Sigon. Opera, tom. ii. p. 11, 12.). The Narfes who assisted at the coronation of Justin (Corippus, l. iii. 221) is clearly understood to be a different person.

¹⁶ The death of Narfes is mentioned by Paul, l. ii. c. 11. Anastas.
in

in Vit. Johan. iii. p. 43. Agnellus, Liber Pontifical. Raven. in Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. ii. part i. p. 114. 124. Yet I cannot believe with Agnellus that Narfes was ninety-five years of age. It is probable that all his exploits were performed at fourscore?

¹⁷ The designs of Narfes and of the Lombards for the invasion of Italy are exposed in the last chapter of the first book, and the seven first chapters of the second book, of Paul the deacon.

¹⁸ Which from this translation was called New Aquileia (Chron. Venet. p. 3.). The patriarch of Grado soon became the first citizen of the republic (p. 9, etc.), but his seat was not removed to Venice till the year 1450. He is now decorated with titles and Honours; but the genius of the church has bowed to that of the state, and the government of a Catholic city is strictly presbyterian. Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 156, 157. 161—165. Amelot de la Houffaye, Gouvernement de Venise, tom. i. p. 256—261.

¹⁹ Paul has given a description of Italy, as it was then divided into eighteen regions (l. ii. c. 14—24.). The Dissertatio Chorographica de Italiâ Medii Ævi, by Father Beretti, a Benedictine monk, and regius professor at Pavia, has been usefully consulted.

²⁰ For the conquest of Italy, see the original materials of Paul (l. ii. c. 7—10. 12. 14. 25, 26, 27.), the eloquent narrative of Sigonius (tom. ii. de Regno Italiæ, l. i. p. 13—19.), and the correct and critical review of Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 164—180.).

²¹ The classical reader will recollect the wife and murder of Candaules, so agreeably told in the first book of Herodotus. The choice of Gyges, ἀίρεται αὐτὸς περὶ νύκτι, may serve as the excuse of Peredens; and this soft insinuation of an odious idea has been imitated by the best writers of antiquity (Grævius, ad Ciceron. Orat. pro Milone, c. 10.).

²² See the history of Paul, l. ii. c. 28—32. I have borrowed some interesting circumstances from the Liber Pontificalis of Agnellus; in Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. p. 124. Of all chronological guides, Muratori is the safest.

²³ The original authors for the reign of Justin the younger, are Evagrius, Hist. Ecclef. l. v. c. 1—12. Theophanes, in Chronograph. p. 204—210. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 70—72. Cedrenus, in Compend. p. 388—392.

²⁴ Dispositorque novus sacræ Baduarius aulæ.

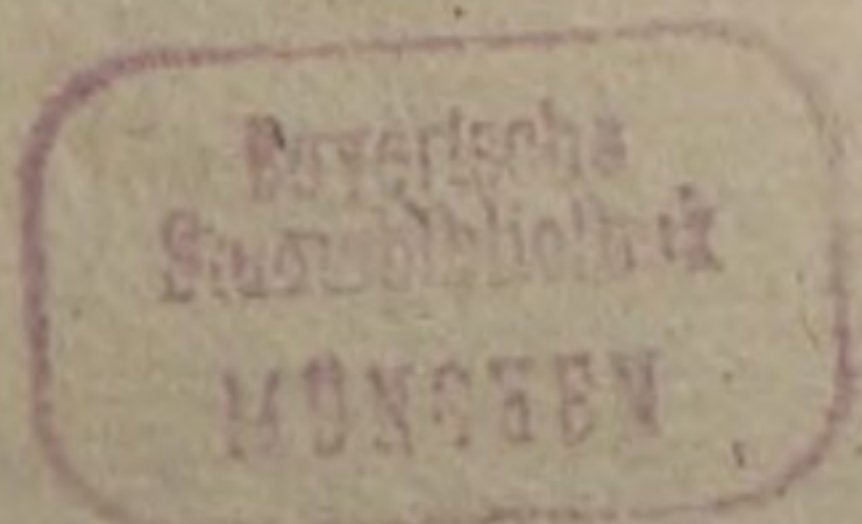
Successor soceri mox factus Cura-palatî.

Corippus.

Baduarius is enumerated among the descendants and allies of the house of Justinian. A family of noble Venetians (Casa Badoero) built churches

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and gave dukes to the republic as early as the ixth century; and if their descent be admitted, no kings in Europe can produce a pedigree so ancient and illustrious. Ducange, *Fam. Byzantin.* p. 99. Amelot de la Houffaye, *Gouvernement de Venise*, tom. ii. p. 555.

²⁵ The praise bestowed on princes before their elevation, is the purest and most weighty. Corippus has celebrated Tiberius at the time of the accession of Justin (l. i. 212—222.). Yet even a captain of the guards might attract the flattery of an African exile.

²⁶ Evagrius (l. v. c. 13.) has added the reproach to his ministers. He applies this speech to the ceremony when Tiberius was invested with the rank of Cæsar. The loose expression, rather than the positive error, of Theophanes, etc. has delayed it to his *Augustan* investiture, immediately before the death of Justin.

²⁷ Theophylact Simocatta (l. iii. c. 11.) declares that he shall give to posterity the speech of Justin as it was pronounced, without attempting to correct the imperfections of language or rhetoric. Perhaps the vain sophist would have been incapable of producing such sentiments.

²⁸ For the character and reign of Tiberius, see Evagrius, l. v. c. 13. Theophylact, l. iii. c. 12, etc. Theophanes, in *Chron.* p. 210—213. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 72. Cedrenus, p. 392. Paul Warnefrid, de *Gestis Langobard.* l. iii. c. 11, 12. The deacon of Forum Julii appears to have possessed some curious and authentic facts.

²⁹ It is therefore singular enough that Paul (l. iii. c. 15.) should distinguish him as the first Greek emperor—*primus ex Græcorum genere in Imperio constitutus*. His immediate predecessors had indeed been born in the Latin provinces of Europe; and a various reading, in *Græcorum Imperio*, would apply the expression to the empire rather than the prince.

³⁰ Consult, for the character and reign of Maurice, the fifth and sixth books of Evagrius, particularly l. vi. c. 1.; the eight books of his prolix and florid history by Theophylact Simocatta. Theophanes, p. 213, etc. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 73. Cedrenus, p. 394.

³¹ Αὐτοκράτωρ οὕτως γενόμενος τὴν μὲν οὐλοκρατείαν τῶν παθῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐξενήλαττε ψυχῆς· ἀριστοκρατείαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς καταστήσας. Evagrius composed his history in the twelfth year of Maurice; and he had been so wisely indiscreet, that the emperor knew and rewarded his favourable opinion (l. vi. c. 24.).

³² The Columna Rhegina, in the narrowest part of the Faro of Messina, one hundred stadia from Rhegium itself, is frequently mentioned in ancient geography. Cluver. *Ital. Antiq.* tom. ii. p. 1295. Lucas Holsten. *Annotat. ad Cluver.* p. 301. Wesseling, *Itinerar.* p. 106.

³³ The Greek historians afford some faint hints of the wars of Italy (Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 124. 126. Theophylact. l. iii. c. 4.). The Latins are more satisfactory; and especially Paul Warnefrid, l. iii. c. 13—34. who had read the more ancient histories of Secundus and Gregory of Tours. Baronius produces some letters of the popes, etc.; and the times are measured by the accurate scale of Pagi and Muratori.

³⁴ The papal advocates, Zacagni and Fontanini, might justly claim the valley or morafs of Commachio as a part of the exarchate. But the ambition of including Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Placentia, has darkened a geographical question somewhat doubtful and obscure. Even Muratori, as the servant of the house of Este, is not free from partiality and prejudice.

³⁵ See Brenemann, Differt. Ima de Republicâ Amalphitanâ, p. 1—42. ad calcem Hist. Pandect. Florent.

³⁶ Gregor. Magn. l. iii. epist. 23. 25, 26, 27.

³⁷ I have described the state of Italy from the excellent Dissertation of Beretti. Gianone (Istoria Civile, tom. i. p. 374—387.) has followed the learned Camillo Pellegrini in the geography of the kingdom of Naples. After the loss of the true Calabria, the vanity of the Greeks substituted that name instead of the more ignoble appellation of Bruttium; and the change appears to have taken place before the time of Charlemagne (Eginard, p. 75.).

³⁸ Maffei (Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 310—321.) and Muratori (Antichità Italiane, tom. ii. Differtazioni xxxii, xxxiii. p. 71—365.) have asserted the native claims of the Italian idiom: the former with enthusiasm, the latter with discretion; both with learning, ingenuity, and truth.

³⁹ Paul, de Gest. Langobard. l. iii. c. 5, 6, 7.

⁴⁰ Paul, l. ii. c. 9. He calls these families or generations by the Teutonic name of *Faras*, which is likewise used in the Lombard laws. The humble deacon was not insensible of the nobility of his own race. See l. iv. c. 39.

⁴¹ Compare N° 3 and 177 of the laws of Rotharis.

⁴² Paul, l. ii. c. 31, 32. l. iii. c. 16. The laws of Rotharis, promulgated A. D. 643, do not contain the smallest vestige of this payment of thirds; but they preserve many curious circumstances of the state of Italy and the manners of the Lombards.

⁴³ The studs of Dionysius of Syracuse, and his frequent victories in the Olympic games, had diffused among the Greeks the fame of the Venetian horses; but the breed was extinct in the time of Strabo (l. v. p. 325.). Gisulf obtained from his uncle generosarum equarum greges.

Paul, l. ii. c. 9. The Lombards afterwards introduced *caballi sylvatici*—wild horses. Paul, l. iv. c. 11.

⁴⁴ Tunc (A. D. 596.) primum, *bubali* in Italiam delati Italiæ populis miracula fuere (Paul Warnefrid, l. iv. c. 11.). The buffaloes, whose native climate appears to be Africa and India, are unknown to Europe, Except in Italy, where they are numerous and useful. The ancients were ignorant of these animals, unless Aristotle (Hist. Animal. l. ii. c. 1. p. 58. Paris, 1783.) has described them as the wild oxen of Arachosia. See Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. xi. and Supplément, tom. vi. Hist. Générale des Voyages, tom. i. p. 7. 481. ii. 105. iii. 291. iv. 234. 461. v. 193. vi. 491. viii. 400. x. 666. Pennant's Quadrupeds, p. 24. Dictionnaire d'Hist. Naturelle, par Valmont de Bomare, tom. ii. p. 74. Yet I must not conceal the suspicion that Paul, by a vulgar error, may have applied the name of *bubalus* to the aurochs, or wild bull, of ancient Germany.

⁴⁵ Consult the xxist Dissertation of Muratori.

⁴⁶ Their ignorance is proved by the silence even of those who professedly treat of the arts of hunting and the history of animals. Aristotle (Hist. Animal. l. ix. c. 36. tom. i. p. 586. and the Notes of his last editor, M. Camus, tom. ii. p. 314.), Pliny Hist. Natur. l. x. c. 10.), Ælian (de Natur. Animal. l. ii. c. 42.), and perhaps Homer (Odys. xxii. 302—306.), describe with astonishment a tacit league and common chace between the hawks and the Thracian fowlers.

⁴⁷ Particularly the *gerfaut*, or *gyrfalcon*, of the size of a small eagle. See the animated description of M. de Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. xvi. p. 239, etc.

⁴⁸ Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. part ii. p. 129. This is the xvith law of the emperor Lewis the Pious. His father Charlemagne had falconers in his household as well as huntsmen (Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie, par M. de St. Palaye, tom. iii. p. 175.). I observe in the laws of Rotharis a more early mention of the art of hawking (N° 322.); and in Gaul, in the vth century, it is celebrated by Sidonius Apollinaris among the talents of Avitus (202—207.).

⁴⁹ The epitaph of Droctulf (Paul. l. iii. c. 19.) may be applied to many of his countrymen:

Terribilis visu facies, sed corde benignus

Longaque robusto pectore barba fuit.

The portraits of the old Lombards might still be seen in the palace of Monza, twelve miles from Milan, which had been founded or restored by queen Theudelinda (l. iv. 22, 23.). See Muratori, tom. i. dissertaz. xxiii. p. 300.

⁵⁰ The story of Autharis and Theudelinda is related by Paul, l. iii.

c. 29. 34.; and any fragment of Bavarian antiquity excites the indefatigable diligence of the count de Buat, *Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. xi. p. 595—635. tom. xii. p. 1—53.

⁵¹ Giannone (*Istoria Civile di Napoli*, tom. i. p. 263.) has justly censured the impertinence of Boccaccio (*Gio. iii. Novel. 2.*), who, without right, or truth, or pretence, has given the pious queen Theudelinda to the arms of a muleteer.

⁵² Paul, l. iii. c. 16. The first dissertations of Muratori, and the first volume of Giannone's history, may be consulted for the state of the kingdom of Italy.

⁵³ The most accurate edition of the laws of the Lombards is to be found in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. i. part ii. p. 1—181. collated from the most ancient MSS. and illustrated by the critical notes of Muratori.

⁵⁴ Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, l. xxviii. c. 1. Les loix des Bourguignons sont assez judicieuses: celles de Rotharis et des autres princes Lombards le sont encore plus.

⁵⁵ See *Leges Rotharis*, N° 379, p. 47. Striga is used as the name of a witch. It is of the purest classic origin (*Horat. epod. v. 20. Petron. c. 134.*); and, from the words of Petronius (*quæ striges comederunt nervos tuos?*), it may be inferred that the prejudice was of Italian rather than Barbaric extraction.

⁵⁶ Quia incerti sumus de judicio dei, et multos audivimus per pugnam sine justâ causâ suam causam perdere. Sed propter consuetudinem gentem nostram Langobardorum legem impiam vetare non possumus. See p. 74. N° 65. of the *Laws of Luitprand*, promulgated A. D. 724.

⁵⁷ Read the history of Paul Warnefrid; particularly l. iii. c. 16. Baronius rejects the praise, which appears to contradict the invectives, of pope Gregory the Great; but Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. v. p. 217.) presumes to insinuate that the saint may have magnified the faults of Arians and enemies.

⁵⁸ The passages of the homilies of Gregory, which represent the miserable state of the city and country, are transcribed in the *Annals of Baronius*, A. D. 590. N° 16. A. D. 595. N° 2, etc. etc.

⁵⁹ The inundation and plague were reported by a deacon, whom his bishop, Gregory of Tours, had dispatched to Rome for some relics. The ingenious messenger embellished his tale and the river with a great dragon and a train of little serpents (*Greg. Turon. l. x. c. 1.*).

⁶⁰ Gregory of Rome (*Dialog. i. ii. c. 15.*) relates a memorable prediction of St. Benedict. Roma a Gentilibus non exterminabitur sed tempestatibus, coruscis turbinibus ac terræ motû in semetipsa marcescet.

Such a prophecy melts into true history, and becomes the evidence of the fact after which it was invented.

⁶¹ Quia in uno se ore cum Jovis laudibus, Christi laudes non capiunt, et quam grave nefandumque sit episcopis canere quod nec laico religioso conveniat, ipse considera (l. ix. ep. 4.). The writings of Gregory himself attest his innocence of any classic taste or literature.

⁶² Bayle (Dictionnaire Critique, tom. ii. p. 598, 599.) in a very good article of *Gregoire I.* has quoted, for the buildings and statues, Platina in *Gregorio I.*; for the Palatine library, John of Salisbury (*de Nugis Curialium*, l. ii. c. 26.); and for Livy, Antoninus of Florence: the oldest of the three lived in the xiith century.

⁶³ *Gregor.* l. iii. epist. 24. indict. 12, etc. From the Epistles of Gregory, and the viiith volume of the Annals of Baronius, the pious reader may collect the particles of holy iron which were inserted in keys or crosses of gold, and distributed in Britain, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Constantinople, and Egypt. The pontifical smith who handled the file must have understood the miracles which it was in his own power to operate or with-hold: a circumstance which abates the superstition of Gregory, at the expence of his veracity.

⁶⁴ Besides the Epistles of Gregory himself, which are methodised by Dupin (*Bibliothèque Ecclési.* tom. v. p. 103—126.), we have three lives of the pope; the two first written in the viiith and ixth centuries (*de Triplici Vita St. Greg.* Preface to the ivth volume of the Benedictine edition) by the deacons Paul (p. 1—18.) and John (p. 19—188.), and containing much original, though doubtful, evidence; the third, a long and laboured compilation by the Benedictine editors (p. 199—305.). The Annals of Baronius are a copious but partial history. His papal prejudices are tempered by the good sense of Fleury (*Hist. Ecclési.* tom. viii.), and his chronology has been rectified by the criticism of Pagi and Muratori.

⁶⁵ John the deacon has described them like an eye-witness (l. iv. c. 83, 84); and his description is illustrated by Angelo Rocca, a Roman antiquary (*St. Greg. Opera*, tom. iv. p. 312—326.), who observes, that some mosaics of the popes of the viiith century are still preserved in the old churches of Rome (p. 321—323.). The same walls which represented Gregory's family are now decorated with the martyrdom of St. Andrew, the noble contest of Dominichino and Guido.

⁶⁶ *Disciplinis vero liberalibus, hoc est grammaticâ, rhetoricâ, dialecticâ, ita a puero est institutus, ut quamvis eo tempore florerent adhuc Romæ studia literarum, tamen nulli in urbe ipsâ secundus putaretur.* Paul. Diacon. in *Vit. S. Greg.* c. 2.

⁶⁷ The Benedictines (*Vit. Greg.* l. i. p. 205—208.) labour to reduce

the monasteries of Gregory within the rule of their own order; but as the question is confessed to be doubtful, it is clear that these powerful monks are in the wrong. See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. iii. p. 145.; a work of merit; the sense and learning belong to the author—his prejudices are those of his profession.

⁶⁸ *Monasterium Gregorianum in ejusdem Beati Gregorii ædibus ad clivum Scauri prope ecclesiam S. S. Johannis et Pauli in honorem St. Andreæ* (John, in *Vit. Greg.* l. i. c. 6. *Greg.* l. vii. epist. 13.). This house and monastery were situate on the side of the Cælian hill which fronts the Palatine: they are now occupied by the Camaldoli; San Gregorio triumphs, and St. Andrew has retired to a small chapel. Nardini, *Roma Antica*, l. iii. c. 6. p. 100. *Descrizione di Roma*, tom. i. p. 442—446.

⁶⁹ The Lord's prayer consists of half a dozen lines: the *Sacramentarius* and *Antiphonarius* of Gregory fill 880 folio pages (tom. iii. P. i. p. 1—880.); yet these only constitute a part of the *Ordo Romanus*, which Mabillon has illustrated and Fleury has abridged (*Hist. Ecclési.* tom. viii. p. 139—152.).

⁷⁰ I learn from the Abbé Dubos (*Réflexions sur la Poésie et la Peinture*, tom. iii. p. 174, 175.) that the simplicity of the Ambrosian chant was confined to four *modes*, while the more perfect harmony of the Gregorian comprized the eight modes or fifteen chords of the ancient music. He observes (p. 332.) that the connoisseurs admire the preface and many passages of the Gregorian office.

⁷¹ John the deacon (in *Vit. Greg.* l. ii. c. 7.) expresses the early contempt of the Italians for tramontane singing. *Alpina scilicet corpora vocum suarum tonitruis altifone perstreptentia, susceptæ modulationis dulcedinem proprie non resultant: quia bibuli gutturis barbara feritas dum inflexionibus et repercussionibus mitem nititur edere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore quasi plaustra per gradus confusa sonantia rigidas voces jactat*, etc. In the time of Charlemagne, the Franks, though with some reluctance, admitted the justice of the reproach. Muratori, *Dissert.* xxv.

⁷² A French critic (Petrus Guffanvillus, *Opera*, tom. ii. p. 105—112.) has vindicated the right of Gregory to the entire nonsense of the *Dialogues*. Dupin (tom. v. p. 138.) does not think that any one will vouch for the truth of all these miracles: I should like to know *how many* of them he believed himself.

⁷³ Baronius is unwilling to expatiate on the care of the patrimonies, lest he should betray that they consisted not of *kingdoms* but *farms*. The French writers, the Benedictine editors (tom. iv. l. iii. p. 272, etc.), and Fleury (tom. viii. p. 29, etc.), are not afraid of entering into

these humble, though useful, details; and the humanity of Fleury dwells on the social virtues of Gregory.

⁷⁴ I much suspect that this pecuniary fine on the marriages of villains produced the famous, and often fabulous, right, *de cuissage*, *de marquette*, etc. With the consent of her husband, an handsome bride might commute the payment in the arms of a young landlord, and the mutual favour might afford a precedent of local rather than legal tyranny.

⁷⁵ The temporal reign of Gregory I. is ably exposed by Sigonius in the first book, *de Regno Italiæ*. See his works, tom. ii. p. 44—75.

CHAP. XLVI.

¹ *Missi qui . . . repolcerent . . . veteres Persarum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa Cyro et post Alexandro, per vaniloquentiam ac minas jaciebat.* Tacit. Annal. vi. 31. Such was the language of the *Arfacides*: I have repeatedly marked the lofty claims of the *Sassanians*.

² See the embassies of Menander, extracted and preserved in the xth century by the order of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

³ The general independence of the Arabs, which cannot be admitted without many limitations, is blindly asserted in a separate dissertation of the authors of the Universal History, vol. xx. p. 196—250. A perpetual miracle is supposed to have guarded the prophecy in favour of the posterity of Ishmael; and these learned bigots are not afraid to risk the truth of Christianity on this frail and slippery foundation.

⁴ D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 477. Pocock, *Specimen Hist. Arabum*, p. 64, 65. Father Pagi (*Critica*, tom. ii. p. 646.) has proved that, after ten years peace, the Persian war which continued twenty years, was renewed A. D. 571. Mahomet was born A. D. 569, in the year of the elephant, or the defeat of Abrahah (*Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet*, tom. i. p. 89, 90. 98.); and this account allows two years for the conquest of Yemen.

⁵ He had vanquished the Albanians, who brought into the field 12,000 horse and 60,000 foot; but he dreaded the multitude of venomous reptiles, whose existence may admit of some doubt, as well as that of the neighbouring Amazons. Plutarch, in *Pompeio*, tom. ii. p. 1165, 1166.

⁶ In the history of the world I can only perceive two navies on the Caspian: 1. Of the Macedonians, when Patrocles, the admiral of the kings of Syria, Seleucus and Antiochus, descended most probably the

river Oxus, from the confines of India (Plin. Hist. Natur. vi. 21.).

2. Of the Russians, when Peter the First conducted a fleet and army from the neighbourhood of Moscow to the coast of Persia (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 325—352.). He justly observes, that such martial pomp had never been displayed on the Volga.

7 For these Persian wars and treaties, see Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 113—125. Theophanes Byzant. apud Photium, cod. lxiv. p. 77. 80, 81. Evagrius, l. v. c. 7—15. Theophylact, l. iii. c. 9—16. Agathias, l. iv. p. 140.

8 Buzurg Mihir may be considered, in his character and station, as the Seneca of the East; but his virtues, and perhaps his faults, are less known than those of the Roman, who appears to have been much more loquacious. The Persian sage was the person who imported from India the game of chess and the fables of Pilpay. Such has been the fame of his wisdom and virtues, that the Christians claim him as a believer in the gospel; and the Mahometans revere Buzurg as a premature Musulman. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 218.

9 See the imitation of Scipio in Theophylact, l. i. c. 14.; the image of Christ, l. ii. c. 3. Hereafter I shall speak more amply of the Christian images—I had almost said *idols*. This, if I am not mistaken, is the oldest *αχειροποιητος* of divine manufacture; but in the next thousand years, many others issued from the same workshop.

10 Ragæ, or Rei, is mentioned in the apocryphal book of Tobit as already flourishing, 700 years before Christ, under the Assyrian empire. Under the foreign names of Europus and Arfacia, this city, 500 stadia to the south of the Caspian gates, was successively embellished by the Macedonians and Parthians (Strabo, l. xi. p. 796.). Its grandeur and populousness in the ixth century, is exaggerated beyond the bounds of credibility; but Rei has been since ruined by wars and the unwholesomeness of the air. Chardin, Voyage en Perse, tom. i. p. 279, 280. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Oriental. p. 714.

11 Theophylact, l. iii. c. 18. The story of the seven Persians is told in the third book of Herodotus; and their noble descendants are often mentioned, especially in the fragments of Ctesias. Yet the independence of Otanes (Herodot. l. iii. c. 83, 84.) is hostile to the spirit of despotism, and it may not seem probable that the seven families could survive the revolutions of eleven hundred years. They might however be represented by the seven ministers (Briffon, de Regno Persico, l. i. p. 190.); and some Persian nobles, like the kings of Pontus (Polyb. l. v. p. 540.) and Cappadocia (Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxi. tom. ii. p. 517.), might claim their descent from the bold companions of Darius.

¹² See an accurate description of this mountain by Olearius (*Voyage en Perse*, p. 997, 998.), who ascended it with much difficulty and danger in his return from Ispahan to the Caspian sea.

¹³ The Orientals suppose that Bahram convened this assembly and proclaimed Chosroes; but Theophylact is, in this instance, more distinct and credible.

¹⁴ See the words of Theophylact, l. iv. c. 7. Βαράμ Φίλος τοῖς θεοῖς, νικητὴς ἐπιθύνης, τυραννῶν ἐχθρὸς, σατραπῆς μεγιστάνων, τῆς Περσικῆς ἀρχῶν δυναμῶς, etc. In his answer, Chosroes styles himself τῇ νυκτὶ χαριζόμενος οὐρανῷ . . . ὁ τῆς Ἀσωνᾶς (the genii) μισθόμενος. This is genuine Oriental bombast.

¹⁵ Theophylact (l. iv. c. 7.) imputes the death of Hormouz to his son, by whose command he was beaten to death with clubs, I have followed the milder account of Khondemir and Eutychius, and shall always be content with the slightest evidence to extenuate the crime of parricide.

¹⁶ After the battle of Pharsalia, the Pompey of Lucan (l. viii. 256—455.) holds a similar debate, he was himself desirous of seeking the Parthians; but his companions abhorred the unnatural alliance; and the adverse prejudices might operate as forcibly on Chosroes and his companions, who could describe, with the same vehemence, the contrast of laws, religion, and manners, between the East and West.

¹⁷ In this age there were three warriors of the name of *Narses*, who have been often confounded (Pagi, *Critica*, tom. ii. p. 640.): 1. A Persarmenian, the brother of Isaac and Armatius, who, after a successful action against Belisarius, deserted from his Persian sovereign, and afterwards served in the Italian war.—2. The eunuch who conquered Italy.—3. The restorer of Chosroes, who is celebrated in the poem of Corippus (l. iii. 220—227.) as *excelsus super omnia vertice agmina . . . habitu modestus . . . morum probitate placens, virtute verendus; fulmineus, cautus, vigilans, etc.*

¹⁸ Experimentis cognitum est Barbaros malle Româ petere reges quam habere. These experiments are admirably represented in the invitation and expulsion of Vonones (Annal. ii. 1—3.), Tiridates (Annal. vi. 32—44.), and Meherdates (Annal. xi. 10. xii. 10—14.). The eye of Tacitus seems to have transpierced the camp of the Parthians and the walls of the haram.

¹⁹ Sergius and his companion Bacchus, who are said to have suffered in the persecution of Maximian, obtained divine honour in France, Italy, Constantinople, and the East. Their tomb at Rasaphe was famous for miracles, and that Syrian town acquired the more honourable name of Sergiopolis. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléf.* tom. v. p. 491—496. Butler's *Saints*, vol. x. p. 155.

²⁰ Evagrius (l. vi. c. 21.) and Theophylact (l. v. c. 13, 14.) have preserved the original letters of Chosroes, written in Greek, signed with his own hand, and afterwards inscribed on crosses and tables of gold, which were deposited in the church of Sergiopolis. They had been sent to the bishop of Antioch, as primate of Syria.

²¹ The Greeks only describe her as a Roman by birth, a Christian by religion; but she is represented as the daughter of the emperor Maurice in the Persian and Turkish romances, which celebrate the love of Khosrou for Schirin, of Schirin for Ferhad, the most beautiful youth of the East. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 789. 997, 998.

²² The whole series of the tyranny of Hormouz, the revolt of Bahram, and the flight and restoration of Chosroes, is related by two contemporary Greeks—more concisely by Evagrius (l. vi. c. 16, 17, 18, 19.)—and most diffusely by Theophylact Simocatta (l. iii. c. 6—18. l. iv. c. 1—16. l. v. c. 1—15.): succeeding compilers, Zonaras and Cedrenus, can only transcribe and abridge. The Christian Arabs, Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 200—208.) and Abulpharagius (Dynast. P. 96—98.), appear to have consulted some particular memoirs. The great Persian historians of the xvth century, Mirkhond and Khondemir, are only known to me by the imperfect extracts of Schikard (Tarikh, p. 150—155.), Texeira, or rather Stevens (Hist. of Persia, p. 182—186.), a Turkish MS. translated by the Abbé Fourmont (Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. vii. p. 325—334.), and d'Herbelot (au mot, *Hormouz*, p. 457—359. Bahram, p. 174. Khosrou Parviz, p. 996.). Were I perfectly satisfied of their authority, I could wish these Oriental materials had been more copious.

²³ A general idea of the pride and power of the chagan may be taken from Menander (Excerpt. Legat. p. 117, etc.) and Theophylact (l. i. c. 3. l. vii. c. 15.), whose eight books are much more honourable to the Avar than to the Roman prince. The predecessors of Baian had tasted the liberality of Rome, and he survived the reign of Maurice (Buat, Hist. des Peuples Barbares, tom. xi. p. 545.). The chagan who invaded Italy A. D. 611. (Muratori, Annali, tom. v. p. 305.) was then *juvenili ætate florentem* (Paul Warnefrid, de Gest. Langobard. l. v. c. 38.), the son, perhaps, or the grandson, of Baian.

²⁴ Theophylact, l. i. c. 5, 6.

²⁵ Even in the field, the chagan delighted in the use of these aromatics. He solicited, as a gift, *Ἰνδικὰς καρυχίας*, and received *πέπερι καὶ φύλλον Ἰνδῶν, κασιαν τε καὶ τὸν λεγόμενον κοσόν*. Theophylact, l. vii. c. 13. The Europeans of the ruder ages consumed more spices in their meat and drink than is compatible with the delicacy of a modern palate. Vie Privée des François, tom. ii. p. 162, 163.

²⁶ Theophylact, l. vi. c. 6. l. vii. c. 15. The Greek historian confesses the truth and justice of his reproach.

²⁷ Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 126—132. 174, 175.) describes the perjury of Baian and the surrender of Sirmium. We have lost his account of the siege, which is commended by Theophylact, l. i. c. 3. Το δ' ὅπως Μεναιδῶ τῷ περιΦανεί σαφῶς διηγορεύται.

²⁸ See d'Anville, in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 412—443. The Slavonic name of *Belgrade* is mentioned in the xth century by Constantine Porphyrogenitus; the Latin appellation of *Alba Græca* is used by the Franks in the beginning of the xth (p. 414.).

²⁹ Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 600, N° 1. Paul Warnefrid (l. iv. c. 38.) relates their irruption into Friuli, and (c. 39.) the captivity of his ancestors, about A. D. 632. The Sclavi traversed the Hadriatic, cum multitudine navium, and made a descent in the territory of Sipontum (c. 47.).

³⁰ Even the helepolis, or moveable turret. Theophylact, l. ii. 16, 17.

³¹ The arms and alliances of the chagan reached to the neighbourhood of a western sea, fifteen months journey from Constantinople. The emperor Maurice conversed with some itinerant harpers from that remote country, and only seems to have mistaken a trade for a nation. Theophylact, l. vi. c. 2.

³² This is one of the most probable and luminous conjectures of the learned count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples Barbares, tom. xi. p. 546—568.). The Tzechi and Serbi are found together near mount Caucasus, in Illyricum, and on the Lower Elbe. Even the wildest traditions of the Bohemians, etc. afford some colour to his hypothesis.

³³ See Fredegarius, in the Historians of France, tom. ii. p. 432. Baian did not conceal his proud insensibility. Οτι τοις τε οὐκ ἐπαφῆσω τῇ Ρωμαϊκῇ, ὥς εἰ καὶ συμβαίη γε σφισι θανάτῳ ἄλωναί, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ γε μὴ γενέσθαι συναισθῆσιν.

³⁴ See the march and return of Maurice, in Theophylact, l. v. c. 16. l. vi. c. 1, 2, 3. If he were a writer of taste or genius, we might suspect him of an elegant irony: but Theophylact is surely harmless.

³⁵ 'Εἰς οἶωνος ἀρίστου ἀμυνέσθαι περὶ πατρὸς. Iliad. xii. 243.

This noble verse, which unites the spirit of an hero with the reason of a sage, may prove that Homer was in every light superior to his age and country.

³⁶ Theophylact, l. vii. c. 3. On the evidence of this fact, which had not occurred to my memory, the candid reader will correct and excuse a note in the third volume of this history, p. 374. which hastens

the decay of Asimus, or Azimuntium : another century of patriotism and valour is cheaply purchased by such a confession.

³⁷ See the shameful conduct of Commentiolus, in Theophylact, l. ii. c. 10—15. l. vii. c. 13, 14. l. viii. c. 2. 4.

³⁸ See the exploits of Priscus, l. viii. c. 2, 3.

³⁹ The general detail of the war against the Avars, may be traced in the first, second, sixth, seventh, and eighth books of the History of the Emperor Maurice, by Theophylact Simocatta. As he wrote in the reign of Heraclius, he had no temptation to flatter ; but his want of judgment renders him diffuse in trifles and concise in the most interesting facts.

⁴⁰ Maurice himself composed xii books on the military art, which are still extant, and have been published (Upsal, 1664) by John Scheffer at the end of the Tactics of Arrian (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græca, l. iv. c. 8. tom. iii. p. 278.), who promises to speak more fully of his work in its proper place.

⁴¹ See the mutinies under the reign of Maurice, in Theophylact, l. iii. c. 1—4. l. vi. c. 7, 8. 10. l. vii. c. 1. l. viii. c. 6, etc.

⁴² Theophylact and Theophanes seem ignorant of the conspiracy and avarice of Maurice. These charges, so unfavourable to the memory of that emperor, are first mentioned by the author of the Paschal Chronicle (p. 379, 380.); from whence Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 77, 78) has transcribed them. Cedrenus (p. 399.) has followed another computation of the ransom.

⁴³ In their clamours against Maurice, the people of Constantinople branded him with the name of Marcionite or Marcionist : a heresy (says Theophylact, l. viii. c. 9.) *μετα τινος μωρας ευλαβειας, ευηθης τε και καταγελασος*. Did they only cast out a vague reproach—or had the emperor really listened to some obscure teacher of those ancient Gnostics?

⁴⁴ The church of St Autonomus (whom I have not the honour to know) was 150 stadia from Constantinople (Theophylact, l. viii. c. 9.). The port of Eutropius, where Maurice and his children were murdered, is described by Gyllius (de Bosphoro Thracio, l. iii. c. xi.) as one of the two harbours of Chalcedon.

⁴⁵ The inhabitants of Constantinople were generally subject to the *νοσοι αεθριτιδες*; and Theophylact insinuates (l. viii. c. 9.), that if it were consistent with the rules of history, he could assign the medical cause. Yet such a digression would not have been more impertinent than his enquiry (l. vii. c. 16, 17.) into the annual inundations of the Nile, and all the opinions of the Greek philosophers on that subject.

⁴⁶ From this generous attempt, Corneille has deduced the intricate

web of his tragedy of *Heraclius*, which requires more than one representation to be clearly understood (Corneille de Voltaire, tom. v. p. 300.); and which, after an interval of some years, is said to have puzzled the author himself (Anecdotes Dramatiques, tom. i. p. 422.).

⁴⁷ The revolt of Phocas and death of Maurice are told by Theophylact Simocatta (l. viii. c. 7—12.), the Paschal Chronicle (p. 379, 380.). Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 238—244.), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 77—80.), and Cedrenus (p. 399—404.).

⁴⁸ Gregor. l. xi. epist. 38. indict. vi. Benignitatem vestræ pietatis ad Imperiale fastigium pervenisse gaudemus. Latentur cœli et exultet terra, et de vestris benignis actibus universæ reipublicæ populus nunc usque vehementer afflictus hilarescat, etc. This base flattery, the topic of protestant invective, is justly censured by the philosopher Bayle (Dictionaire Critique, Gregoire I. Not. H. tom. ii. p. 597, 598.). Cardinal Baronius justifies the pope at the expence of the fallen emperor.

⁴⁹ The images of Phocas were destroyed; but even the malice of his enemies would suffer one copy of such a portrait or caricatura (Cedrenus, p. 404.) to escape the flames.

⁵⁰ The family of Maurice is represented by Ducange (Familia Byzantina, p. 106, 107, 108.): his eldest son Theodosius had been crowned emperor when he was no more than four years and a half old, and he is always joined with his father in the salutations of Gregory. With the Christian daughters, Anastasia and Theocteste, I am surprised to find the Pagan name of Cleopatra.

⁵¹ Some of the cruelties of Phocas are marked by Theophylact, l. viii. c. 13, 14, 15. George of Pisidia, the poet of Heraclius, styles him (Bell. Avaricum, p. 46. Rome 1777) τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ δυσκαθεκτός καὶ βιοβόρος δεικνύς. The latter epithet is just—but the corrupter of life was easily vanquished.

⁵² In the writers, and in the copies of those writers, there is such hesitation between the names of *Priscus* and *Crispus* (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. III.), that I have been tempted to identify the son-in-law of Phocas with the hero five times victorious over the Avars.

⁵³ According to Theophanes, κίβωτια, and εἰκὼν θεομνητοῦ. Cedrenus adds an ἀχειροποίητον εἰκὼν τῆς κυρίᾳ, which Heraclius bore as a banner in the first Persian expedition. See George Pisid. Acroas I. 140. The manufacture seems to have flourished; but Foggini, the Roman editor (p. 26.), is at a loss to determine whether this picture was an original or a copy.

⁵⁴ See the tyranny of Phocas and the elevation of Heraclius, in Chron. Paschal. p. 380—383. Theophanes, p. 242—250. Nicephorus, p.

3—7. Cedrenus, p. 404—407. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 80—82.

⁵⁵ Theophylact, l. viii. c. 15. The life of Maurice was composed about the year 628 (l. viii. c. 13.) by Theophylact Simocatta, ex-præfect, a native of Egypt. Photius, who gives an ample extract of the work (cod. lxxv. p. 81—100.), gently reproves the affectation and allegory of the style. His preface is a dialogue between Philosophy and History; they seat themselves under a plane-tree, and the latter touches her lyre.

⁵⁶ Christianis nec pactum esse, nec fidem nec fœdus.... quod si ulla illis fides fuisset, regem suum non occidissent. Eutych. Annales, tom. ii. p. 211. vers. Pocock.

⁵⁷ We must now, for some ages, take our leave of contemporary historians, and descend, if it be a descent, from the affectation of rhetoric to the rude simplicity of chronicles and abridgments. Those of Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 244—279.) and Nicephorus (p. 3—16.) supply a regular, but imperfect, series of the Persian war; and for any additional facts I quote my special authorities. Theophanes, a courtier who became a monk, was born A. D. 748; Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, who died A. D. 829, was somewhat younger: they both suffered in the cause of images. Hankius, de Scriptoribus Byzantinis, p. 200—246.

⁵⁸ The Persian historians have been themselves deceived; but Theophanes (p. 244.) accuses Chosroes of the fraud and falsehood; and Eutychius believes (Annal. tom. ii. p. 211.) that the son of Maurice, who was saved from the assassins, lived and died a monk on mount Sinai.

⁵⁹ Eutychius dates all the losses of the empire under the reign of Phocas, an error which saves the honour of Heraclius, whom he brings not from Carthage, but Salonica, with a fleet laden with vegetables for the relief of Constantinople (Annal. tom. ii. p. 223, 224.). The other Christians of the East, Barhebræus (apud Asseman, Bibliothec. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 412, 413.), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 13—16.), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 98, 99.), are more sincere and accurate. The years of the Persian war are disposed in the chronology of Pagi.

⁶⁰ On the conquest of Jerusalem, an event so interesting to the church, see the Annals of Eutychius (tom. ii. p. 212—223.) and the lamentations of the monk Antiochus (apud Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 614, N° 16—26.), whose one hundred and twenty-nine homilies are still extant, if what no one reads may be said to be extant.

⁶¹ The life of this worthy saint is composed by Leontius, a contemporary bishop; and I find in Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 610.

N^o 10, etc.) and Fleury (tom. viii. p. 235—242.) sufficient extracts of this edifying work.

⁶² The error of Baronius, and many others who have carried the arms of Chosroes to Carthage instead of Chalcedon, is founded on the near resemblance of the Greek words Καλχηδονα and Καρχηδονα, in the text of Theophanes, etc. which have been sometimes confounded by transcribers and sometimes by critics.

⁶³ The *genuine* acts of St. Anastasius are published in those of the viiith general council, from whence Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 614, 626, 627.) and Butler (Lives of the Saints, vol. i. p. 242—248.) have taken their accounts. The holy martyr deserted from the Persian to the Roman army, became a monk at Jerufalem, and insulted the worship of the Magi, which was then established at Cæsarea in Palestine.

⁶⁴ Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 99. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 14.

⁶⁵ D'Anville, Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxii. p. 568—571.

⁶⁶ The difference between the two races consists in one or two humps; the dromedary has only once; the size of the proper camel is larger; the country he comes from, Turkestan or Bactriana; the dromedary is confined to Arabia and Africa. Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. xi. p. 211, etc. Aristot. Hist. Animal. tom. i. l. ii. c. 1. tom. ii. p. 185.

⁶⁷ Theophanes, Chronograph. p. 268. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 997. The Greeks describe the decay, the Persians the splendour, of Dastagerd; but the former speak from the modest witness of the eye, the latter from the vague report of the ear.

⁶⁸ The historians of Mahomet, Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed, p. 92, 93.) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 247.), date this embassy in the viiith year of the hegira, which commences A. D. 628, May 11. Their chronology is erreneous, since Chosroes died in the month of February of the same year (Pagi, Critica, tom. ii. p. 779.). The count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomet, p. 327, 328.) places this embassy about A. D. 615, soon after the conquest of Palestine. Yet Mahomet would scarcely have ventured so soon on so bold a step.

⁶⁹ See the xxxth chapter of the Koran, entitled *the Greeks*. Our honest and learned translator Sale (p. 330, 331.) fairly states this conjecture, guesses, wagers, of Mahomet; but Boulainvilliers (p. 329—344.), with wicked intentions, labours to establish this evident prophecy of a future event, which must, in his opinion, embarrass the Christian polemics.

⁷⁰ Paul Warnefrid, de Gestis Langobardorum, l. iv. c. 38. 42. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 305, etc.

⁷¹ The Paschal Chronicle, which sometimes introduces fragments of history into a barren list of names and dates, gives the best account of the treason of the Avars, p. 389, 390. The number of captives is added by Nicephorus.

⁷² Some original pieces, such as the speech or letter of the Roman ambassadors (p. 386—388.), likewise constitute the merit of the Paschal Chronicle, which was composed, perhaps at Alexandria, under the reign of Heraclius.

⁷³ Nicephorus (p. 10, 11.), who brands this marriage with the names of *αθεσμον* and *αθεμιτον*, is happy to observe that of two sons, its incestuous fruit, the elder was marked by Providence with a stiff neck, the younger with the loss of hearing.

⁷⁴ George of Pisidia (Acroas. i. 112—125. p. 5.), who states the opinions, acquits the pusillanimous counsellors of any sinister views. Would he have excused the proud and contemptuous admonition of Crispus? *Επιβωπταζων εν εξον βασιλει εφασκε καταλιμπανειν βασιλεια, και τας πορρω επιχωριαζειν δυναμεσιν.*

⁷⁵ *Ει τας επ' ακρον ηρμενας ευεξιας
Εσφαλμενας λεγυσιν εν απεικοτως
Κεισθω το λοιπον εν κακοις τα Πεσσιδος
Αντιστροφως δε, etc.*

George Pisid. Acroas. i. 51, etc. p. 4.

The Orientals are not less fond of remarking this strange vicissitude; and I remember some story of Khosrou Parviz, not very unlike the ring of Polycrates of Samos.

⁷⁶ Baronius gravely relates this discovery, or rather transmutation, of barrels, not of honey, but of gold (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 620, N° 3, etc.). Yet the loan was arbitrary, since it was collected by soldiers, who were ordered to leave the patriarch of Alexandria no more than one hundred pounds of gold. Nicephorus (p. 11.), two hundred years afterwards, speaks with ill-humour of this contribution, which the church of Constantinople might still feel.

⁷⁷ Theophylact Simocatta, l. viii. c. 12. This circumstance need not excite our surprise. The muster-roll of a regiment, even in time of peace, is renewed in less than twenty or twenty-five years.

⁷⁸ He changed his *purple*, for *black*, buskins, and dyed them *red* in the blood of the Persians (Georg. Pisid. Acroas. iii. 118. 121, 122. See the Notes of Foggini, p. 35.).

⁷⁹ George of Pisidia (Acroas. ii. 10. p. 8.) has fixed this important
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point of the Syrian and Cilician gates. They are elegantly described by Xenophon, who marched through them a thousand years before. A narrow pass of three stadia between steep high rocks (πετραὶ ἡλιβατοὶ) and the Mediterranean, was closed at each end by strong gates, impregnable to the land (παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βίη), accessible by sea (Anabasis, l. i. p. 35, 36. with Hutchinson's Geographical Dissertation, p. vi.). The gates were thirty five parasangs, or leagues, from Tarsus (Anabasis, l. i. p. 33, 34.), and eight or ten from Antioch. (Compare Itinerar. Wesseling. p. 580, 581. Schulten's Index Geograph. ad calcem Vit. Saladin. p. 9. Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, par M. Otter, tom. i. p. 78, 79.).

⁸⁰ Heraclius might write to a friend in the modest words of Cicero: "Castra habuimus ea ipsa quæ contra Darium habuerat apud Issum Alexander, imperator haud paullo melior quam aut tu aut ego." Ad Atticum, v. 20. Issus, a rich and flourishing city in the time of Xenophon, was ruined by the prosperity of Alexandria or Scanderoon, on the other side of the bay.

⁸¹ Foggini (Annotat. p. 31.) suspects that the Persians were deceived by the *Φαλαγγὶς πεπλεγμένη* of Ælian (Tactic, c. 48.), an intricate spiral motion of the army. He observes (p. 28.) that the military descriptions of George of Pisidia are transcribed in the tactics of the emperor Leo.

⁸² George of Pisidia, an eye-witness (Acroas. ii. 122, etc.), described, in three *acroasais* or cantos, the first expedition of Heraclius. The poem has been lately (1777) published at Rome; but such vague and declamatory praise is far from corresponding with the sanguine hopes of Pagi, D'Anville, etc.

⁸³ Theophanes (p. 256.) carries Heraclius swiftly (*κατὰ ταχος*) into Armenia. Nicephorus (p. 11.), though he confounds the two expeditions, defines the province of Lazica. Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 231.) has given the 5000 men, with the more probable station of Trebizond.

⁸⁴ From Constantinople to Trebizond, with a fair wind, four or five days; from thence to Erzerom, five; to Erivan, twelve; to Tauris, ten; in all, thirty two. Such is the Itinerary of Tavernier (Voyages, tom. i. p. 12—56.), who was perfectly conversant with the roads of Asia. Tournefort, who travelled with a pasha, spent ten or twelve days between Trebizond and Erzerom (Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xviii.); and Chardin (Voyages, tom. i. p. 249—254.) gives the more correct distance of fifty-three parasangs, each of 5000 paces (what paces?), between Erivan and Tauris.

⁸⁵ The expedition of Heraclius into Persia is finely illustrated by M. d'Anville (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii.

p. 559—573.). He discovers the situation of Gandzaca, Thebarma, Daftagerd, etc. with admirable skill and learning; but the obscure campaign of 624, he passes over in silence.

⁸⁶ Et Pontem indignatus Araxes.

Virgil. *Æneid* viii. 728.

The river Araxes is noisy, rapid, vehement, and, with the melting of the snows, irresistible: the strongest and most massy bridges are swept away by the current; and its *indignation* is attested by the ruins of many arches near the old town of Zulfa. Voyages de Chardin, tom. i. p. 252.

⁸⁷ Chardin, tom. i. p. 255—259. With the Orientals (d'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 834.), he ascribes the foundation of Tauris, or Tebris, to Zobeide, the wife of the famous Khalif Harun-al-Rashid; but it appears to have been more ancient, and the names of Gandzaca, Gazaca, Gaza, are expressive of the royal treasure. The number of 550,000 inhabitants is reduced by Chardin from 1,100,000, the popular estimate.

⁸⁸ He opened the gospel, and applied or interpreted the first casual passage to the name and situation of Albania. Theophanes, p. 258.

⁸⁹ The heath of Mogan, between the Cyrus and the Araxes, is sixty parasangs in length and twenty in breadth (*Olearius*, p. 1023, 1024.), abounding in waters and fruitful pastures (*Hist. de Nader Shah*, translated by Mr. Jones from a Persian MS. part. ii. p. 2, 3.). See the encampments of Timur (*Hist. par Skerefeddin Ali*, l. v. c. 37. l. vi. c. 13.) and the coronation of Nader Shah (*Hist. Persanne*, p. 3—13. and the *English Life* by Mr. Jones, p. 64, 65.).

⁹⁰ Thebarma and Urmia, near the lake Spautia, are proved to be the same city by D'Anville (*Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xxviii. p. 564, 565.). It is honoured as the birth-place of Zoroaster, according to the Persians (*Schulten's Index Geograph.* p. 48.); and their tradition is fortified by M. Perron d'Anquetil (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.* tom. xxxi. p. 375.), with some texts from *his*, or *their*, *Zendavesta*.

⁹¹ I cannot find, and (what is much more) M. d'Anville does not attempt to seek, the Salban, Tarantum, territory of the Huns, etc. mentioned by Theophanes (p. 260—262.). Eutychius (*Annal.* tom. ii. p. 231, 232.), an insufficient author, names Asphahan; and Casbin is most probably the city of Sapor. Ilpahan is twenty-four days journey from Tauris, and Casbin half way between them (*Voyages de Tavernier*, tom. i. p. 63—82.).

⁹² At ten parasangs from Tarsus, the army of the younger Cyrus passed the Sarus, three plethra in breadth: the pyramus, a stadium

in breadth, ran five parasangs farther to the east (Xenophon, *Anab.* l. i. p. 33, 34.).

⁹³ George of Pisidia (*Bell. Abaricum*, 246—265. p. 49.) celebrates with truth the persevering courage of the three campaigns (*τρεις περιδρομης*) against the Persians.

⁹⁴ Petavius (*Annotationes ad Nicephorum*, p. 62, 63, 64.) discriminates the names and actions of five Persian generals who were successively sent against Heraclius.

⁹⁵ This number of eight myriads is specified by George of Pisidia (*Bell. Abar.* 219.). The poet (50—88.) clearly indicates that the old chagan lived till the reign of Heraclius, and that his son and successor was born of a foreign mother. Yet Foggini (*Annotat.* p. 57.) has given another interpretation to this passage.

⁹⁶ A bird, a frog, a mouse, and five arrows, had been the present of the Scythian king to Darius (*Herodot.* l. iv. c. 131, 132.). “Substituez une lettre à ces signes (says Rousseau, with much good taste) plus elle fera menaçante moins elle effrayera: ce ne sera qu’une fanfarronade dont Darius n’eût fait que rire (*Emile*, tom. iii. p. 146.). Yet I much question whether the senate and people of Constantinople laughed at this message of the chagan.

⁹⁷ The Paschal Chronicle (p. 392—397.) gives a minute and authentic narrative of the siege and deliverance of Constantinople. Theophanes (p. 264.) adds some circumstances; and a faint light may be obtained from the smoke of George of Pisidia, who has composed a poem (*de Bello Abarico*, p. 45—54.) to commemorate this auspicious event.

⁹⁸ The power of the Chozars prevailed in the viith, viiith, and ixth centuries. They were known to the Greeks, the Arabs, and, under the name of *Kosa*, to the Chinese themselves. De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. part. ii. p. 507—509.

⁹⁹ Epiphania, or Eudocia, the only daughter of Heraclius and his first wife Eudocia, was born at Constantinople on the 7th of July, A. D. 611, baptised the 15th of August, and crowned (in the oratory of St. Stephen in the palace) the 4th of October of the same year. At this time she was about fifteen. Eudocia was afterwards sent to her Turkish husband, but the news of his death stopped her journey and prevented the consummation (*Ducange, Familix Byzantin.* p. 118.).

¹⁰⁰ Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 13—16.) gives some curious and probable facts: but his numbers are rather too high—300,000 Romans assembled at Edeffa—500 000 Persians killed at Nineveh. The abatement of a cypher is scarcely enough to restore his sanity.

¹⁰¹ Otesias (*apud Diodor. Sicul.* tom. i. l. ii. p. 115. edit. Westeling) assigns 480 stadia (perhaps only 32 miles) for the circumference of

Nineveh. Jonas talks of three days journey : the 120,000 persons described by the prophet as incapable of discerning their right hand from their left, may afford about 700,000 persons of all ages for the inhabitants of that ancient capital (Goguet, *Origines des Loix*, etc. tom. iii. part i. p. 92, 93.), which ceased to exist 600 years before Christ. The western suburb still subsisted, and is mentioned under the name of Mosul in the first age of the Arabian khalifs.

¹⁰² Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, etc. tom. ii. p. 286.) passed over Nineveh without perceiving it. He mistook for a ridge of hills the old rampart of brick or earth. It is said to have been 100 feet high, flanked with 1500 towers, each of the height of 200 feet.

¹⁰³ *Rex regia arma fero* (says Romulus, in the first consecration) *bina postea* (continues Livy, i. 10.) *inter tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia, adeo rara ejus fortuna decoris.* If Varro (*apud Pomp. Festum*, p. 306. edit. Dacier) could justify his liberality in granting the *opime* spoils even to a common soldier who had slain the king or general of the enemy, the honour would have been much more cheap and common.

¹⁰⁴ In describing this last expedition of Heraclius, the facts, the places, and the dates of Theophanes (p. 265—271.) are so accurate and authentic, that he must have followed the original letters of the emperor, of which the Paschal Chronicle has preserved (p. 398—402.) a very curious specimen.

¹⁰⁵ The words of Theophanes are remarkable : *εισηλθε Χοσροης εις οικον γεωργου μηδαμινου μειναι, & χωρηθεις εν τη τεττα θυρα, ην ιδων εσχατον Ηρακλειος εθαυμασε* (p. 269.). Young princes who discover a propensity to war should repeatedly transcribe and translate such salutary texts.

¹⁰⁶ The authentic narrative of the fall of Chosroes is contained in the letter of Heraclius (*Chron. Paschal.* p. 398.) and the history of Theophanes (p. 271.).

¹⁰⁷ On the first rumour of the death of Chosroes, an Heracliad in two cantos was instantly published at Constantinople by George of Pisidia (p. 97—105.). A priest and a poet might very properly exult in the damnation of the public enemy (*εμπεσων εν ταρταρω*, v. 56.) : but such mean revenge is unworthy of a king and a conqueror ; and I am sorry to find so much black superstition (*θεομαχος Χοσροης επεσε και επωματισθη εις τα καταχθονια . . . εις το πυρ ακατασβεστον*, etc. in the letter of Heraclius : he almost applauds the parricide of Siroes as an act of piety and justice.

¹⁰⁸ The best Oriental accounts of this last period of the Sassanian kings are found in Eutychius (*Annal.* tom. ii. p. 251—256.), who

dissembles the parricide of Siroes, d'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 789.), and Affemanni (*Bibliothec. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 415—420.*).

¹⁰⁹ The letter of Siroes in the Paschal Chronicle (p. 402.) unfortunately ends before he proceeds to business. The treaty appears in its execution in the histories of Theophanes and Nicephorus.

¹¹⁰ The burthen of Corneille's song,

“ Montrez Héraclius au peuple qui l'attend, ”

is much better suited to the present occasion. See his triumph in Theophanes (p. 272, 273.) and Nicephorus (p. 15, 16.). The life of the mother and tenderness of the son are attested by George of Pisidia (*Bell. Abar. 255, etc. p. 49.*). The metaphor of the Sabbath is used, somewhat profanely, by these Byzantine Christians.

¹¹¹ See Baronius (*Annal. Eccles. A. D. 628, N° 1—4.*), Eutychius (*Annal. tom. ii. p. 240—248.*), Nicephorus (*Brev. p. 15.*). The seals of the case had never been broken; and this preservation of the cross is ascribed (under God) to the devotion of queen Sira.

¹¹² George of Pisidia, *Acroas. iii. de Expedit. contra Persas, 415, etc.* and Heracleid. *Acroas. i. 65—138.* I neglect the meaner parallels of Daniel, Timotheus, etc. Chosroes and the chagan were of course compared to Belshazzar, Pharaoh, the old serpent, etc.

¹¹³ Suidas (in *Excerpt. Hist. Byzant. p. 46.*) gives this number; but either the *Persian* must be read for the *Isaurian*, war, or this passage does not belong to the emperor Heraclius.

CHAP. XLVII.

By what means shall I authenticate this previous enquiry, which I have studied to circumscribe and compress?—If I persist in supporting each fact or reflexion by its proper and special evidence, every line would demand a string of testimonies, and every note would swell to a critical dissertation. But the numberless passages of antiquity which I have seen with my own eyes, are compiled, digested, and illustrated, by *Petavius* and *Le Clerc*, by *Beaufobre* and *Mosheim*. I shall be content to fortify my narrative by the names and characters of these respectable guides; and in the contemplation of a minute or remote object, I am not ashamed to borrow the aid of the strongest glasses: I. The *Dogmata Theologica* of Petavius, are a work of incredible labour and compass; the volumes which relate solely to the incarnation (two folios, vth and vith, of 837 pages), are divided into xvi books—the first of history, the remainder of controversy and doctrine. The Jesuit's learning is copious and correct; his latinity is pure, his

method clear, his argument profound and well connected : but he is the slave of the fathers, the scourge of heretics, and the enemy of truth and candour, as often as *they* are inimical to the Catholic cause. 2. The Arminian Le Clerc, who has composed in a quarto volume (Amsterdam, 1716) the ecclesiastical history of the two first centuries, was free both in his temper and situation; his sense is clear, but his thoughts are narrow; he reduces the reason or folly of ages to the standard of his private judgment, and his impartiality is sometimes quickened, and sometimes tainted, by his opposition to the fathers. See the heretics (Cerinthians, lxxx. Ebionites, ciii. Carpocratians, cxx. Valentinians, cxxi. Basilidians, cxxiii. Marcionites, cxli, etc.) under their proper dates. 3. The *Histoire Critique du Manichéisme* (Amsterdam, 1734, 1739, in two vols. in 4to, with a posthumous dissertation sur les Nazaréens, Lausanne, 1745.) of M. de Beaufobre, is a treasure of ancient philosophy and theology. The learned historian spins with incomparable art the systematic thread of opinion, and transforms himself by turns into the person of a saint, a sage, or an heretic. Yet his refinement is sometimes excessive: he betrays an amiable partiality in favour of the weaker side, and, while he guards against calumny, he does not allow sufficient scope for superstition and fanaticism. A copious table of contents will direct the reader to any point that he wishes to examine. 4. Less profound than Petavius, less independent than Le Clerc, less ingenious than Beaufobre, the historian Mosheim is full, rational, correct, and moderate. In his learned work, *De Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum* (Helmstadt, 1753, in 4to), see the *Nazarenes* and *Ebionites*, p. 172—179. 328—332. The Gnostics in general, p. 179, etc. *Cerintus*, p. 196—202. Basilides, p. 352—361. Carpocrates, p. 363—367. Valentinus, p. 371—389. Marcion, p. 404—410. The Manichæans, p. 829—837, etc.

² Καὶ γὰρ πάντες ἡμεῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων προσδοκῶμεν γεννησέσθαι, says the Jew Tryphon (Justin. Dialog. p. 207.), in the name of his countrymen; and the modern Jews, the few who divert their thoughts from money to religion, still hold the same language, and allege the literal sense of the prophets.

³ Chrysostom (Bafnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. v. c. 9. p. 183.) and Athanasius (Petav. Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. i. c. 2. p. 3.) are obliged to confess that the divinity of Christ is rarely mentioned by himself or his apostles.

⁴ The two first chapters of St. Matthew did not exist in the Ebionite copies (Epiphani. Hæres. xxx. 13.); and the miraculous conception is one of the last articles which Dr. Priestly has curtailed from his scanty creed.

⁵ It is probable enough that the first of the gospels for the use of the Jewish converts, was composed in the Hebrew or Syriac idiom: the fact is attested by a chain of fathers—Papias, Irenæus, Origen, Jerom, etc. It is devoutly believed by the Catholics, and admitted by Casaubon, Grotius, and Isaac Vossius, among the protestant critics. But this Hebrew gospel of St. Matthew is most unaccountably lost; and we may accuse the diligence or fidelity of the primitive churches, who have preferred the unauthorized version of some nameless Greek. Erasmus and his followers, who respect our Greek text as the original gospel, deprive themselves of the evidence which declares it to be the work of an apostle. See Simon, *Hist. Critique*, etc. tom. iii. c. 5—9. p. 47—101. and the *Prolegomena* of Mill and Wettstein to the New Testament.

⁶ The metaphysics of the soul are disengaged by Cicero (*Tusculan*, 1. i.) and Maximus of Tyre (*Dissertat.* xvi.) from the intricacies of dialogue, which sometimes amuse, and often perplex, the readers of the *Phædrus*, the *Phædon*, and the *Laws* of Plato.

⁷ The disciples of Jesus were persuaded that a man might have sinned before he was born (*John*, ix. 2.), and the Pharisees held the transmigration of virtuous souls (*Joseph. de Bell. Judaico*, 1. ii. c. 7.); and a modern Rabbi is modestly assured that Hermes, Pythagoras, Plato, etc. derived their metaphysics from his illustrious countrymen.

⁸ Four different opinions have been entertained concerning the origin of human souls. 1. That they are eternal and divine. 2. That they were created, in a separate state of existence, before their union with the body. 3. That they have been propagated from the original stock of Adam, who contained in himself the mental as well as the corporeal seed of his posterity. 4. That each soul is occasionally created and embodied in the moment of conception.—The last of these sentiments appears to have prevailed among the moderns; and our spiritual history is grown less sublime, without becoming more intelligible.

⁹ Ὅτι ἡ τῆς Σωτηρῆος ψυχή, ἡ τῆς Ἀδάμ ἦν—was one of the fifteen heresies imputed to Origen and denied by his apologist (*Photius*, *Bibliothec. cod.* cxvii. p. 296.). Some of the Rabbis attribute one and the same soul to the persons of Adam, David, and the Messiah.

¹⁰ Apostolis adhuc in seculo superstitionibus, apud Judæam Christi sanguine recente, PHANTASMA domini corpus asserabatur. Hieronym. *advers. Lucifer.* c. 8. The epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans, and even the gospel according to St. John, are levelled against the growing error of the Docetes, who had obtained too much credit in the world (*1 John*, iv. 1—5.).

¹¹ About the year 200 of the Christian æra, Irenæus and Hippolytus

refuted the thirty-two sects, τῆς ψευδωνυμῆς γνώσεως, which had multiplied to fourscore in the time of Epiphanius (Phot. Biblioth. cod. cxx, cxxi, cxxii.). The five books of Irenæus exist only in barbarous Latin; but the original might perhaps be found in some monastery of Greece.

¹² The pilgrim Cassian, who visited Egypt in the beginning of the vth century, observes and laments the reign of anthropomorphism among the monks, who were not conscious that they embraced the system of Epicurus (Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, i. 18. 34.). Ab universo propemodum genere monachorum, qui per totam provinciam Egyptum morabantur, pro simplicitatis errore susceptum est, ut e contrario memoratum pontificem (*Theophilum*) velut hæresi gravissimâ depravatum, pars maxima seniorum ab universo fraternitatis corpore decerneret detestandum (Cassian, Collation. x. 2.). As long as St. Augustin remained a Manichæan, he was scandalized by the anthropomorphism of the vulgar Catholics.

¹³ Ita est in oratione senex mente confusus, eo quod illam ἀνθρωπομορφον imaginem Deitatis, quam proponere sibi in oratione consueverat aboleri de suo corde sentiret, ut in amarissimos fletus, crebrosque singultus repentè prorumpens, in terram prostratus, cum ejulatû validissimo proclamaret; “Heu me miserum!” tulerunt a me Deum meum, et quem nunc teneam non habeo, vel quem adorem, aut interpellem jam nescio (Cassian, Collat. x. 2.).

¹⁴ St. John and Cerinthus (A. D. 80. Oleric. Hist. Eccles. p. 493.) accidentally met in the public bath of Ephesus; but the apostle fled from the heretic, lest the building should tumble on their heads. This foolish story, reprobated by Dr. Middleton (Miscellaneous Works, vol. ii.), is related however by Irenæus (iii. 3.), on the evidence of Polycarp, and was probably suited to the time and residence of Cerinthus. The obsolete, yet probably the true, reading of 1 John, iv. 3. —ὁ λυεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν—alludes to the double nature of that primitive heretic.

¹⁵ The Valentinians embraced a complex, and almost incoherent, system. 1. Both Christ and Jesus were æons, though of different degrees; the one acting as the rational soul, the other as the divine spirit of the Saviour. 2. At the time of the passion, they both retired, and left only a sensitive soul and an human body. 3. Even that body was æthereal, and perhaps apparent—Such are the laborious conclusions of Mosheim. But I much doubt whether the Latin translator understood Irenæus, and whether Irenæus and the Valentinians understood themselves.

¹⁶ The heretics abused the passionate exclamation of “My God, my

God, why hast thou *forſaken* me!" Rouſſeau, who has drawn an eloquent, but indecent, parallel between Chriſt and Socrates, forgets that not a word of impatience or deſpair eſcaped from the mouth of the dying philoſopher. In the Meſſiah, ſuch ſentiments could be only apparent; and ſuch ill ſounding words are properly explained as the application of a pſalm and prophecy.

¹⁷ This ſtrong expreſſion might be juſtified by the language of St. Paul (1 Tim. iii. 16); but we are deceived by our modern bibles. The word *ὁ* (*which*) was altered to *θεός* (*God*) at Conſtantinople in the beginning of the viith century: the true reading, which is viſible in the Latin and Syriac verſions, ſtill exiſts in the reaſoning of the Greek, as well as of the Latin fathers; and this fraud, with that of the *three witneſſes of St. John* is admirably detected by Sir Iſaac Newton. (See his two Letters tranſlated by M. de Miſſy, in the Journal Britannique, tom. xv. p. 148—190. 351—390) I have weighed the arguments, and may yield to the authority of the firſt of philoſophers, who was deeply ſkilled in critical and theological ſtudies.

¹⁸ For Apollinaris and his ſect, ſee Socrates, l. ii. c. 46. l. iii. c. 16. Sozomen, l. v. c. 18. l. vi. c. 25. 27. Theodoret, l. v. 3 10, 11. Tillemont, Mémoires Eccléſiaſtiques, tom. vii. p. 602—638. Not. p. 789—794. in 4to, Veniſe, 1732. The contemporary ſaints always mention the biſhop of Laodicea as a friend and brother. The ſtyle of the more recent hiſtorians is harſh and hoſtile; yet Philoſtorgius compares him (l. viii. c. 11—15.) to Baſil and Gregory.

¹⁹ I appeal to the confeſſion of two Oriental prelates, Gregory Abulpharagius the Jacobite primate of the Eaſt, and Elias, the Neſtorian metropolitan of Damafcus (ſee Aſſeman. Bibliothec. Oriental. tom. ii. p. 291. tom. iii. p. 514, etc.), that the Melchites, Jacobites, Neſtorians, etc. agree in the *doctrine*, and differ only in the *expreſſion*. Our moſt learned and rational divines—Baſnage, Le Clerc, Beaufobre, La Croze, Moſheim, Jablonski—are inclined to favour this charitable judgment; but the zeal of Petavius is loud and angry, and the moderation of Dupin is conveyed in a whiſper.

²⁰ La Croze (Hiſt. du Chriſtianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 24.) avows his contempt for the genius and writings of Cyril. De tous les ouvrages des anciens, il y en a peu qu'on liſe avec moins d'utilité; and Dupin (Bibliothèque Eccléſiaſtique, tom. iv. p. 42—52.), in words of reſpect, teaches us to deſpiſe them.

²¹ Of Iſidore of Peluſium (l. i. epiſt. 25. p. 8.). As the letter is not of the moſt creditable fort, Tillemont, leſs ſincere than the Bollandiſts, affects a doubt whether *this* Cyril is the nephew of Theophilus (Mém. Eccléſ. tom. xiv. p. 268.).

²² A grammarian is named by Socrates (l. vii. 13.) διαπυρος δε κηρυκτής τε επισκοπῆ Κυρίλλου καθεσώσας, καὶ περὶ το κροτῆς ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις αὐτῶν εὐχεῖται ἢ σπουδαιότατος.

²³ See the youth and promotion of Cyril, in Socrates (l. vii. c. 7.) and Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 106. 108.). The Abbé Renaudot drew his materials from the Arabic history of Severus, bishop of Hermopolis Magna, or Ashmunein, in the xth century, who can never be trusted, unless our assent is extorted by the internal evidence of facts.

²⁴ The *Parabolani* of Alexandria were a charitable corporation, instituted during the plague of Gallienus to visit the sick and to bury the dead. They gradually enlarged; abused and sold the privileges of their order. Their outrageous conduct under the reign of Cyril provoked the emperor to deprive the patriarch of their nomination, and to restrain their number to five or six hundred. But these restraints were transient and ineffectual. See the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. ii. and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xiv. p. 276—278.

²⁵ For Theon, and his daughter Hypatia, see Fabricius, Bibliothec. tom. viii. p. 210, 211. Her article in the Lexicon of Suidas is curious and original. Hesychius (Meursii Opera, tom. vii. p. 295, 296.) observes, that she was persecuted διὰ τὴν ὑπερβαλλούσαν σοφίαν; and an epigram in the Greek Anthology (l. i. c. 76. p. 159. edit. Brodæi) celebrates her knowledge and eloquence. She is honourably mentioned (Epist. 10. 15, 16. 33—80. 124. 135. 153.) by her friend and disciple the philosophic bishop Synesius.

²⁶ Οὐρακοὺς ἀνείλον, καὶ μελῆδον διασπατάντες, etc. Oyster-shells were plentifully strewed on the sea-beach before the Cæsareum. I may therefore prefer the literal sense, without rejecting the metaphorical version of *tegulae*, tiles, which is used by M. de Valois. I am ignorant, and the assassins were probably regardless, whether their victim was yet alive.

²⁷ These exploits of St. Cyril are recorded by Socrates (l. vii. c. 13, 14, 15.); and the most reluctant bigotry is compelled to copy an historian who coolly styles the murderers of Hypatia ἄνδρες το φρονήμα ἐνβερμοί. At the mention of that injured name, I am pleased to observe a blush even on the cheek of Baronius (A. D. 415, N° 48.).

²⁸ He was deaf to the entreaties of Atticus of Constantinople, and of Isidore of Pelusium, and yielded only (if we may believe Nicephorus, l. xiv. c. 18.) to the personal intercession of the virgin. Yet in his last years he still muttered that John Chrysostom had been justly condemned (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xiv. p. 278—282. Baron-

ius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 412, N° 46—64.).

²⁹ See their characters in the history of Socrates (l. vii. c. 25—28.); their power and pretensions, in the huge compilation of Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 80—91.).

³⁰ His elevation and conduct are described by Socrates (l. vii. c. 29. 31.); and Marcellinus seems to have applied the *loquentiæ satis, sapientiæ parum*, of Sallust.

³¹ Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 65. with the illustrations of Baronius (A. D. 428, N° 25, etc.), Godefroy (ad locum), and Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 208.).

³² Isidore of Pelusium (l. iv. epist. 57.). His words are strong and scandalous — *τι θαυμαζεις, ει και νυν περι πραγμα θειον και λογικριετον διαφωνειν προσηκουσιν υπο διδασχιας εκβαλλεσθαι*. Isidore is a saint, but he never became a bishop; and I half suspect that the pride of Diogenes trampled on the pride of Plato.

³³ La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 44—53. Thesaurus Epistolicus La Crozianus, tom. iii. p. 276—280.) has detected the use of *ὁ δεσποτης*, and *ὁ κυριος* *Ιησους*, which, in the ivth, vth, and vith centuries, discriminates the school of Diodorus of Tarsus and his Nestorian disciples.

³⁴ Θεοτοκος—*Deipara*: as in zoology we familiarly speak of oviparous and viviparous animals. It is not easy to fix the invention of this word, which La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 16.) ascribes to Eusebius of Cæsarea and the Arians. The orthodox testimonies are produced by Cyril and Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. v. c. 15. p. 254, etc.); but the veracity of the saint is questionable, and the epithet of Θεοτοκος so easily slides from the margin to the text of a Catholic MS.

³⁵ Basnage, in his Histoire de l'Eglise, a work of controversy (tom. i. p. 505.), justifies the mother, by the blood, of God (Acts, xx. 28. with Mill's various readings). But the Greek MSS. are far from unanimous; and the primitive style of the blood of Christ is preserved in the Syriac version, even in those copies which were used by the Christians of St. Thomas on the coast of Malabar (La Croze, Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 347.). The jealousy of the Nestorians and Monophysites has guarded the purity of their text.

³⁶ The Pagans of Egypt already laughed at the new Cybele of the Christians (Isidor. l. i. epist. 54.): a letter was forged in the name of Hypatia, to ridicule the theology of her assassin (Synodicon, c. 216. in iv tom. Concil. p. 484.). In the article of NESTORIUS, Bayle has scattered some loose philosophy on the worship of the Virgin Mary.

³⁷ The *αντιδοσις* of the Greeks, a mutual loan or transfer of the idioms or properties of each nature to the other—of infinity to man, passibility to God, etc. Twelve rules on this nicest of subjects compose the Theological Grammar of Petavius (Dogmata Theolog. tom. v. l. iv. c. 14, 15. p. 209, etc.).

³⁸ See Ducange, C. P. Christiana. l. i. p. 30, etc.

³⁹ Concil. tom. iii. p. 943. They have never been *directly* approved by the church (Tillemont, Mém. Eccléf. tom. xiv. p. 368—372.). I almost pity the agony of rage and sophistry with which Petavius seems to be agitated in the vith book of his Dogmata Theologica.

⁴⁰ Such as the rational Basnage (ad tom. i. Variar. Lection. Canisii in Præfat. c. ii. p. 11—23.) and La Croze, the universal scholar (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 16—20. De l'Ethiopie, p. 26, 27. Thesaur. Epist. p. 176, etc. 283. 285.). His free sentence is confirmed by that of his friends Jablonski (Thesaur. Epist. tom. i. p. 193—201) and Mosheim (idem, p. 304. Nestorium crimine caruisse est et mea sententia); and three more respectable judges will not easily be found. Asséman, a learned and modest slave, can *hardly* discern (Bibliothec. Orient. tom. iv. p. 190—224.) the guilt and error of the Nestorians.

⁴¹ The origin and progress of the Nestorian controversy, till the synod of Ephesus, may be found in Socrates (l. vii. c. 32.), Evagrius (l. i. c. 1, 2.), Liberatus (Brev. c. 1—4.), the original Acts (Concil. tom. iii. p. 551—991. edit. Venise, 1728), the Annals of Baronius and Pagi, and the faithful collections of Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. xiv. p. 283—377.).

⁴² The Christians of the four first centuries were ignorant of the death and burial of Mary. The tradition of Ephesus is affirmed by the synod (ενθα ὁ θεολογος Ιωαννης, και ἡ θεοτοκος παρθενος ἡ ἀγία Μαρια. Concil. tom. iii. p. 1102.); yet it has been superseded by the claim of Jerusalem; and her *empty* sepulchre, as it was shewn to the pilgrims, produced the fable of her resurrection and assumption, in which the Greek and Latin churches have piously acquiesced. See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 48, N° 6, etc.) and Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. i. p. 467—477.).

⁴³ The Acts of Chalcedon (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1405. 1408.) exhibit a lively picture of the blind, obstinate servitude of the bishops of Egypt to their patriarch.

⁴⁴ Civil or ecclesiastical business detained the bishops at Antioch till the 18th of May. Ephesus was at the distance of thirty days journey; and ten days more may be fairly allowed for accidents and repose. The march of Xenophon over the same ground enumerates above 260

parasangs or leagues; and this measure might be illustrated from ancient and modern itineraries, if I knew how to compare the speed of an army, a synod, and a caravan. John of Antioch is reluctantly acquitted by Tillemont himself (*Mém. Eccléf. tom. xiv. p. 386—389.*).

⁴⁵ Μεμφομενον μη κατα το δεον τα εν Εφεσω συντεθηναι ὑπομνηματα, πανουργια δε και τινι αδεσμῳ καινοτομια Κυριλλου τεχναζοντος. Evagrius, l. i. c. 7. The same imputation was urged by count Irenæus (*tom. iii. p. 1249.*); and the orthodox critics do not find it an easy task to defend the purity of the Greek or Latin copies of the Acts.

⁴⁶ 'Ο δε επ' ολεθρῳ των εκκλησιων τεχθεις και τραφεις. After the coalition of John and Cyril, these invectives were mutually forgotten. The style of declamation must never be confounded with the genuine sense which respectable enemies entertain of each other's merit (*Concil. tom. iii. p. 1244.*).

⁴⁷ See the Acts of the Synod of Ephesus, in the original Greek, and a Latin version almost contemporary (*Concil. tom. iii. p. 991—1339.* with the *Synodicon adversus Tragediam Irenæi, tom. iv. p. 235—497.*), the Ecclesiastical Histories of Socrates (l. vii. c. 34.) and Evagrius (l. i. c. 3, 4, 5.), and the Breviary of Liberatus (in *Concil. tom. vi. p. 419—459. c. 5, 6.*), and the *Mémoires Eccléf. of Tillemont (tom. xiv. p. 377—487.)*.

⁴⁸ Ταραχην (says the emperor in pointed language) το γε επι σουτω, και χωρισμον ταις εκκλησιαις εμβεβληκας ὡς θρασυτερας ὁρμης πρεπυσης μαλλον η ακριβειας και ποιηλιας μαλλον τειτων ἡμιν αγκυσης ηπερ ἀπλοτητος παντος μαλλον η ιερεως τα τε των εκκλησιων, τα τε των βασιλεων μελλειν χωριζειν βεβλησθαι, ὡς εκυσης αφορμης ἑτερας ευδοκιμησεως. I should be curious to know how much Nestorius paid for these expressions, so mortifying to his rival.

⁴⁹ Eutyches, the heresiarch Eutyches, is honourably named by Cyril as a friend, a saint, and the strenuous defender of the faith. His brother, the abbot Dalmatius, is likewise employed to bind the emperor and all his chamberlains *terribili conjuratione*. *Synodicon, c. 203. in Concil. tom. iv. p. 467.*

⁵⁰ Clerici qui hic sunt contristantur, quod ecclesia Alexandrina nudata sit hujus causâ turbelæ: et debet præter illa quæ hinc transmissa sint *auri libras mille quingentas*. Et nunc ei scriptum est ut præstet; sed de tuâ ecclesiâ præsta avaritiæ quorum nosti, etc. This curious and original letter, from Cyril's archdeacon to his creature the new bishop of Constantinople, has been unaccountably preserved in an old Latin version (*Synodicon, c. 203. Concil. tom. iv. p. 465—468.*). The mask is almost dropped, and the saints speak the honest language of interest and confederacy.

⁵¹ The tedious negotiations that succeeded the synod of Ephesus are diffusely related in the original Acts (Concil. tom. iii. p. 1339—1771. ad fin. vol. and the Synodicon, in tom. iv.), Socrates (l. vii. c. 28. 35. 40, 41.), Evagrius (l. i. c. 6, 7, 8. 12.), Liberatus, (c. 7—10.). Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. xiv. p. 487—676.). The most patient reader will thank me for compressing so much nonsense and falsehood in a few lines.

⁵² ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕ ΑΥ ΔΕΙΘΕΝΤΟΣ, ΕΠΕΤΡΑΠΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΟΙΚΕΙΟΝ ΕΠΑΝΑΞΕΥΣΤΑΙ ΜΟΝΑΧΗΡΙΩΝ. Evagrius, l. i. c. 7. The original letters in the Synodicon (c. 15. 24, 25, 26.) justify the appearance of a voluntary resignation, which is asserted by Ebed-Jesu, a Nestorian writer, apud Asséman, Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 299. 302.

⁵³ See the Imperial letters in the Acts of the Synod of Ephesus (Concil. tom. iii. p. 1730—1735.). The odious name of *Simonians*, which was affixed to the disciples of this τερατωδὲς διδασκαλίας, was designed ὡς αὐ οὐκ εἶδον προβληθέντες αἰώνιον ὑπομένειν τιμωρίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, καὶ μὴτε ζῶντας τιμωρίας, μὴτε θανόντας ἀτιμίας ἐκτὸς ὑπαρχειν. Yet these were Christians! who differed only in names and in shadows.

⁵⁴ The metaphor of islands is applied by the grave civilians (Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. 22. leg. 7.) to those happy spots which are discriminated by water and verdure from the Libyan sands. Three of these under the common name of Oasis, or Alvahat: 1. The temple of Jupiter Ammon. 2. The middle Oasis, three days journey to the west of Lycopolis. 3. The southern, where Nestorius was banished, in the first climate, and only three days journey from the confines of Nubia. See a learned Note of Michaelis (ad Descript. Egypt. Abulfedæ, p. 21—34.).

⁵⁵ The invitation of Nestorius to the synod of Chalcedon, is related by Zacharias, bishop of Melitene (Evagrius, l. ii. c. 2. Asséman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 55.), and the famous Xenaias or Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis (Asséman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 40, etc.), denied by Evagrius and Asséman, and stoutly maintained by La Croze (Thesaur. Epistol. tom. iii. p. 181, etc.). The fact is not improbable; yet it was the interest of the Monophysites to spread the invidious report; and Eutychius (tom. ii. p. 12.) affirms, that Nestorius died after an exile of seven years, and consequently ten years before the synod of Chalcedon.

⁵⁶ Consult d'Anville (Mémoire sur l'Égypte, p. 191.), Pocock (Description of the East, vol. i. p. 76.), Abulfeda (Descript. Egypt. p. 14.) and his commentator Michaelis (Not. p. 78—83.), and the Nubian Geographer (p. 42.), who mentions, in the xiith century, the ruins and the sugar-canes of Akmim.

⁵⁷ Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 12.) and Gregory Bar-Hebræus, or Abulpharagius (Aflēman, tom. ii. p. 316.) represent the credulity of the xth and xiiiith centuries.

⁵⁸ We are obliged to Evagrius (l. i. c. 7.) for some extracts from the letters of Nestorius; but the lively picture of his sufferings is treated with insult by the hard and stupid fanatic.

⁵⁹ Dixi Cyrillum dum viveret, auctoritate suâ effecisse, ne Eutychianismus et Monophysitarum error in nervum erumperet: idque verum puto . . . aliquo . . . honesto modo παλινωδιαν cecinerat. The learned but cautious Jablonski did not always speak the whole truth. Cum Cyrillo lenius omnino egi, quam si tecum aut cum aliis rei hujus probe gnaris et æquis rerum æstimatōribus sermones privatos conferrem. (Thesaur. Epistol. La Crozian. tom. i. p. 197, 198.), an excellent key to his dissertations on the Nestorian controversy!

⁶⁰ Ἡ ἁγία συνόδος εἶπεν, ἄρον, καυστον Εὐσεβίον, ἕτος ζων καὶ, ἕτος εἰς δύο γενηται, ὥς ἐμερίσε μερισθῇ . . . εἰ τις λέγει δύο ἀναθήματα. At the request of Dioscorus, these who were not able to roar (βοῖσαι), stretched out their hands. At Chalcedon, the Orientals disclaimed these exclamations; but the Egyptians more consistently declared ταῦτα καὶ τότε εἶπομεν καὶ νυν λεγομεν (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1012.).

⁶¹ Ελεγε δὲ (Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum) τον Φλαβιανόν καὶ δειλαιῶς ἀναιρεθῆναι πρὸς Διοσκὸρον ἀθρμενον τε καὶ λακτιζομένον: and this testimony of Evagrius (l. ii. c. 2.) is amplified by the historian Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 44.), who affirms that Dioscorus kicked like a wild ass. But the language of Liberatus (Brev. c. 12. in Concil. tom. vi. p. 438.) is more cautious; and the Acts of Chalcedon, which lavish the names of *homicide*, *Cain*, etc. do not justify so pointed a charge. The monk Barsumas is more particularly accused—εὐθεξῆ τον μακαρίον Φλαυιανον αὐτος ἐσηκε καὶ ελεγε, σφαζόν (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1413.).

⁶² The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (Concil. tom. iv. p. 761—2071.) comprehend those of Ephesus (p. 890—1189.), which again comprise the synod of Constantinople under Flavian (p. 930—1072.); and it requires some attention to disengage this double involution. The whole business of Eutyches, Flavian, and Dioscorus, is related by Evagrius (l. i. c. 9—12. and l. ii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4.) and Liberatus (Brev. c. 11, 12, 13, 14.). Once more, and almost for the last time, I appeal to the diligence of Tillemont (Mém. Eccléf. tom. xv. p. 479—719.). The Annals of Baronius and Pagi will accompany me much further on my long and laborious journey.

⁶³ Μαλιζα

⁶³ Μαλιστα ἡ περιβοητος Παντοβια ἡ καλεσμενη Ορεινη (perhaps Ειρηνη), περι ἧς καὶ ὁ πολυανθρωπος της Αλεξανδρεων δημοσ αἰηκε Φωνην αὐτης τε καὶ τῆς εραστῆς μεμνημενος (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1276.). A specimen of the wit and malice of the people is preserved in the Greek Anthology (l. ii. c. 5. p. 188. edit. Wechel), although the application was unknown to the editor Brodæus. The nameless epigrammatist raises a tolerable pun, by confounding the episcopal salutation of "Peace be to all!" with the genuine or corrupted name of the bishop's concubine:

Ειρηνη παντεσσιν επισκοπος ειπεν επελθων,

Πως δυναται πασιν ἢ μονος ενδον εχει;

I am ignorant whether the patriarch, who seems to have been a jealous lover, is the Cimon of a preceding epigram, whose πειρος εσηκος was viewed with envy and wonder by Priapus himself.

⁶⁴ Those who reverence the infallibility of synods, may try to ascertain their sense. The leading bishops were attended by partial or careless scribes, who dispersed their copies round the world. Our Greek MSS. are sullied with the false and proscribed reading of εκ των Ουσεων (Concil. tom. iii. p. 1460.): the authentic translation of pope Leo I. does not seem to have been executed; and the old Latin versions materially differ from the present Vulgate, which was revised (A. D. 550) by Rusticus, a Roman priest, from the best MSS. of the Ακοιμητοι at Constantinople (Ducange, C. P. Christiana, l. iv. p. 151.), a famous monastery of Latins, Greeks, and Syrians. See Concil. tom. iv. p. 1959—2049. and Pagi, Critica, tom. ii. p. 326, etc.

⁶⁵ It is darkly represented in the microscope of Petavius (tom. v. l. iii. c. 5.); yet the subtle theologian is himself afraid—ne quis fortasse supervacaneam, et nimis anxiam putet hujusmodi vocularum inquisitionem, et ab instituti theologici gravitate alienam (p. 124.).

⁶⁶ Εβοησαν η ὁ ὁρος κρατειτω η απερχομεθα... ὁι αντιλεγοντες Φανεροι γενωνται, ὁι αντιλεγοντες Νεστοριανοι εισιν, ὁι αντιλεγοντες εις Ρωμην απελθωσιν (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1449.). Evagrius and Liberatus present only the placid face of the synod, and discreetly slide over these embers suppositos cinere doloso.

⁶⁷ See, in the Appendix to the Acts of Chalcedon, the confirmation of the synod by Marcian (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1781. 1783.); his letters to the monks of Alexandria (p. 1791.), of Mount Sinai (p. 1793.), of Jerusalem and Palestine (p. 1798.); his laws against the Eutychians (p. 1809. 1811. 1831.); the correspondence of Leo with the provincial synods on the revolution of Alexandria (p. 1835—1930.).

⁶⁸ Photius (or rather Eulogius of Alexandria) confesses, in a fine passage, the specious colour of this double charge against pope Leo and his synod of Chalcedon (Bibliot. cod. ccxxv. p. 768.). He waged a double war against the enemies of the church, and wounded either foe with the darts of his adversary—καταλληλοῖς βέλεσι τὰς ἀντιπαλὰς ἐτίτρωσκε. Against Nestorius he seemed to introduce the συγχυσις of the Monophysites: against Eutyches he appeared to countenance the ὑποστάσεων διαφορά of the Nestorians. The apologist claims a charitable interpretation for the saints: if the same had been extended to the heretics, the *sound* of the controversy would have been lost in the air.

⁶⁹ Αἰλῆρος, from his nocturnal expeditions. In darkness and disguise he crept round the cells of the monastery, and whispered the revelation to his slumbering brethren (Theodor. Lector, l. i.).

⁷⁰ Φονὸς τε τολμηθῆναι μυρίας, αἱματῶν πληθεὶ μολυνθῆναι μὴ μόνον τὴν γῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀέρα. Such is the hyperbolic language of the Henoticon.

⁷¹ See the Chronicle of Victor Tunnunensis, in the Lectiones Antiquæ of Canisius, republished by Basnage, tom. i. p. 326.

⁷² The Henoticon is transcribed by Evagrius (l. iii. c. 13.), and translated by Liberatus (Brev. c. 18.). Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 411.) and Asseman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 343.) are satisfied that it is free from heresy; but Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. i. c. 13. p. 40.) most unaccountably affirms Chalcedonensem ascrivit. An adversary would prove that he had never read the Henoticon.

⁷³ See Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 123. 131. 145. 195. 247.). They were reconciled by the care of Mark I. (A. D. 799—819): he promoted their chiefs to the bishoprics of Athribis and Talba (perhaps Tava. See d'Anville, p. 82.), and supplied the sacraments, which had failed for want of an episcopal ordination.

⁷⁴ De his quos baptizavit, quos ordinavit Acacius, majorum traditione confectam et veram, præcipue religiosæ sollicitudini congruam præbemus sine difficultate medicinam (Geladius, in epist. i. ad Euphemium, Concil. tom. v. p. 236.). The offer of a medicine proves the disease, and numbers must have perished before the arrival of the Roman physician. Tillemont himself (Mém. Ecclési. tom. xvi. p. 372. 642, etc.) is shocked at the proud uncharitable temper of the popes: they are now glad, says he, to invoke St. Flavian of Antioch, St. Elias of Jerusalem, etc. to whom they refused communion whilst upon earth. But cardinal Baronius is firm and hard as the rock of St. Peter.

⁷⁵ Their names were erased from the diptych of the church: ex venerabili diptycho, in quo p̄iæ memoriæ transitum ad cælum habentium

episcoporum vocabula continentur (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1846.). This ecclesiastical record was therefore equivalent to the book of life.

⁷⁶ Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. v. c. 2, 3, 4. p. 217—225.) and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. xiv. p. 713, etc. 799.) represent the history and doctrine of the Trilagion. In the twelve centuries between Isaiah and St. Proclus's boy, who was taken up into heaven before the bishop and people of Constantinople, the song was considerably improved. The boy heard the angels sing "Holy God! Holy strong! Holy immortal!"

⁷⁷ Peter Gnapheus, the *fuller* (a trade which he had exercised in his monastery), patriarch of Antioch. His tedious story is discussed in the Annals of Pagi (A. D. 477—490) and a Dissertation of M. de Valois at the end of his Evagrius.

⁷⁸ The troubles under the reign of Anastasius must be gathered from the Chronicles of Victor, Marcellinus, and Theophanes. As the last was not published in the time of Baronius, his critic Pagi is more copious, as well as more correct.

⁷⁹ The general history, from the council of Chalcedon to the death of Anastasius, may be found in the Breviary of Liberatus (c. 14—19.), the iid and iiid books of Evagrius, the Abstract of the two books of Theodore the Reader, the Acts of the Synods, and the Epistles of the Popes (Concil. tom. v.). The series is continued with some disorder in the xvth and xvith tomes of the Mémoires Ecclésiastiques of Tillemont. And here I must take leave for ever of that incomparable guide—whose bigotry is overbalanced by the merits of erudition, diligence, veracity, and scrupulous minuteness. He was prevented by death from completing, as he designed, the vith century of the church and empire.

⁸⁰ The strain of the Anecdotes of Procopius (c. 11. 13. 18. 27, 28.), with the learned remarks of Alemannus, is confirmed, rather than contradicted, by the Acts of the Councils, the fourth book of Evagrius, and the complaints of the African Facundus in his xiith book—*de tribus capitulis*, "cum videri doctus appetit importune . . . spontaneis quæstionibus ecclesiam turbat." See Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. iii. c. 35.

⁸¹ Procop. de Edificiis, l. i. c. 6, 7, etc. passim.

⁸² Ὅς δὲ καθήται αὐθλακτὸς ἐς αἰεὶ ἐπὶ λεισυχίας τινος αὐτοῦ νυκτῶν ἔμμελτος τῶν ἱερῶν γερῶσιν ἀσχετὸν ἀνακυκλεῖν τὰ Χριστιανῶν λογισμὰς ἔχων. Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. iii. c. 32. In the life of St. Eutychius (apud Aleman. ad Procop. Arcan. c. 18.), the same character is given with a design to praise Justinian.

⁸³ For these wise and moderate sentiments, Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. i. c. 3.) is scourged in the Preface of Alemannus, who ranks him among the *political* Christians—sed longe verius hæresium omnium sentinas, prorsusque Atheos—abominable Atheists, who preached the imitation of God's mercy to man (ad Hist. Arcan. c. 13.).

⁸⁴ This alternative, a precious circumstance, is preserved by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 63. edit. Venet. 1733), who deserves more credit as he draws towards his end. After numbering the heretics, Nestorians, Eutychians, etc. ne expectent, says Justinian, ut digni veniâ judicentur: jubemus enim ut . . . convicti et aperti hæretici justæ et idoneæ animadversioni subjiciantur. Baronius copies and applauds this edict of the Code (A. D. 527. N° 39, 40.).

⁸⁵ See the character and principles of the Montanists, in Mosheim, de Rebus Christ. ante Constantinum, p. 410—424.

⁸⁶ Theophan. Chron. p. 153. John the Monophysite bishop of Asia, is a more authentic witness of this transaction, in which he was himself employed by the emperor (Asselman. Bibl. Orient. tom. ii. p. 85.).

⁸⁷ Compare Procopius (Hist. Arcan. c. 28. and Aleman's Notes) with Theophanes (Chron. p. 190.). The council of Nice has entrusted the patriarch, or rather the astronomers, of Alexandria with the annual proclamation of Easter; and we still read, or rather we do not read, many of the Paschal epistles of St. Cyril. Since the reign of Monophysitism in Egypt, the Catholics were perplexed by such a foolish prejudice as that which so long opposed, among the Protestants, the reception of the Gregorian style.

⁸⁸ For the religion and history of the Samaritans, consult Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, a learned and impartial work.

⁸⁹ Sichem, Neapolis, Naplous, the ancient and modern seat of the Samaritans, is situate in a valley between the barren Ebal, the mountain of cursing to the north, the fruitful *Garizim*, or mountain of curling to the south, ten or eleven hours travel from Jerusalem. See Maundrel, Journey from Aleppo, etc. p. 59—63.

⁹⁰ Procop. Anecd. c. 11. Theophan. Chron. p. 152. John Malala, Chron. tom. ii. p. 62. I remember an observation, half philosophical, half superstitious, that the province which had been ruined by the bigotry of Justinian was the same through which the Mahometans penetrated into the empire.

⁹¹ The expression of Procopius is remarkable: *ἡ γὰρ οἱ εἶδομαι φανερὸν αἰσῶπρον εἶναι, ἢν γε μὴ τῆς αὐτῆς δόξης οἱ τελευτῶντες τυχοῖεν ὄντες.* Anecd. c. 13.

⁹² See the Chronicle of Victor, p. 328. and the original evidence of the laws of Justinian. During the first years of his reign, Baronius

himself is in extreme good humour with the emperor, who courted the popes till he got them into his power.

⁹³ Procopius, Anecd. c. 13. Evagrius, l. iv. c. 10. If the ecclesiastical never read the secret historian, their common suspicion proves at least the general hatred.

⁹⁴ On the subject of the three chapters, the original acts of the vth general council of Constantinople supply much useless, though authentic, knowledge (Concil. tom. vi. p. 1—419). The *Greek* Evagrius is less copious and correct (l. iv. c. 38.) than the three zealous *Africans*, Facundus (in his twelve books, de tribus capitulis, which are most correctly published by Sirmond), Liberatus (in his Breviarium, c. 22, 23, 24.), and Victor Tununensis in his Chronicle (in tom. i. Antiq. Lect. Caniffi, p. 330—334.). The Liber Pontificalis, or Anastasius (in Vigilio, Pelagio, etc.), is original, *Italian* evidence. The modern reader will derive some information from Dupin (Bibliot. Eccles. tom. v. p. 189—207.) and Basnage (Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 519—541.); yet the latter is too firmly resolved to depreciate the authority and character of the popes.

⁹⁵ Origen had indeed too great a propensity to imitate the *πλάνη* and *δυσσεβεία* of the old philosophers (Justinian, ad Mennam, in Concil. tom. vi. p. 356.). His moderate opinions were too repugnant to the zeal of the church, and he was found guilty of the heresy of reason.

⁹⁶ Basnage (Præfat. p. 11—14. ad tom. i. Antiq. Lect. Caniff.) has fairly weighed the guilt and innocence of Theodore of Mopsuestia. If he composed 10,000 volumes, as many errors would be a charitable allowance. In all the subsequent catalogues of heresiarchs, he alone, without his two brethren, is included; and it is the duty of Asseman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 203—207.) to justify the sentence.

⁹⁷ See the complaints of Liberatus and Victor, and the exhortations of Pope Pelagius to the conqueror and exarch of Italy. Schisma per potestates publicas opprimatur, etc. (Concil. tom. vi. p. 467, etc.) An army was detained to suppress the sedition of an Illyrian city. See Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 25.): ὧν περ ἐνεκα σφισιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ διαμαχονται. He seems to promise an ecclesiastical history. It would have been curious and impartial.

⁹⁸ The bishops of the patriarchate of Aquileia were reconciled by pope Honorius, A. D. 638 (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 376.); but they again relapsed, and the schism was not finally extinguished till 698. Fourteen years before, the church of Spain had overlooked the vth general council with contemptuous silence (xiii Concil. Toletan, in Concil. tom. vii. p. 487—494.).

⁹⁹ Nicetius, bishop of Treves (Concil. tom. vi. p. 511—513.): he himself, like most of the Gallican prelates (Gregor. Epist. l. vii. ep. 5. in Concil. tom. vi. p. 1007.), was separated from the communion of the four patriarchs by his refusal to condemn the three chapters. Baronius almost pronounces the damnation of Justinian (A. D. 565, N° 6.).

¹⁰⁰ After relating the last heresy of Justinian (l. iv. c. 39, 40, 41.) and the edict of his successor (l. v. c. 3.), the remainder of the history of Evagrius is filled with civil, instead of ecclesiastical, events.

¹⁰¹ This extraordinary, and perhaps inconsistent, doctrine of the Nestorians, had been observed by La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 19, 20.), and is more fully exposed by Abulpharagius (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 292. Hist. Dynast. p. 91. vers. Latin. Pocock) and Asseman himself (tom. iv. p. 218.). They seem ignorant that they might allege the positive authority of the ecthesis. Ὁ μικρός Νεστοριος καιπερ διαιρων την θειαν τῆς Κυρις ενανθρωπησιν, και δυο εισαγων υἱος (the common reproach of the Monophysites), δυο θεληματα τουτων ειπειν εχ ετολμησε, τεναντιον δε ταυτο βασιαν των. . . . δυο προσωπων εδοξασε (Concil. tom. vii. p. 205.).

¹⁰² See the orthodox faith in Petavius (Dogmata Theolog. tom. v. l. ix. c. 6—10. p. 433—447.): all the depths of this controversy are founded in the Greek dialogue between Maximus and Pyrrhus (ad calcem tom. viii. Annal. Baron. p. 755—794.), which relates a real conference, and produced as a shortlived conversion.

¹⁰³ Impiissimam ecthesim scelerosum typum (Concil. tom. vii. p. 366.) diabolicæ operationis genimina (forf. *germina*, or else the Greek γεννηματα, in the original. Concil. P. 363, 364.) are the expressions of the xviiith anathema. The epistle of Pope Martin to Amandus, a Gallican bishop, stigmatises the Monothelites and their heresy with equal virulence (p. 392.).

¹⁰⁴ The sufferings of Martin and Maximus are described with pathetic simplicity in their original letters and acts (Concil. tom. vii. p. 63—78. Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 656, N° 2. et annos subsequent.). Yet the chastisement of their disobedience, εξορια and σωματος ακησμος, had been previously announced in the Type of Constans (Concil. tom. vii. p. 240.).

¹⁰⁵ Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 368.) most erroneously supposes that the 124 bishops of the Roman synod transported themselves to Constantinople; and by adding them to the 168 Greeks, thus composes the sixth council of 292 fathers.

¹⁰⁶ The Monothelite Constans was hated by all δια τῶν ταυτα (says

Theophanes, Chron. p. 292.) ἐμισυσθη σφοδρὰ παρὰ πάντων. When the Monothelite monk failed in his miracle, the people shouted, ὁ λαὸς ἀνεβόησε (Concil. tom. vii. p. 1032.). But this was a natural and transient emotion; and I much fear that the latter is an anticipation of orthodoxy in the good people of Constantinople.

¹⁰⁷ The history of Monothelitism may be found in the Acts of the Synods of Rome (tom. vii. p. 77—395. 601—608.) and Constantinople (p. 609—1429.). Baronius extracted some original documents from the Vatican library; and his chronology is rectified by the diligence of Pagi. Even Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. vi. p. 57—71.) and Basnage (Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 541—555.) afford a tolerable abridgment.

¹⁰⁸ In the Lateran synod of 679, Wilfrid, an Anglo-Saxon bishop, subscribed pro omni Aquilonati parte Britanniae et Hiberniae, quae ab Anglorum at Brittonum, necnon Scotorum et Pictorum gentibus colebantur (Eddius, in Vit. St. Wilfrid. c. 31. apud Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 88.). Theodore (magnae insulae Britanniae archiepiscopus et philosophus) was long expected at Rome (Concil. tom. vii. p. 714.); but he contented himself with holding (A. D. 680) his provincial synod of Hatfield, in which he received the decrees of pope Martin and the first Lateran council against the Monothelites (Concil. tom. vii. p. 597, etc.). Theodore, a monk of Tarsus in Cilicia, had been named to the primacy of Britain by pope Vitalian (A. D. 668. See Baronius and Pagi), whose esteem for his learning and piety was tainted by some distrust of his national character—ne quid contrarium veritati fidei, Graecorum more, in ecclesiam cui praesesset introduceret. The Cilician was sent from Rome to Canterbury under the tuition of an African guide (Bedae Hist. Ecclesiastica Anglorum, l. iv. c. 1.). He adhered to the Roman doctrine; and the same creed of the incarnation has been uniformly transmitted from Theodore to the modern primates, whose sound understanding is perhaps seldom engaged with that abstruse mystery.

¹⁰⁹ This name, unknown till the xth century, appears to be of Syriac origin. It was invented by the Jacobites, and eagerly adopted by the Nestorians and Mahometans; but it was accepted without shame by the Catholics, and is frequently used in the Annals of Eutychius (Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. tom. ii. p. 507, etc. tom. iii. p. 355. Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 119.). Ἡμεῖς ὁδοὶ τοῦ Βασιλεως, was the acclamation of the fathers of Constantinople (Concil. tom. vii. p. 765.).

¹¹⁰ The Syriac, which the natives revere as the primitive language, was divided into three dialects. 1. The *Aramaean*, as it was refined

at Edeffa and the cities of Mesopotamia. 2. The *Palestine*, which was used in Jerufalem, Damascus, and the rest of Syria. 3. The *Nabathæan*, the rustic idiom of the mountains of Assyria and the villages of Irak (Gregor. Abulpharag. Hist. Dynast. p. 11.). On the Syriac, see Ebed-Jesu (Assleman. tom. iii. p. 326, etc.), whose prejudice alone could prefer it to the Arabic.

¹¹¹ I shall not enrich my ignorance with the spoils of Simon, Walton, Mill, Wetstein, Assemannus, Ludolphus, La Croze, whom I have consulted with some care. It appears, 1. *That* of all the versions which are celebrated by the fathers, it is doubtful whether any are now extant in their pristine integrity. 2. *That* the Syriac has the best claim; and that the consent of the Oriental sects is a proof that is more ancient than their schism.

¹¹² On the account of the Monophysites and Nestorians, I am deeply indebted to the Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana of Joseph Simon Assemannus. That learned Maronite was dispatched in the year 1715 by pope Clement XI. to visit the monasteries of Egypt and Syria, in search of MSS. His four folio volumes published at Rome 1719—1728, contain a part only, though perhaps the most valuable, of his extensive project. As a native and as a scholar, he possessed the Syriac literature; and, though a dependent of Rome, he wishes to be moderate and candid.

¹¹³ See the Arabic canons of Nice in the translation of Abraham Ecchelenfis, N° 37, 38, 39, 40. Concil. tom. ii. p. 335, 336. edit. Venet. These vulgar titles, *Nicene* and *Arabic*, are both apocryphal. The council of Nice enacted no more than twenty canons (Theodoret, Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 8.); and the remainder, seventy or eighty, were collected from the synods of the Greek church. The Syriac edition of Maruthas is no longer extant (Assleman. Bibliot. Oriental. tom. i. p. 195. tom. iii. p. 74.), and the Arabic version is marked with many recent interpolations. Yet this code contains many curious relics of ecclesiastical discipline; and since it is equally revered by all the eastern communions, it was probably finished before the schism of the Nestorians and Jacobites (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xi. p. 363—367.).

¹¹⁴ Theodore the reader (l. ii. c. 5. 49. ad calcem Hist. Eccles.) has noticed this Persian school of Edeffa. Its ancient splendour, and the two æras of its downfall (A. D. 431 and 489), are clearly discussed by Assemanni (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 402. iii. p. 376. 378. iv. p. 70. 924.).

¹¹⁵ A dissertation on the state of the Nestorians has swelled in the hands of Assemanni to a folio volume of 950 pages, and his learned researches are digested in the most lucid order. Besides this ivth volume

of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, the extracts in the three preceding tomes (tom. i. p. 203. ii. p. 321—463. iii. 64—70. 378—395, etc. 403—408. 580—589.) may be usefully consulted.

¹¹⁶ See the *Topographia Christiana* of Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, or the Indian navigator, l. iii. p. 178, 179. l. xi. p. 337. The entire work, of which some curious extracts may be found in Photius (cod. xxxvi. p. 9, 10. edit. Hoefschel), Thevenot (in the 1st Part of his *Relations des Voyages*, etc.), and Fabricius (*Bibliot. Græc.* l. iii. c. 25. tom. ii. p. 603—617.), has been published by father Montfaucon at Paris 1707, in the *Nova Collectio Patrum* (tom. ii. p. 113—346.). It was the design of the author to confute the impious heresy of those who maintain that the earth is a globe, and not a flat oblong table, as it is represented in the Scriptures (l. ii. p. 138.). But the nonsense of the monk is mingled with the practical knowledge of the traveller, who performed his voyage A. D. 522, and published his book at Alexandria A. D. 547 (l. ii. p. 140, 141. Montfaucon, *Præfat.* c. 2.). The Nestorianism of Cosmas, unknown to his learned editor, was detected by La Croze (*Christianisme des Indes*, tom. i. p. 40—55.), and is confirmed by Assemani (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. iv. p. 605, 606.).

¹¹⁷ In its long progress to Mosul, Jerusalem, Rome, etc. the story of Prester John evaporated in a monstrous fable, of which some features have been borrowed from the Lama of Thibet (*Hist. Généalogique des Tatares*, P. ii. p. 42. *Hist. de Gengiscan*, p. 31, etc.), and were ignorantly transferred by the Portuguese to the emperor of Abyssinia (Ludolph. *Hist. Æthiop. Comment.* l. ii. c. 1.). Yet it is probable that in the xith and xiith centuries, Nestorian Christianity was professed in the hord of the Keraites (d'Herbelot, p. 256. 915. 959. Assemani, tom. iv. p. 468—504.).

¹¹⁸ The Christianity of China, between the seventh and the thirteenth century, is invincibly proved by the consent of Chinese, Arabian, Syriac, and Latin evidence (Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. iv. p. 502—552. *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript.* tom. xxx. p. 802—819.). The inscription of Siganfu, which describes the fortunes of the Nestorian church from the first mission A. D. 636, to the current year 781, is accused of forgery by La Croze, Voltaire, etc. who become the dupes of their own cunning, while they are afraid of a Jesuitical fraud.

¹¹⁹ *Jacobitæ et Nestorianæ plures quam Græci et Latini.* Jacob a Vitriaco, *Hist. Hierosol.* l. ii. c. 76. p. 1093. in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. The numbers are given by Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 172.

¹²⁰ The division of the patriarchate may be traced in the *Bibliotheca*

Orient. of Assemani, tom. i. p. 523—549. tom. ii. p. 457, etc. tom. iii. p. 603. p. 621—623. tom. iv. p. 164—169. p. 423. p. 622—629, etc.

¹²¹ The pompous language of Rome on the submission of a Nestorian patriarch, is elegantly represented in the viith book of Fra-Paolo, Babylon, Niniveh, Arbela, and the trophies of Alexander, Tauris, and Ecbatana, the Tigris and Indus.

¹²² The Indian missionary St. Thomas, an apostle, a Manichæan, or an Armenian merchant (La Croze, *Christianisme des Indes*, tom. i. p. 57—70.), was famous, however, as early as the time of Jerom (ad Marcellam epist. 148.). Marco-Polo was informed on the spot that he suffered martyrdom in the city of Maabar, or Meliapour, a league only from Madras (d'Anville, *Eclaircissements sur l'Inde*, p. 125.), where the Portuguese founded an episcopal church under the name of St. Thomé, and where the saint performed an annual miracle, till he was silenced by the profane neighbourhood of the English (La Croze, tom. ii. p. 7—16.).

¹²³ Neither the author of the Saxon Chronicle (A. D. 883.) nor William of Malmsbury (de Gestis Regum Angliæ, l. ii. c. 4. p. 44.) were capable, in the twelfth century, of inventing this extraordinary fact; they are incapable of explaining the motives and measures of Alfred; and their hasty notice serves only to provoke our curiosity. William of Malmsbury feels the difficulties of the enterprise, quod quivis in hoc sæculo miretur; and I almost suspect that the English ambassadors collected their cargo and legend in Egypt. The royal author has not enriched his Orosius (see Barrington's Miscellanies) with an Indian, as well as a Scandinavian voyage.

¹²⁴ Concerning the Christians of St. Thomas, see Assemanus, *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. iv. p. 391—407. 435—451. Geddes's *Church History of Malabar*; and, above all, La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, in two vols. 12mo, La Haye, 1758, a learned and agreeable work. They have drawn from the same source, the Portuguese and Italian narratives; and the prejudices of the Jesuits are sufficiently corrected by those of the protestants.

¹²⁵ ΟΙΟΝ ΕΙΠΕΙΝ ΨΕΥΔΑΛΙΘΗΣ is the expression of Theodore, in his treatise of the Incarnation, p. 245. 247. as he is quoted by La Croze (*Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Arménie*, p. 35.), who exclaims, perhaps too hastily, "Quel pitoyable raisonnement!" Renaudot has touched (*Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 127—138.) the Oriental accounts of Severus; and his authentic creed may be found in the epistle of John the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, in the xth century, to his brother Mennas of Alexandria (Asseman. *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 132—141.).

¹²⁶ Epist. Archimandritarum et Monachorum Syriæ Secundæ ad Papam Hormisdam, Concil. tom. v. p. 598—602. The courage of St. Sabas, ut leo animosus, will justify the suspicion that the arms of these monks were not always spiritual or defensive (Baronius, A. D. 513, N° 7, etc.).

¹²⁷ Assemani (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 10—46.) and La Croze (Christianisme d'Ethiopie, p. 36—40.) will supply the history of Xenaias, or Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, or Hierapolis, in Syria. He was a perfect master of the Syriac language, and the author or editor of a version of the New Testament.

¹²⁸ The names and titles of fifty-four bishops who were exiled by Justin, are preserved in the Chronicle of Dionysius (apud Asseman. tom. ii. p. 54.). Severus was personally summoned to Constantinople—for his trial, says Liberatus (Brev. c. 19.)—that his tongue might be cut out, says Evagrius (l. iv. c. 4.). The prudent patriarch did not stay to examine the difference. This ecclesiastical revolution is fixed by Pagi to the month of September of the year 518 (Critica, tom. ii. p. 506.).

¹²⁹ The obscure history of James, or Jacobus Baradæus, or Zanzalus, may be gathered from Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 144. 147.), Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 133.), and Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 424 tom. ii. p. 62—69. 324—332. p. 414. tom. iii. p. 385—388.). He seems to be unknown to the Greeks. The Jacobites themselves had rather deduce their name and pedigree from St. James the apostle.

¹³⁰ The account of his person and writings is perhaps the most curious article in the Bibliotheca of Assemannus (tom. ii. p. 244—321. under the name of *Gregorius Bar-Hebræus*). La Croze (Christianisme d'Ethiopie, p. 53—63.) ridicules the prejudice of the Spaniards against the Jewish blood which secretly defiles their church and state.

¹³¹ This *excessive* abstinence is censured by La Croze (p. 352.), and even by the Syrian Assemannus (tom. i. p. 226. tom. ii. p. 304, 305.).

¹³² The state of the Monophysites is excellently illustrated in a dissertation at the beginning of the iid volume of Assemannus, which contains 142 pages. The Syriac Chronicle of Gregory Bar-Hebræus, or Abulpharagius (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 321—463.), pursues the double series of the Nestorian *catholics* and the *maphrians* of the Jacobites.

¹³³ The synonymous use of the two words may be proved from Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 191. 267. 332.); and many similar passages which may be found in the methodical table of Pocock. He was not actuated by any prejudice against the Maronites of the xth century; and we may believe a Melchite, whose testimony is confirmed by the Jacobites and Latins.

¹³⁴ Concil. tom. vii. p. 780. The Monothelite cause was supported with firmness and subtlety by Constantine, a *Syrian* priest of Apamea (p. 1040, etc.).

¹³⁵ Theophanes (Chron. p. 295, 296. 300. 302. 306.) and Cedrenus (p. 437. 440.) relate the exploits of the Mardaites: the name (*Mard*, in Syriac *rebellavit*) is explained by La Roque (Voyage de la Syrie, tom. ii. p. 53.); the dates are fixed by Pagi (A. D. 676, N° 4—14. A. D. 685, N° 3, 4.); and even the obscure story of the patriarch John Maron (Afléman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 496—520.) illustrates, from the year 686 to 707, the troubles of mount Libanus.

¹³⁶ In the last century twenty large cedars still remained (Voyage de la Roque, tom. i. p. 68—76.); at present they are reduced to four or five (Volney, tom. i. p. 264.). These trees, so famous in scripture, were guarded by excommunication: the wood was sparingly borrowed for small crosses, etc.; an annual mass was chaunted under their shade; and they were endowed by the Syrians with a sensitive power of erecting their branches to repel the snow, to which mount Libanus is less faithful than it is painted by Tacitus: *inter ardores opacum fidumque nivibus*—a daring metaphor (Hist. v. 6.).

¹³⁷ The evidence of William of Tyre (Hist. in Gestis Dei per Francos, l. xxii. c. 8. p. 1022.) is copied or confirmed by Jacques de Vitra (Hist. Hierosolym. l. ii. c. 77. p. 1093, 1094.). But this unnatural league expired with the power of the Franks; and Abulpharagius (who died in 1286) considers the Maronites as a sect of Monothelites (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 292.).

¹³⁸ I find a description and history of the Maronites in the Voyage de la Syrie et du Mont Liban par La Roque (2 vols. in 12mo, Amsterdam, 1723; particularly tom. i. p. 42—47. p. 174—184. tom. ii. p. 10—120.). In the ancient part he copies the prejudices of Nairon and the other Maronites of Rome, which Aflémannus is afraid to renounce, and ashamed to support. Jablonski (Institut. Hist. Christ. tom. iii. p. 186.), Niebuhr (Voyage de l'Arabie, etc. tom. ii. p. 346. 370—381.), and, above all, the judicious Volney (Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie, tom. ii. p. 8—31. Paris, 1787), may be consulted.

¹³⁹ The religion of the Armenians is briefly described by La Croze (Hist. du Christ. de l'Ethiope et de l'Arménie, p. 269—402.). He refers to the great Armenian History of Galanus (3 vols. in fol. Rome, 1650—1661.), and commends the state of Armenia in the iiii volume of the Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant. The work of a Jesuit must have sterling merit when it is praised by La Croze.

¹⁴⁰ The schism of the Armenians is placed 84 years after the council of Chalcedon (Pagi, Critica, ad A. D. 535.). It was consummated

at the end of seventeen years; and it is from the year of Christ 552 that we date the æra of the Armenians (*l'Art de vérifier les Dates*, p. xxxv.).

¹⁴¹ The sentiments and success of Julian of Halicarnassus may be seen in Liberatus (*Brev. c. 19.*), Renaudot (*Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 132. 303.*), and Assemannus (*Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. Differtat. de Monophysitis, p. viii. p. 286.*).

¹⁴² See a remarkable fact of the xiith century in the History of Nicetas Choniates (p. 258.). Yet three hundred years before, Photius (*Epistol. ii. p. 49. edit. Montacul*) had gloried in the conversion of the Armenians—*λατρεῖσι σημερον ορθοδοξως.*

¹⁴³ The travelling Armenians are in the way of every traveller, and their mother church is on the high-road between Constantinople and Ispahan: for their present state, see Fabricius (*Lux Evangelii, etc. c. xxxviii. p. 40—51.*), Olearius (*l. iv. c. 40.*), Chardin (*vol. ii. p. 232.*), Tournefort (*lettre xx.*), and, above all, Tavernier (*tom. i. p. 28—37. 510—518.*), that rambling jeweller, who had read nothing, but had seen so much and so well.

¹⁴⁴ The history of the Alexandrian patriarchs, from Dioscorus to Benjamin, is taken from Renaudot (p. 114—164.) and the second tome of the Annals of Eutychius.

¹⁴⁵ Liberat. *Brev. c. 20. 23.* Victor. *Chron. p. 329, 330.* Procop. *Anecd. c. 26, 27.*

¹⁴⁶ Eulogius, who had been a monk of Antioch, was more conspicuous for subtlety than eloquence. He proves that the enemies of the faith, the Gaianites and Theodosians, ought not to be reconciled; that the same proposition may be orthodox in the mouth of St. Cyril, heretical in that of Severus; that the opposite assertions of St. Leo are equally true, etc. His writings are no longer extant, except in the Extracts of Photius, who had perused them with care and satisfaction, *cod. ccviii, ccxxv, ccxxvi, ccxxvii. ccxxx. cclxxx.*

¹⁴⁷ See the life of John the eleemosynary by his contemporary Leontius, bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, whose Greek text, either lost or hidden, is reflected in the Latin version of Baronius (*A. D. 610, N° 9. A. D. 620, N° 8.*). Pagi (*Critica, tom. ii. p. 763.*) and Fabricius (*l. v. c. 11. tom. vii. p. 454.*) have made some critical observations.

¹⁴⁸ This number is taken from the curious *Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois* (tom. ii. p. 192, 193.), and appears more probable than the 600,000 ancient, or 15,000 modern, Copts of Gemelli Carreri. Cyril Lucar, the protestant patriarch of Constantinople, laments that those heretics were ten times more numerous than his orthodox Greeks, ingeniously applying the *πολλὰι κεν δεκάδες δευροῖατο οἰνοχοῖο* of Homer (*Iliad ii. 128.*), Fabric. *Lux Evangelii, 740.*

¹⁴⁹ The history of the Copts, their religion, manners, etc. may be found in the Abbé Renaudot's motley work, neither a translation nor an original; the *Chronicon Orientale* of Peter, a Jacobite; in the two versions of Abraham Ecchellenfis, Paris, 1651; and John Simon Afseman, Venet. 1729. These annals descend no lower than the xiiith century. The more recent accounts must be searched for in the travellers into Egypt, and the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant*. In the last century, Joseph Abudacnus, a native of Cairo, published at Oxford, in thirty pages, a slight *Historia Jacobitarum*, 147. post. 150.

¹⁵⁰ About the year 737. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 221, 222. Elmacin, *Hist. Saracen.* p. 99.

¹⁵¹ Ludolph, *Hist. Æthiopic. et Comment.* l. i. c. 8. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 480, etc. This opinion, introduced into Egypt and Europe by the artifice of the Copts, the pride of the Abyssinians, the fear and ignorance of the Turks and Arabs, has not even the semblance of truth. The rains of Æthiopia do not, in the encrease of the Nile, consult the will of the monarch. If the river approaches at Napata, within three days journey of the Red Sea (see d'Anville's Maps), a canal that should divert its course would demand, and most probably surpass, the power of the Cæsars.

¹⁵² The Abyssinians, who still preserve the features and olive complexion of the Arabs, afford a proof that two thousand years are not sufficient to change the colour of the human race. The Nubians, an African race, are pure negroes, as black as those of Senegal or Congo, with flat noses, thick lips, and woolly hair (Buffon, *Hist. Naturelle*, tom. v. p. 117. 143, 144. 166. 219. edit. in 12mo, Paris, 1769.). The ancients beheld, without much attention, the extraordinary phenomenon which has exercised the philosophers and theologians of modern times.

¹⁵³ Afseman. *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. i. p. 329.

¹⁵⁴ The Christianity of the Nubians, A. D. 1153, is attested by the sheriff al Edrisi, falsely described under the name of the Nubian geographer (p. 18.), who represents them as a nation of Jacobites. The rays of historical light that twinkle in the History of Renaudot (p. 178. 220—224. 281—286. 405. 434. 451. 464.) are all previous to this æra. See the modern state in the *Lettres Edifiantes* (*Recueil*, iv.) and Busching (tom. ix. p. 152—159. par Berenger.).

¹⁵⁵ The abuna is improperly dignified by the Latins with the title of patriarch. The Abyssinians acknowledge only the four patriarchs, and their chief is no more than a metropolitan or national primate (Ludolph. *Hist. Æthiopic. et Comment.* l. iii. c. 7.). The seven bishops of Renaudot (p. 511.), who existed A. D. 1131, are unknown to the historian.

¹⁵⁶ I know not why Afsemannus (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 384.) should

call in question these probable missions of Theodora into Nubia and Æthiopia. The flight notices of Abyssinia till the year 1500 are supplied by Renaudot (p. 336—341. 381, 382. 405. 443, etc. 452. 456. 463. 475. 480. 511. 525. 559—564.) from the Coptic writers. The mind of Ludolphus was a perfect blank.

¹⁵⁷ Ludolph. Hist. Æthiop. l. iv. c. 5. The most necessary arts are now exercised by the Jews, and the foreign trade is in the hands of the Armenians. What Gregory principally admired and envied was the industry of Europe—*artes et officia*.

¹⁵⁸ John Bermudez, whose relation, printed at Lisbon, 1569, was translated into English by Purchas (Pilgrims, l. vii. c. 7. p. 1149, etc.), and from thence into French by La Croze (Christianisme d'Ethiopie, p. 92—265.). The piece is curious; but the author may be suspected of deceiving Abyssinia, Rome, and Portugal. His title to the rank of patriarch is dark and doubtful (Ludolph. Comment. N° 101. p. 473.).

¹⁵⁹ Religio Romana nec precibus patrum nec miraculis ab ipsis editis suffulciebatur, is the uncontradicted assurance of the devout emperor Suseus to his patriarch Mendez (Ludolph. Comment. N° 126. p. 529.); and such assurances should be precious kept as an antidote against any marvellous legends.

¹⁶⁰ I am aware how tender is the question of circumcision. Yet I will affirm, 1. That the Æthiopians have a physical reason for the circumcision of males, and even of females (Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, tom. ii.). 2. That it was practised in Æthiopia long before the introduction of Judaism or Christianity (Herodot. l. ii. c. 104. Marsham, Canon Chron. p. 72, 73.). “Infantes circumcidunt ob consuetudinem” non ob Judaismum,” says Gregory the Abyssinian priest (apud Fabric. Lux Christiana, p. 720.). Yet, in the heat of dispute, the Portuguese were sometimes branded with the name of *uncircumcised* (La Croze, p. 80. Ludolph. Hist. and Comment. l. iii. c. 1.).

¹⁶¹ The three protestant historians, Ludolphus (Hist. Æthiopica, Francofurt. 1681; Commentarius, 1691; Relatio Nova, etc. 1693, in folio), Geddes (Church History of Æthiopia, London, 1696, in 8vo), and La Croze (Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Arménie, La Haye, 1739, in 12mo), have drawn their principal materials from the Jesuits, especially from the General History of Tellez, published in Portuguese at Coimbra, 1660. We might be surprised at their frankness; but their most flagitious vice, the spirit of persecution, was in their eyes the most meritorious virtue. Ludolphus possessed some, though a slight, advantage from the Æthiopic language, and the personal conversation of Gregory, a free-spirited Abyssinian priest, whom he invited from Rome to the court of Saxe-Gotha. See the Theologia Æthiopica of Gregory, in Fabricius, Lux Evangelii, p. 716—734.

NOTES

TO THE

NINTH VOLUME.

CHAP. XLIX.

¹ The learned Selden has given the history of transubstantiation in a comprehensive and pithy sentence. " This opinion is only rhetoric " turned into logic. " (His Works, vol. iii. p. 2073. in his Table-talk.)

² Nec intelligunt homines ineptissimi, quòd si sentire simulacra et moveri possent, adoratura hominem fuissent a quo sunt expolita (Divin. Institut. l. ii. c. 2.), Lactantius is the last, as well as the most eloquent, of the Latin apologists. Their raillery of idols attacks not only the object, but the form and matter.

³ See Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Augustin (Basnage, Hist. des Eglises Reformées, tom. ii. p. 1313.). This Gnostic practice has a singular affinity with the private worship of Alexander Severus (Lampridius, c. 29. Lardner, Heathen Testimonies, vol. iii. p. 34.).

⁴ See this History, vol. ii. p. 193. 383.; vol. iii. p. 93—105.

⁵ Ου γὰρ το Θεῖον ἀπλὴν ὑπαρχόν καὶ ἀληπτόν μορφαίς τισι καὶ σχήμασιν ἀπεικαζόμεν. ὅτε κηρῶ καὶ ξύλοις τὴν ὑπερθεσίον καὶ προκινεῖ-
χον ἔσιαν τιμᾶν ἡμεῖς διεγνώκαμεν (Concilium Nicenum, ii. in Collect. Labb. tom. viii. p. 1025. edit. Venet.). Il serait peut-être à propos de ne point souffrir d'images de la Trinité ou de la Divinité; les défenseurs les plus zélés des images ayant condamné celles-ci, et le concile de Trente ne parlant que des images de Jésus-Christ et des Saints (Dupin, Bibliot. Ecclési. tom. vi. p. 154.).

⁶ This general history of images is drawn from the xxiid book of the Hist. des Eglises Reformées of Basnage, tom. ii. p. 1310—1337. He was a protestant, but of a manly spirit; and on this head the protestants are so notoriously in the right, that they can venture to be impartial. See the perplexity of poor friar Pagi, Critica, tom. i. p. 42.

⁷ After removing some rubbish of miracle and inconsistency, it may be allowed, that as late as the year 300, Paneas in Palestine was decorated with a bronze statue, representing a grave personage wrapt in a cloak, with a grateful or suppliant female kneeling before him, and that an inscription—τῷ Σατῆρι, τῷ εὐεργετῇ—was perhaps inscribed

on

on the pedestal. By the Christians, this group was foolishly explained of their founder and the *poor* woman whom he had cured of the bloody flux (Euseb. vii. 18. Philostorg. vii. 3, etc.). M. de Beausobre more reasonably conjectures the philosopher Apollonius, or the emperor Vespasian: in the latter supposition, the female is a city, a province, or perhaps the queen Berenice, (Bibliothèque Germanique, tom. xiii. p. 1—92.).

⁸ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 13. The learned Assemanus has brought up the collateral aid of three Syrians, St. Ephrem, Josua Stylites, and James bishop of Sarug; but I do not find any notice of the Syriac original or the archives of Edessa (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 318. 420. 554.); their vague belief is probably derived from the Greeks.

⁹ The evidence for these epistles is stated and rejected by the candid Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. i. p. 297—309.). Among the herd of bigots who are forcibly driven from this convenient, but untenable, post, I am ashamed, with the Græbes, Caves, Tillemonts, etc. to discover Mr. Addison, an English gentleman (his Works, vol. i. p. 528. Baskerville's edition); but his superficial tract on the Christian religion owes its credit to his name, his style, and the interested applause of our clergy.

¹⁰ From the silence of James of Sarug (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. p. 289. 318.), and the testimony of Evagrius (Hist. Eccles. l. iv. c. 27.), I conclude that this fable was invented between the years 521 and 594, most probably after the siege of Edessa in 540 (Asseman. tom. i. p. 416. Procopius, de Bell. Persic. l. ii.). It is the sword and buckler of Gregory II. (in Epist. i. ad Leon. Isaur. Concil. tom. viii. p. 656, 657.) of John Damascenus (Opera, tom. i. p. 281. edit. Lequien), and of the second Nicene Council (Actio v. p. 1030.). The most perfect edition may be found in Cedrenus (Compend. p. 175—178.).

¹¹ *Ἀχειροποίητος*. See Ducange, in Gloss. Græc. et Lat. The subject is treated with equal learning and bigotry by the Jesuit Gretser (Synagma de Imaginibus non Manu factis, ad calcem Codini de Officiis, p. 289—330.), the ass, or rather the fox, of Ingolstadt (see the Scaligeriana); with equal reason and wit by the protestant Beausobre, in the ironical controversy which he has spread through many volumes of the Bibliothèque Germanique (tom. xviii. p. 1—50. xx. p. 27—68. xxv. p. 1—36. xxvii. p. 85—118. xxviii. p. 1—33. xxxi. p. 111—148. xxxii. p. 75—107. xxxiv. p. 67—96.).

¹² Theophylact Simocatta (l. ii. c. 3. p. 34. l. iii. c. 1. p. 63.) celebrates the *θεανδρικὸν εἰκασμα*, which he styles *αχειροποίητον*; yet it was no more than a copy, since he adds, *αεχέτυπον τὸ ἐκείνου οἷ*

Ρωμαίοι (of Edeffa) *θρησκευσι τι ἄρρητον*. See Pagi, tom. ii. A. D. 586, N° 11.

¹³ See, in the genuine or supposed works of John Damascenus, two passages on the Virgin and St. Luke, which have not been noticed by Gretser, nor consequently by Beaufobre (*Opera Joh. Damascen.* tom. i. p. 618. 631.).

¹⁴ “Your scandalous figures stand quite out from the canvass: they are as bad as a group of statues!” It was thus that the ignorance and bigotry of a Greek priest applauded the pictures of Titian, which he had ordered, and refused to accept.

¹⁵ By Cedrenus, Zonaras, Glycas, and Manasses, the origin of the Iconoclasts is imputed to the caliph Yezid and two Jews, who promised the empire to Leo; and the reproaches of these hostile sectaries are turned into an absurd conspiracy for restoring the purity of the Christian worship (see Spanheim, *Hist. Imag.* c. 2.).

¹⁶ See Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 267.), Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 201.), and Abulfeda (*Annal. Moslem.* p. 264.), and the Criticisms of Pagi (tom. iii. A. D. 944.). The prudent Franciscan refuses to determine whether the image of Edeffa now reposes at Rome or Genoa; but its repose is inglorious, and this ancient object of worship is no longer famous or fashionable.

¹⁷ *Αρμενίοις και Αλαμανοις επισης ἡ ἁγίων εικόνων προσκυνησις ἀπηγορεύεται* (Nicetas, l. ii. p. 258.). The Armenian churches are still content with the Cross (*Missions du Levant*, tom. iii. p. 148.): but surely the superstitious Greek is unjust to the superstition of the Germans of the xiith century.

¹⁸ Our original, but not impartial, monuments of the Iconoclasts must be drawn from the Acts of the Councils, tom. viii. and ix. Collect. Labbé, edit. Venet. and the historical writings of Theophanes, Nicephorus, Manasses, Cedrenus, Zonaras, etc. Of the modern Catholics, Baronius, Pagi, Natalis Alexander (*Hist. Eccles. Seculum viii and ix.*), and Maimbourg (*Hist. des Iconoclastes*), have treated the subject with learning, passion, and credulity. The protestant labours of Frederic Spanheim (*Historia Imaginum Restituta*) and James Basnage (*Hist. des Eglises Reformées*, tom. ii. l. xxiii. p. 1339—1385.) are cast into the Iconoclast scale. With this mutual aid, and opposite tendency, it is easy for us to poise the balance with philosophic indifference.

¹⁹ Some flowers of rhetoric are *Συνόδον παρὰ νόμον και ἄθεον*, and the bishops *τοὺς ματαιοφροσιν*. By Damascenus it is styled *ἀκυρος και ἀδεκτός* (*Opera*, tom. i. p. 623.). Spanheim's Apology for the Synod of Constantinople (p. 171, etc.) is worked up with truth and ingenuity,

from such materials as he could find in the Nicene Acts (p. 1046, etc.) The witty John of Damascus converts *επισκοπες* into *επισκοτες* makes them *κοιλιοδελτες*, slaves of their belly, etc. Opera, tom. i. p. 306.

²⁰ He is accused of proscribing the title of saint; styling the Virgin, mother of *Christ*; comparing her after her delivery to an empty purse; of Arianism, Nestorianism, etc. In his defence, Spanheim (c. iv. p. 207.) is somewhat embarrassed between the interest of a protestant and the duty of an orthodox divine.

²¹ The holy confessor Theophanes approves the principle of their rebellion, *θειω κινδυνεύει ζήλω* (p. 339.). Gregory II. (in Epist. i. ad Imp. Leon. Concil. tom. viii. p. 661. 664.) applauds the zeal of the Byzantine women who killed the Imperial officers.

²² John, or Mansur, was a noble Christian of Damascus, who held a considerable office in the service of the caliph. His zeal in the cause of images exposed him to the resentment and treachery of the Greek emperor; and on the suspicion of a treasonable correspondence, he was deprived of his right hand, which was miraculously restored by the Virgin. After this deliverance, he resigned his office, distributed his wealth, and buried himself in the monastery of St. Sabas, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. The legend is famous; but his learned editor, father Lequien, has unluckily proved that St. John Damascenus was already a monk before the Iconoclast dispute (Opera, tom. i. Vit. St. Joh. Damascen. p. 10—13. et Notas ad loc.).

²³ After sending Leo to the devil, he introduces his heir—*το μικρόν αὐτῆς γεννημα*, *καὶ τῆς κακίας αὐτῆς κληρονομός ἐν διπλῷ γενομένος* (Opera Damascen. tom. i. p. 625.). If the authenticity of this piece be suspicious, we are sure that in other works, no longer extant, Damascenus bestowed on Constantine the titles of *νεόν Μωάμεθ*, *Χριστομαχόν*, *μισαγίον* (tom. i. p. 306.).

²⁴ In the narrative of this persecution from Theophanes and Cedrenus, Spanheim (p. 235—238.) is happy to compare the *Draco* of Leo with the dragoons (*Dracones*) of Louis XIV.; and highly solaces himself with this controversial pun.

²⁵ *Προγράμμα γὰρ ἐξεπέμφε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐξάρχια τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς, πάντας ὑπογράψαι καὶ ὀμνῦναι τὴν ἀβελήται τὴν προσκυνῆσιν τὰν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων* (Damascen. Op. tom. i. p. 625.). This oath and subscription I do not remember to have seen in any modern compilation.

²⁶ *Καὶ τὴν Ῥωμὴν συν πᾶσῃ Ἰταλίᾳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς ἀπέστησε*, says Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 343.). For this Gregory is styled by Cedrenus *ἀνὴρ ἀποστολικός* (p. 450.). Zonaras specifies the thunder,

αναθηματι συνοδικω (tom. ii. l. xv. p. 104, 105.). It may be observed, that the Greeks are apt to confound the times and actions of two Gregories.

²⁷ See Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 730, N° 4, 5.: dignum exemplum ! Bellarmin, de Romano Pontifice, l. v. c. 8.: mulctavit eum parte imperii. Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, l. iii. Opera, tom. ii. p. 169. Yet such is the change of Italy, that Sigonius is corrected by the editor of Milan, Philippus Argelatus, a Bolognese, and subject of the pope.

²⁸ Quod si Christiani olim non deposuerunt Neronem aut Julianum, id fuit quia deerant vires temporales Christianis (honest Bellarmine, de Rom. Pont. l. v. c. 7.). Cardinal Perron adds a distinction more honourable to the first Christians, but not more satisfactory to modern princes—the *treason* of heretics and apostates, who break their oath, belie their coin, and renounce their allegiance to Christ and his vicar (Perroniana, p. 89.).

²⁹ Take, as a specimen, the cautious Basnage (Hist. de l'Eglise, p. 1350, 1351.) and the vehement Spanheim (Hist. Imaginum), who, with an hundred more, tread in the footsteps of the centuriators of Magdeburgh.

³⁰ See Launoy (Opera, tom. v. pars ii. epist. vii. 7. p. 456—474.), Natalis Alexander (Hist. Nov. Testamenti, secul. viii. dissert. i. p. 92—96.), Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 215, 216.), and Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 317—320.), a disciple of the Gallican school. In the field of controversy I always pity the moderate party, who stand on the open middle ground exposed to the fire of both sides.

³¹ They appeal to Paul Warnefrid, or Diaconus (de Gestis Langobard. l. vi. c. 49. p. 506, 507. in Script. Ital. Muratori, tom. i. pars i.), and the nominal Anastasius (de Vit. Pont. in Muratori, tom. iii. pars i. Gregorius II. p. 154. Gregorius III. p. 158. Zacharias, p. 161. Stephanus III. p. 165. Paulus, p. 172. Stephanus IV. p. 174. Hadrianus, p. 179. Leo III. p. 195.). Yet I may remark, that the true Anastasius (Hist. Eccles. p. 134. edit. Reg.) and the Historia Miscella (l. xxi. p. 151. in tom. i. Script. Ital.), both of the ixth century, translate and approve the Greek text of Theophanes.

³² With some minute difference, the most learned critics, Lucas Holstenius, Schelestrate, Ciampini, Bianchini, Muratori (Prolegomena ad tom. iii. pars i.), are agreed that the Liber Pontificalis was composed and continued by the apostolical librarians and notaries of the viiith and ixth centuries; and that the last and smallest part is the work of Anastasius, whose name it bears. The style is barbarous. the narrative partial, the details are trifling—yet it must be read as a

curious and authentic record of the times. The epistles of the popes are dispersed in the volumes of Councils.

³³ The two epistles of Gregory II. have been preserved in the Acts of the Nicene Council (tom. viii. p. 651—674.). They are without a date, which is variously fixed, by Baronius in the year 726, by Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 120.) in 729, and by Pagi in 730. Such is the force of prejudice, that some *papists* have praised the good sense and moderation of these letters.

³⁴ Εικοσι-τεσσαρα σταδια υποχωρησει ο Αρχιερευσ Ρωμης εις την χωραν της Καμπανιας, και υπαγε διωξων της ανεμης (Epist. i. p. 664.). This proximity of the Lombards is hard of digestion. Camillo Pellegrini (dissert. iv. de Ducatû Beneventi, in the Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 172, 173.) forcibly reckons the xxivth stadia, not from Rome, but from the limits of the Roman dutchy, to the first fortress, perhaps Sora, of the Lombards. I rather believe that Gregory, with the pedantry of the age, employs *stadia* for miles, without much enquiry into the genuine measure.

³⁵ Ον αι πασαι βασιλειαυ της δυσεως ως Θεον επιγειον εχουσι.

³⁶ Απο της εσωτερη δυσεως τα λεγομενα Σεπτετα (p. 665.). The pope appears to have imposed on the ignorance of the Greeks: he lived and died in the Lateran; and in his time all the kingdoms of the West had embraced Christianity. May not this unknown *Septetus* have some reference to the chief of the Saxon *Heptarchy*, to Ina king of Wesssex, who, in the pontificate of Gregory the second, visited Rome, for the purpose, not of baptism, but of pilgrimage (Pagi, A. D. 689, N° 2. A. D. 726, N° 15.)?

³⁷ I shall transcribe the important and decisive passage of the Liber Pontificalis. Respiciens ergo pius vir profanam principis iussionem, jam contra Imperatorem quasi contra *hostem* se armavit, renuens hæresim ejus, scribens ubique se cavere Christianos eo quod orta fuisset, impietas talis. *Igitur* permoti omnes Pentapolenses, atque Venetiarum exercitus contra Imperatoris iussionem restiterunt: dicentes se nunquam in ejusdem pontificis condescendere necem, sed pro ejus magis defensione viriliter decertare (p. 156.).

³⁸ A *census*, or capitation, says Anastasius (p. 156.); a most cruel tax, unknown to the Saracens themselves, exclaims the zealous Maimbourg (Hist. des Iconoclastes, l. i.), and Theophanes (p. 344.), who talks of Pharaoh's numbering the male children of Israel. This mode of taxation was familiar to the Saracens; and, most unluckily for the historian, it was imposed a few years afterwards in France by his patron Lewis XIV.

³⁹ See the *Liber Pontificalis* of Agnellus (in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum* of Muratori, tom. ii. pars i.), whose deeper shade of Barbarism marks the difference between Rome and Ravenna. Yet we are indebted to him for some curious and domestic facts—the quarters and factions of Ravenna (p. 154.), the revenge of Justinian II. (p. 160, 161.), the defeat of the Greeks (p. 170, 171.), etc.

⁴⁰ Yet Leo was undoubtedly comprised in the *si quis. . . . imaginum sacrarum. . . . destructor. . . . extiterit sit extorris a corpore D. N. Jesu Christi vel totius ecclesiæ unitate*. The canonists may decide whether the guilt or the name constitutes the excommunication; and the decision is of the last importance to their safety, since, according to the oracle (*Gratian Caus. xxiii. q. 5. c. 47. apud Spanheim, Hist. Imag. p. 112.*), *homicidas non esse qui excommunicatos trucidant*.

⁴¹ Compescuit tale consilium Pontifex, sperans conversionem principis (*Anastasi. p. 156.*). Sed ne desisterent ab amore et fide R. J. admonebat (p. 157.). The popes style Leo and Constantine Copronymus, Imperatores et Domini, with the strange epithet of *Piissimi*. A famous Mosaic of the Lateran (A. D. 798.) represents Christ, who delivers the keys to St. Peter and the banner to Constantine V. (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 337.

⁴² I have traced the Roman duchy according to the maps, and the maps according to the excellent dissertation, of father Beretti (*de Chorographia Italiæ Medii ævi*, sect. xx. p. 216—232.). Yet I must nicely observe, that Viterbo is of Lombard foundation (p. 211.), and that Terracina was usurped by the Greeks.

⁴³ On the extent, population, etc. of the Roman kingdom, the reader may peruse, with pleasure, the *Discours Préliminaire* to the *République Romaine* of M. de Beaufort (tom. i.), who will not be accused of too much credulity for the early ages of Rome.

⁴⁴ Quos (*Romanos*) nos, Longobardi scilicet, Saxones, Franci, Lotharingi, Bajoarii, Suevi, Burgundiones, tanto dedignamur ut inimicos nostros commoti, nil aliud contumeliarum nisi Romane, dicamus: hoc solo, id est Romanorum nomine, quicquid ignobilitatis, quicquid timiditatis, quicquid avaritiæ, quicquid luxuriæ, quicquid mendacii, immo quicquid vitiorum est comprehendentes (*Liutprand, in Legat. Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 481.*). For the sins of Cato or Tully, Minos might have imposed, as a fit penance, the daily perusal of this barbarous passage.

⁴⁵ Pipino regi Francorum, omnis senatus, atque universa populi generalitas a Deo servatæ Romanæ urbis. *Codex Carolin. epist. 36. in Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 160* The names of senatus and senator were never totally extinct (*Differt. Chorograph. p. 216, 217.*); but in

the middle ages they signified little more than *nobiles optimates*, etc. (Ducange, *Gloss. Latin.*).

⁴⁶ See Muratori, *Antiquit. Italiæ Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. dissertat. xxvii. p. 548. On one of these coins we read Hadrianus Papa (*A. D.* 772); on the reverse, Vict. DDNN. with the word *CONOB*, which the Père Joubert (*Science des Médailles*, tom. ii. p. 42.) explains by *CON*stantinopoli *Officina B* (*secunda*).

⁴⁷ See West's *Dissertation on the Olympic Games* (Pindar, vol. ii. p. 32—36. edition in 12mo), and the judicious reflections of Polybius (tom. i. l. iv. p. 466. edit. Gronov.).

⁴⁸ The speech of Gregory to the Lombard is finely composed by Sigonius (*de Regno Italiæ*, l. iii. Opera, tom. ii. p. 173.), who imitates the licence and the spirit of Sallust or Livy.

⁴⁹ The Venetian historians, John Sagorninus (*Chron. Venet.* p. 13.) and the doge Andrew Dandolo (*Scriptores Rer. Ital.* tom. xii. p. 135.), have preserved this epistle of Gregory. The loss and recovery of Ravenna are mentioned by Paulus Diaconus (*de Gest. Langobard.* l. vi. c. 49. 54. in *Script. Ital.* tom. i. pars i. p. 506. 508.); but our chronologists, Pagi, Muratori, etc. cannot ascertain the date or circumstances.

⁵⁰ The option will depend on the various readings of the MSS. of Anastasius—*deceperat*, or *decerpserat* (*Script. Ital.* tom. iii. pars i. p. 167.).

⁵¹ The Codex Carolinus is a collection of the Epistles of the Popes to Charles Martel (whom they style *Subregulus*), Pepin, and Charlemagne, as far as the year 791, when it was formed by the last of these princes. His original and authentic MS. (*Bibliothecæ Cubicularis*) is now in the Imperial library of Vienna, and has been published by Lambecius and Muratori (*Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. iii. pars ii. p. 75, etc.).

⁵² See this most extraordinary letter in the Codex Carolinus, epist. iii. p. 92. The enemies of the popes have charged them with fraud and blasphemy; yet they surely meant to persuade rather than deceive. This introduction of the dead, or of immortals, was familiar to the ancient orators, though it is executed on this occasion in the rude fashion of the age.

⁵³ Except in the divorce of the daughter of Desiderius, whom Charlemagne repudiated sine aliquo crimine. Pope Stephen IV. had most furiously opposed the alliance of a noble Frank—*cum perfidâ, horridâ, nec dicendâ, fœtentissimâ natione Longobardorum*—to whom he imputes the first stain of leprosy (*Cod. Carolin.* epist. 45. p. 178, 179.). Another reason against the marriage was the existence of a first wife (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 232, 233. 236, 237.). But Charlemagne indulged himself in the freedom of polygamy or concubinage.

⁵⁴ See the *Annali d'Italia* of Muratori, tom. vi. and the three first dissertations of his *Antiquitates Italix Medii Ævi*, tom. i.

⁵⁵ Besides the common historians, three French critics, Launoy (*Opera*, tom. v. pars ii. l. vii. epist. 9. p. 477—487.), Pagi (*Critica*, A. D. 751, N° 1—6. A. D. 752, N° 1—10.), and Natalis Alexander (*Hist. Novi Testamenti*, dissertat. ii. p. 96—107.), have treated this subject of the deposition of Childeric with learning and attention, but with a strong bias to save the independence of the crown. Yet they are hard pressed by the texts which they produce of Eginhard, Theophanes, and the old annals, *Laureshamenses*, *Fuldenses*, *Loisielani*.

⁵⁶ Not absolutely for the first time. On a less conspicuous theatre, it had been used, in the viith and viiith centuries, by the provincial bishops of Britain and Spain. The royal unction of Constantinople was borrowed from the Latins in the last age of the empire. Constantine Manasses mentions that of Charlemagne as a foreign, Jewish, incomprehensible ceremony. See Selden's *Titles of Honour*, in his *Works*, vol. iii. part i. p. 234—249.

⁵⁷ See Eginhard, in *Vita Caroli Magni*, c. i. p. 9, etc. c. iii. p. 24. Childeric was deposed—*jussu*, the Carlovingians were established—*auctoritate*, *Pontificis Romani*. Launoy, etc. pretend that these strong words are susceptible of a very soft interpretation. Be it so; yet Eginhard understood the world, the court, and the Latin language.

⁵⁸ For the title and powers of patrician of Rome, see Ducange (*Gloss. Latin* tom. v. p. 149—151.), Pagi (*Critica*, A. D. 740, N° 6—11.), Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 308—329.), and St. Marc (*Abrégé Chronologique de l'Italie*, tom. i. p. 379—382.). Of these, the Franciscan Pagi is the most disposed to make the patrician a lieutenant of the church, rather than of the empire.

⁵⁹ The papal advocates can soften the symbolic meaning of the banner and the keys; but the style of *ad regnum* *dimisimus*, or *direximus* (*Codex. Carolin.* epist. i. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 76.), seems to allow of no palliation or escape. In the MS. of the Vienna library, they read, instead of *regnum*, *rogum*, prayer or request (see Ducange); and the royalty of Charles Martel is subverted by this important correction (*Catalani*, in his *Critical Prefaces Annali d'Italia*, tom. xvii. p. 95—99.).

⁶⁰ In the authentic narrative of this reception, the *Liber Pontificalis* observes—*obviam illi ejus sanctitas dirigens venerabiles cruces, id est signa; sicut mos est ad exarchum, aut patricium suscipiendum, eum cum ingenti honore suscipi fecit* (tom. iii. pars i. p. 185.).

⁶¹ Paulus Diaconus, who wrote before the *empire* of Charlemagne, describes Rome as his subject city—*vestræ civitates* (ad *Pompeium*

Festum), suis addidit sceptris (de Metensis Ecclesiæ Episcopis). Some Carolingian medals, struck at Rome, have engaged Le Blanc to write an elaborate, though partial, dissertation on their authority at Rome, both as patricians and emperors (Amsterdam, 1692, in 4to).

⁶² Mosheim (Institution Hist. Eccles. p. 263.) weighs this donation with fair and deliberate prudence. The original act has never been produced; but the Liber Pontificalis represents (p. 171.), and the Codex Carolinus supposes, this ample gift. Both are contemporary records; and the latter is the more authentic, since it has been preserved, not in the papal, but the Imperial, library.

⁶³ Between the exorbitant claims, and narrow concessions, of interest and prejudice, from which even Muratori (Antiquitat. tom. i. p. 63—68.) is not exempt, I have been guided, in the limits of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, by the Dissertatio Chorographica Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. x. p. 160—180.

⁶⁴ Spoletini deprecati sunt, ut eos in servitio B. Petri reciperet et more Romanorum tonsurari faceret (Anastasius, p. 185.). Yet it may be a question whether they gave their own persons or their country.

⁶⁵ The policy and donations of Charlemagne are carefully examined by St. Marc (Abrégé, tom. i. p. 390—408.), who has well studied the Codex Carolinus. I believe, with him, that they were only verbal. The most ancient act of donation that pretends to be extant, is that of the emperor Lewis the Pious (Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, l. iv. Opera, tom. ii. p. 267—270.). Its authenticity, or at least its integrity, are much questioned (Pagi, A. D. 817, N° 7, etc. Muratori, Annali, tom. vi. p. 432, etc. Dissertat. Chorographica, p. 33, 34.); but I see no reasonable objection to these princes so freely disposing of what was not their own.

⁶⁶ Charlemagne solicited and obtained from the proprietor, Hadrian I. the mosaics of the palace of Ravenna, for the decoration of Aix-la-Chapelle (Cod. Carolin. epist. 67. p. 223.).

⁶⁷ The popes often complain of the usurpations of Leo of Ravenna (Codex Carolin. epist. 51, 52, 53. p. 200—205.). Si corpus St. Andreæ fratris germani St. Petri hic humasset, nequaquam nos Romani pontifices sic subjugassent (Agnellus, Liber Pontificalis, in Scriptores Rerum Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 107.).

⁶⁸ Piissimo Constantino magno, per ejus largitatem S. R. Ecclesia elevata et exaltata est, et potestatem in his Hesperix partibus largiri dignatus est. . . . Quia ecce novus Constantinus his temporibus, etc. (Codex Carolin. epist. 49. in tom. iii. part ii. p. 195.). Pagi (Critica, A. D. 324, N° 16.) ascribes them to an impostor of the viiith century, who borrowed the name of St. Isidore; his humble title of Peccator

was ignorantly, but aptly, turned into *Mercator*; his merchandise was indeed profitable, and a few sheets of paper were sold for much wealth and power.

⁶⁹ Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 4—7.) has enumerated the several editions of this Act, in Greek and Latin. The copy which Laurentius Valla recites and refutes, appears to be taken either from the spurious Acts of St. Silvester or from Gratian's Decree, to which, according to him and others, it has been surreptitiously tacked.

⁷⁰ In the year 1059, it was believed (was it believed?) by pope Leo IX. cardinal Peter Damianus, etc. Muratori places (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 23, 24.) the fictitious donations of Lewis the Pious, the Othos, etc. de Donatione Constantini. See a Dissertation of Natalis Alexander, seculum iv. diff. 25. p. 335—350.

⁷¹ See a large account of the controversy (A. D. 1105.), which arose from a private law-suit, in the Chronicon Farsense (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 637, etc.), a copious extract from the archives of that Benedictine abbey. They were formerly accessible to curious foreigners (Le Blanc and Mabillon), and would have enriched the first volume of the Historia Monastica Italiæ of Quirini. But they are now imprisoned (Muratori, Scriptores R. I. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 269.) by the timid policy of the court of Rome; and the future cardinal yielded to the voice of authority and the whispers of ambition (Quirini, Comment. pars ii. p. 123—136.):

⁷² I have read in the collection of Schardius (de Potestate Imperiali Ecclesiasticâ, p. 734—780.), this animated discourse, which was composed by the author, A. D. 1440, six years after the flight of pope Eugenius IV. It is a most vehement party pamphlet: Valla justifies and animates the revolt of the Romans, and would even approve the use of a dagger against their sacerdotal tyrant. Such a critic might expect the persecution of the clergy; yet he made his peace, and is buried in the Lateran (Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, VALLA; Vossius, de Historicis Latinis, p. 580.

⁷³ See Guicciardini, a servant of the popes, in that long and valuable digression, which has resumed its place in the last edition, correctly published from the author's MS. and printed in four volumes in quarto, under the name of Friburgo, 1775. (Istoria d'Italia, tom. i. p. 385—395.)

⁷⁴ The Paladin Astolpho found it in the moon, among the things that were lost upon earth (Orlando Furioso, xxxiv. 80.).

Di vari fiori ad un grand monte passa,
Ch'ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte

Questo era il dono (se però dir lece)

Che Costantino al buon Silvestro fece.

Yet this incomparable poem has been approved by a bull of Leo X.

⁷⁵ See Baronius, A. D. 324, N° 117—123. A. D. 1191, N° 51, etc. The cardinal wishes to suppose that Rome was offered Constantine, and *refused* by Silvester. The act of donation he considers, strangely enough, as a forgery of the Greeks.

⁷⁶ Baronius n'en dit guères contre: encore en a-t-il trop dit, et l'on voulait sans moi (*Cardinal du Perron*), qui l'empêchait de censurer cette partie de son histoire. J'en dévisais un jour avec le Pape, et il ne me répondit autre chose "che volete? i Canonici la leggono," il le disait *en riant* (*Perroniana*, p. 77.).

⁷⁷ The remaining history of images, from Irene to Theodora, is collected, for the Catholics, by Baronius and Pagi (A. D. 780—840), Natalis Alexander (*Hist. N. T. seculum viii. Panoplia adversus Hæreticos*, p. 118—178.), and Dupin (*Bibliot. Ecclési. tom. vi. p. 136—154.*); for the protestants, by Spanheim (*Hist. Imag. p. 305—639.*), Basnage (*Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 556—572. tom. ii. p. 1362—1385.*), and Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Ecclesi. secul. viii et ix.*). The protestants, except Mosheim, are soured with controversy; but the Catholics, except Dupin, are inflamed by the fury and superstition of the monks; and even Le Beau (*Hist. du Bas Empire*), a gentleman and a scholar, is infected by the odious contagion.

⁷⁸ See the Acts, in Greek and Latin, of the second Council of Nice, with a number of relative pieces, in the viiith volume of the Councils, p. 645—1600. A faithful version, with some critical notes, would provoke, in different readers, a sigh or a smile.

⁷⁹ The pope's legates were casual messengers, to priests without any special commission, and who were disavowed on their return. Some vagabond monks were persuaded by the Catholics to represent the Oriental patriarchs. This curious anecdote is revealed by Theodore Studites (*epist. i. 38. in Sirmond. Opp. tom. v. p. 1319.*), one of the warmest Iconoclasts of the age.

⁸⁰ Συμφέρει δὲ σοι μὴ καταλιπεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ πορνεῖον εἰς ὃ μὴ εἰσελθῇς, ἢ ἵνα ἀρνήσῃ το προσκυνεῖν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν μετὰ τῆς ἰδικῆς αὐτοῦ μητρος ἐν εἰκόνι. These visits could not be innocent, since the Δαιμον πορνείας (the dæmon of fornication) ἐπολεμει δὲ αὐτόν. . . ἐν μιᾷ 8ν ὥς ἐπεκείτο αὐτῷ σφοδρά, etc. *Actio iv. p. 109. Actio v. p. 1031.*

⁸¹ See an account of this controversy in the Alexius of Anna Comnena (*l. v. p. 129.*) and Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Ecclesi. p. 371, 372.*).

⁸² The Libri Carolini (Spanheim, p. 443—529.), composed in the palace or winterquarters of Charlemagne, at Worms, A. D. 790; and sent by Engebert to pope Hadrian I. who answered them by a *grandis et verbosa epistola* (Concil. tom. viii. p. 1553.). The Carolines propose 120 objections against the Nicene synod, and such words as these are the flowers of their rhetoric—*dementiam priscæ Gentilitatis obsoletum errorem argumenta insanissima et absurdissima derisione dignas nænias*, etc. etc.

⁸³ The assemblies of Charlemagne were political, as well as ecclesiastical; and the three hundred members (Nat. Alexander, sec. viii. p. 53.) who sat and voted at Franckfort must include not only the bishops, but the abbots, and even the principal laymen.

⁸⁴ Qui supra sanctissima patres nostri (episcopi et sacerdotes) *omni-modis* servitium et adorationem imaginum renuentes contempserunt, atque consentientes condemnaverunt (Concil. tom. ix. p. 101. Canon ii. Franckfort). A polemic must be hard hearted indeed, who does not pity the efforts of Baronius, Pagi, Alexander, Maimbourg, etc. to elude this unlucky sentence.

⁸⁵ Theophanes (p. 343.) specifies those of Sicily and Calabria, which yielded an annual rent of three talents and a half of gold (perhaps 7000 l. sterling). Liutprand more pompously enumerates the patrimonies of the Roman church in Greece, Judæa, Persia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Egypt, and Libya, which were detained by the injustice of the Greek emperor (Legat. ad Nicephorum, in Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars i. p. 481.).

⁸⁶ The great diocese of the Eastern Illyricum, with Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily (Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 145.): by the confession of the Greeks, the patriarch of Constantinople had detached from Rome the metropolitans of Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, Nicopolis, and Patræ (Luc. Holsten. Geograph. Sacra, p. 22.); and his spiritual conquests extended to Naples and Amalphi (Giannone, Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 517—524. Pagi, A. D. 730, N° 11.).

⁸⁷ In hoc ostenditur, quia ex uno capitulo ab errore reversis, in aliis duobus, in *eodem*, (was it the same?) permaneant errore de diocesi S. R. E. seu de patrimoniis iterum increpantes commonemus, ut si ea restituere noluerit hereticum eum pro hujusmodi errore perfectantiâ decernemus (Epist. Hadrian. Papæ ad Carolum Magnum, in Concil. tom. viii. p. 1598.); to which he adds a reason, most directly opposite to his conduct, that he preferred the salvation of souls and rule of faith to the goods of this transitory world.

⁸⁸ Fontanini considers the emperors as no more than the advocates of the church (advocatus et defensor S. R. E. See Ducange, Gloss. Lat.

tom. i. p. 97.). His antagonist Muratori reduces the popes to be no more than the exarchs of the emperor. In the more equitable view of Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 264, 265.), they held Rome under the empire as the most honourable species of fief or benefice—*pre-muntur nocte caliginosa*!

⁸⁹ His merits and hopes are summed up in an epitaph of thirty-eight verses, of which Charlemagne declares himself the author (Concil. tom. viii. p. 520.).

Post patrem lacrymans Carolus hæc carmina scripsi.

Tu mihi dulcis amor, te modo plango pater . . .

Nomina jungo simul titulis, clarissime, nostra

Adrianus, Carolus, rex ego, tuque pater.

The poetry might be supplied by Alcuin; but the tears, the most glorious tribute, can only belong to Charlemagne.

⁹⁰ Every new pope is admonished—"Sancte Pater, non videbis annos Petri," twenty-five years. On the whole series the average is about eight years—a short hope for an ambitious cardinal.

⁹¹ The assurance of Anastasius (tom. iii. pars i. p. 197, 198.) is supported by the credulity of some French annalists; but Eginhard, and other writers of the same age, are more natural and sincere. "Unus ei oculus paullulum est læsus," says John the deacon of Naples (Vit. Episcop. Napol. in Scriptores Muratori, tom. i. pars ii. p. 312.). Theodulphus, a contemporary bishop of Orleans, observes with prudence (l. iii. carm. 3.),

Reddita sunt? mirum est: mirum est auferre nequisse.

Est tamen in dubio, hinc mirer aut inde magis.

⁹² Twice, at the request of Hadrian and Leo, he appeared at Rome—*longâ tunicâ et chlamyde amictus, et calceamentis quoque Romano more formatis*. Eginhard (c. xxiii. p. 109—113.) describes, like Suetonius, the simplicity of his dress, so popular in the nation, that when Charles the Bald returned to France in a foreign habit, the patriotic dogs barked at the apostate (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. iv. p. 109.).

⁹³ See Anastasius (p. 199.) and Eginhard (c. xxviii. p. 124—128.). The unction is mentioned by Theophanes (p. 399.), the oath by Sigonius (from the Ordo Romanus), and the pope's adoration, more antiquorum principum, by the Annales Bertiniani (Script. Murator. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 505.).

⁹⁴ This great event of the translation or restoration of the empire, is related and discussed by Natalis Alexander, secul. ix. (dissert. i. p. 390—397.), Pagi (tom. iii. p. 418.), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 339—352.), Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. iv. Opp. tom. ii.

p. 247—251.), Spanheim (de fictâ Translatione Imperii), Giannone (tom. i. p. 395—405.), St. Marc (Abrégé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 438—450.), Gaillard (Hist. de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 386—446.). Almost all these moderns have some religious or national bias.

⁹⁵ By Mably (Observations sur l'Histoire de France), Voltaire (Histoire Générale), Robertson (History of Charles V.), and Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxxi. c. 18.). In the year 1782, M. Gaillard published his Histoire de Charlemagne (in 4 vols. in 12mo), which I have freely and profitably used. The author is a man of sense and humanity; and his work is laboured with industry and elegance. But I have likewise examined the original monuments of the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne, in the vth volume of the Historians of France.

⁹⁶ The vision of Weltin, composed by a monk, eleven years after the death of Charlemagne, shews him in purgatory, with a vulture, who his perpetually gnawing the guilty member, while the rest of his body, the emblem of his virtues, is sound and perfect (see Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 317—360.).

⁹⁷ The marriage of Eginhard with Imma, daughter of Charlemagne, is, in my opinion, sufficiently refuted by the *probrum* and *suspicio* that sullied these fair damsels, without excepting his own wife (c. xix. p. 98—100. cum Notis Schmincke). The husband must have been too strong for the historian.

⁹⁸ Besides the massacres and transmigrations, the pain of death was pronounced against the following crimes: 1. The refusal of baptism. 2. The false pretence of baptism. 3. A relapse to idolatry. 4. The murder of a priest or bishop. 5. Human sacrifices. 6. Eating meat in Lent. But every crime might be expiated by baptism or penance (Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 241—247.): and the Christian Saxons became the friends and equals of the Franks (Struv. Corpus Hist. Germanicæ, p. 133.).

⁹⁹ In this action the famous Rutland, Rolando, Orlando, was slain—cum compluribus aliis. See the truth in Eginhard (c. 9. p. 51—56.), and the fable in an ingenious Supplement of M. Gaillard (tom. iii. p. 474.). The Spaniards are too proud of a victory, which history ascribes to the Gascons, and romance to the Saracens.

¹⁰⁰ Yet Schmidt, from the best authorities, represents the interior disorders and oppression of his reign (Hist. des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 45—49.).

¹⁰¹ Omnis homo ex suâ proprietate legitimam decimam ad ecclesiam conferat. Experimento enim didicimus, in anno, quo illa valida fames irrepfit, ebullire vacuas annonas a dæmonibus devoratas, et voces exprobationis auditas. Such is the decree and assertion of the great Council of Franckfort (canon xxv. tom. ix. p. 105.). Both Selden

(Hist. of Tythes; Works, vol. iii. part ii. p. 1146.) and Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxxi. c. 12.) represent Charlemagne as the first *legal* author of tythes. Such obligations have country gentlemen to his memory!

¹⁰² Eginhard (c. 25. p. 119.) clearly affirms, *tentabat et scribere . . . sed parum prospere successit labor præposterus et fero inchoatus*. The moderns have perverted and corrected this obvious meaning, and the title of M. Gaillard's Dissertation (tom. iii. p. 247—260.) betrays his partiality.

¹⁰³ See Gaillard, tom. iii. p. 138—176. and Schmidt, tom. ii. p. 121—129.

¹⁰⁴ M. Gaillard (tom. iii. p. 372.) fixes the true stature of Charlemagne (see a dissertation of Marquard Freher ad calcem Eginhard. p. 220, etc.) at five feet nine inches of French, about six feet one inch and a fourth English, measure. The romance writers have increased it to eight feet, and the giant was endowed with matchless strength and appetite: at a single stroke of his good sword *Joyeuse*, he cut asunder an horseman and his horse; at a single repast he devoured a goose, two fowls, a quarter of mutton, etc.

¹⁰⁵ See the concise, but correct and original, work of d'Anville (Etats formés en Europe après la Chute de l'Empire Romain en Occident, Paris 1771, in 4to), whose map includes the empire of Charlemagne; the different parts are illustrated, by Valesius (Notitia Galliarum) for France, Beretti (Dissertatio Chorographica) for Italy, De Marca (Marca Hispanica) for Spain. For the middle geography of Germany, I confess myself poor and destitute.

¹⁰⁶ After a brief relation of his wars and conquests (Vit. Carol. c. 5—14.), Eginhard recapitulates, in a few words (c. 15.), the countries subject to his empire. Struvius (Corpus Hist. German. p. 118—149.) has inserted in his Notes the text of the old Chronicles.

¹⁰⁷ Of a charter granted to the monastery of Alaon (A. D. 845.) by Charles the Bald, which deduces this royal pedigree. I doubt whether some subsequent links of the ixth and xth centuries are equally firm; yet the whole is approved and defended by M. Gaillard (tom. ii. p. 60—81. 203—206.), who affirms, that the family of Montesquieu (not of the president de Montesquieu) is descended, in the female line, from Clotaire and Clovis—an innocent pretension!

¹⁰⁸ The governors or counts of the Spanish march revolted from Charles the Simple about the year 900; and a poor pittance, the Roussillon, has been recovered in 1642 by the kings of France (Longuerue, Description de la France, tom. i. p. 220—222.). Yet the Roussillon contains 188,900 subjects, and annually pays 2,600,000 livres (Necker,

Administration des Finances, tom. i. p. 278, 279.) ; more people, perhaps, and doubtless more money, than the march of Charlemagne:

¹⁰⁹ Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 200, etc.

¹¹⁰ See Giannone, tom. i. p. 374, 375. and the Annals of Muratori.

¹¹¹ Quot prælia in eo gesta ! quantum sanguinis effusum sit ! Testatur vacua omni habitatione Pannonia, et locus in quo regia Cagani fuit ita desertus, ut ne vestigium quidem humanæ habitationis appareat. Tota in hoc bello Hunnorum nobilitas periit, tota gloria decedit, omnis pecunia et congesti ex longo tempore thesauri direpti sunt.

¹¹² The junction of the Rhine and Danube was undertaken only for the service of the Pannonian war (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 312—315.). The canal, which would have been only two leagues in length, and of which some traces are still extant in Swabia, was interrupted by excessive rains, military avocations, and superstitious fears (Schœpflin, Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xviii. p. 256. Molimina fluviorum, etc. jungendorum, p. 59—62.).

¹¹³ See Eginhard, c. 16. and Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361—385. who mentions, with a loose reference, the intercourse of Charlemagne and Egbert, the emperor's gift of his own sword, and the modest answer of his Saxon disciple. The anecdote, if genuine, would have adorned our English histories.

¹¹⁴ The correspondence is mentioned only in the French annals, and the Orientals are ignorant of the caliph's friendship for the *Christian dog*—a polite appellation, which Harun bestows on the emperor of the Greeks.

¹¹⁵ Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361—365. 471—476. 492. I have borrowed his judicious remarks on Charlemagne's plan of conquest, and the judicious distinction of his enemies of the first and the second *enceinte* (tom. ii. p. 184. 509, etc.).

¹¹⁶ Thegan, the biographer of Lewis, relates this coronation ; and Baronius has honestly transcribed it (A. D. 813, N° 13, etc. See Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 506, 507, 508.), howsoever adverse to the claims of the popes. For the series of the Carlovingians, see the historians of France, Italy, and Germany ; Pfeffel, Schmidt, Velly, Muratori, and even Voltaire, whose pictures are sometimes just, and always pleasing.

¹¹⁷ He was the son of Otho, the son of Ludolph, in whose favour the dutchy of Saxony had been instituted, A. D. 858. Ruotgerus, the biographer of a St. Bruno (Bibliot. Bunavianæ Catalog. tom. iii. vol. ii, p. 679.), gives a splendid character of his family. Atavorum atavi usque ad hominum memoriam omnes nobilissimi ; nullus in eorum stirpe ignotus nullus degener facile reperitur (apud Struvium, Corp. Hist.

German.

German. p. 216.). Yet Gundling (in Henrico Aucupe) is not satisfied of his descent from Witikind.

¹¹⁸ See the treatise of Conringius (de Finibus Imperii Germanici, Francofurt. 1680, in 4to): he rejects the extravagant and improper scale of the Roman and Carlovingian empires, and discusses with moderation the rights of Germany, her vassals, and her neighbours.

¹¹⁹ The power of custom forces me to number Conrad I. and Henry I. the Fowler, in the list of emperors, a title which was never assumed by those kings of Germany. The Italians, Muratori for instance, are more scrupulous and correct, and only reckon the princes who have been crowned at Rome.

¹²⁰ Invidiam tamen suscepti nominis, C. P. imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus, magnâ tulit patientiâ, vicitque eorum contumaciam . . . mittendo ad eos crebras legationes, et in epistolis fratres eos appellando. (Eginhard, c. 28. p. 128.). Perhaps it was on their account that, like Augustus, he affected some reluctance to receive the empire.

¹²¹ Theophanes speaks of the coronation and unction of Charles, *Καρολλος* (Chronograph. p. 399.), and of his treaty of marriage with Irene (p. 402), which is unknown to the Latins. Gaillard relates his transactions with the Greek empire (tom. ii. p. 446—468.).

¹²² Gaillard very properly observes, that this pageant was a farce suitable to children only; but that it was indeed represented in the presence, and for the benefit, of children of a larger growth.

¹²³ Compare, in the original texts collected by Pagi (tom. iii. A. D. 812, N° 7. A. D. 824, N° 10, etc.), the contrast of Charlemagne and his son: to the former the ambassadors of Michael (who were indeed disavowed) more suo, id est linguâ Græcâ laudes dixerunt, imperatorem eum et Βασιλεα appellantes; to the latter, *Vocato imperatori Francorum*, etc.

¹²⁴ See the epistle, in Paralipomena, of the anonymous writer of Salerno (Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 243—254. c. 93—107.), whom Baronius (A. D. 871, N° 51—71.) mistook for Erchempert, when he transcribed it in his Annals.

¹²⁵ Ipse enim vos, non imperatorem, id est Βασιλεα suâ linguâ, sed ob indignationem Πηγχα, id est regem nostrâ vocabat (Liutprand, in Legat. in Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 479.). The pope had exhorted Nicephorus, emperor of the *Greeks*, to make peace with Otho, the august emperor of the *Romans*—quæ inscriptio secundum Græcos peccata et temeraria. . . . imperatorem inquit, *universalem, Romanorum, Augustum, magnum, solum*, Nicephorum (p. 486.).

¹²⁶ The origin and progress of the title of cardinal may be found in
Notes.

Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1261—1298), Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. dissert. lxi. p. 159—182.), and Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* p. 345—347.), who accurately remarks the forms and changes of the election. The cardinal-bishops, so highly exalted by Peter Damianus, are sunk to a level with the rest of the sacred college.

¹²⁷ Firmiter jurantes, nunquam se papam electuros aut ordinaturos, præter consensum et electionem Othonis et filii sui (Liutprand, l. vi. c. 6. p. 472.). This important concession may either supply or confirm the decree of the clergy and people of Rome, so fiercely rejected by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori (A. D. 964.), and so well defended and explained by St. Marc (*Abrégé*, tom. ii. p. 808—816. tom. iv. p. 1167—1185.). Consult that historical critic, and the Annals of Muratori, for the election and confirmation of each pope.

¹²⁸ The oppression and vices of the Roman church in the xth century are strongly painted in the history and legation of Liutprand (see p. 440. 450. 471—476. 479, etc.); and it is whimsical enough to observe Muratori tempering the invectives of Baronius against the popes. But these popes had been chosen, not by the cardinals, but by lay-patrons.

¹²⁹ The time of pope Joan (*papissa Joanna*) is placed somewhat earlier than Theodora or Marozia; and the two years of her imaginary reign are forcibly inserted between Leo IV. and Benedict III. But the contemporary Anastasius indissolubly links the death of Leo and the elevation of Benedict (*illico, mox*, p. 247.); and the accurate chronology of Pagi, Muratori, and Leibnitz, fixes both events to the year 857.

¹³⁰ The advocates for pope Joan produce one hundred and fifty witnesses, or rather echoes, of the xivth, xvth, and xviith centuries. They bear testimony against themselves and the legend, by multiplying the proof that so curious a story *must* have been repeated by writers of every description to whom it was known. On those of the ixth and xth centuries, the recent event would have flashed with a double force. Would Photius have spared such a reproach? Could Liutprand have missed such scandal? It is scarcely worth while to discuss the various readings of Martinus Polonus, Sigebert of Gemblours, or even Marianus Scotus; but a most palpable forgery is the passage of pope Joan, which has been foisted into some MSS. and editions of the Roman Anastasius.

¹³¹ As *false*, it deserves that name; but I would not pronounce it incredible. Suppose a famous French chevalier of our own times to have been born in Italy, and educated in the church, instead of the army: *her* merit or fortune *might* have raised her to St. Peter's chair; her amours would have been natural; her delivery in the streets unlucky, but not improbable.

¹³² Till the reformation, the tale was repeated and believed without offence; and Joan's female statue long occupied her place among the popes in the cathedral of Sienna (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 624—626.). She has been annihilated by two learned protestants, Blondel and Bayle (Dictionnaire Critique, PAGESSE, POLONUS, BLONDEL); but their brethren were scandalised by this equitable and generous criticism. Spanheim and Lenfant attempt to save this poor engine of controversy; and even Mosheim condescends to cherish some doubt and suspicion (p. 289.).

¹³³ Lateranense palatium prostibulum meretricum Testis omnium gentium, præterquam Romanorum, absentia mulierum, quæ sanctorum apostolorum limina orandi gratiâ timent visere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos, hunc audierint conjugatas viduas, virgines vi oppressisse (Liutprand, Hist. l. vi. c. 6. p. 471. See the whole affair of John XII. p. 471—476.).

¹³⁴ A new example of the mischief of equivocation is the *beneficium* (Ducange, tom. i. p. 617, etc.) which the pope conferred on the emperor Frederic I. since the Latin word may signify either a legal fief, or a simple favour, an obligation (we want the word *bienfait*). See Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 393—408. Pfeffel, Abrégé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 229. 296. 317. 324. 420. 430. 500. 505. 509, etc.).

¹³⁵ For the history of the emperors in Rome and Italy, see Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ; Opp. tom. ii. with the Notes of Saxius, and the Annals of Muratori, who might refer more distinctly to the authors of his great collection.

¹³⁶ See the Dissertation of Le Blanc at the end of his *Treatise des Monnoyes de France*, in which he produces some Roman coins of the French emperors.

¹³⁷ Romanorum aliquando servi, scilicet Burgundiones, Romanis imperent? Romanæ urbis dignitas ad tantam est stultitiam ducta, ut meretricum etiam imperio pareat? (Liutprand, l. iii. c. 12. p. 450.). Sigonius (l. vi. p. 400.) positively affirms the renovation of the consulship; but in the old writers Albericus is more frequently styled princeps Romanorum.

¹³⁸ Ditmar, p. 354. apud Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 439.

¹³⁹ This bloody feast is described in Leonine verse, in the Pantheon of Godfrey of Viterbo (Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 436, 437.), who flourished towards the end of the xiith century (Fabricius, Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimi ævi, tom. iii. p. 69. edit. Mansi); but his evidence, which imposed on Sigonius, is reasonably suspected by Muratori (Annali, tom. viii. p. 177.).

¹⁴⁰ The coronation of the emperor, and some original ceremonies of the xth century, are preserved in the Panegyric on Berengarius (Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 405—414.), illustrated by the Notes of Hadrian Valefius, and Leibnitz. Sigonius has related the whole process of the Roman expedition, in good Latin, but with some errors of time and fact (l. vii. p. 441—446.).

¹⁴¹ In a quarrel at the coronation of Conrad II. Muratori takes leave to observe—*doveano ben essere allora, indisciplinati, Barbari, e bestiali i Tedeschi*. Annal. tom. viii. p. 368.

¹⁴² After boiling away the bones. The caldrons for that purpose were a necessary piece of travelling furniture; and a German who was using it for his brother, promised it to a friend, after it should have been employed for himself (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 423, 424). The same author observes, that the whole Saxou line was extinguished in Italy (tom. ii. p. 440.).

¹⁴³ Otho bishop of Frisingen has left an important passage on the Italian cities (l. ii. c. 13. in Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 707—710); and the rise, progress, and government, of these republics are perfectly illustrated by Muratori (Antiquitat. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. iv. dissert. xlv—lii. p. 1—675. Annal. tom. viii. ix. x.

¹⁴⁴ For these titles, see Selden (Titles of Honour, vol. iii. part. i. p. 488.), Ducange (Gloss. Latin. tom. ii. p. 140. tom. vi. p. 776.), and St. Marc (Abrégé Chronologique, tom. ii. p. 719.).

¹⁴⁵ The Lombards invented and used the *carocium*, a standard planted on a car or waggon, drawn by a team of oxen (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 194, 195. Muratori, Antiquitat. tom. ii. diss. xxvi. p. 489—493.).

¹⁴⁶ Gunther Ligurinus, l. viii. 584, et seq. apud Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 399.

¹⁴⁷ Solus imperator faciem suam firmavit ut petram (Burcard. de Excidio Mediolani, Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 917.). This volume of Muratori contains the originals of the history of Frederic the first, which must be compared with due regard to the circumstances and prejudices of each German or Lombard writer.

¹⁴⁸ For the history of Frederic II. and the house of Swabia at Naples, see Giannone, Istoria Civile, tom. ii. l. xiv—xix.

¹⁴⁹ In the immense labyrinth of the *jus publicum* of Germany, I must either quote one writer or a thousand; and I had rather trust to one faithful guide, than transcribe, on credit, a multitude of names and passages. That guide is M. Pfeffel, the author of the best legal and constitutional history that I know of any country (Nouvel Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire et du Droit Public d'Allemagne, Paris, 1776, 2 vols. in 4to). His learning and judgment have discerned the most interesting facts; his simple brevity comprises them in a narrow space;

his chronological order distributes them under the proper dates; and an elaborate index collects them under their respective heads. To this work, in a less perfect state, Dr. Robertson was gratefully indebted for that masterly sketch which traces even the modern changes of the Germanic body. The *Corpus Historiæ Germanicæ* of Struvius has been likewise consulted, the more usefully, as that huge compilation is fortified in every page with the original texts.

¹⁵⁰ Yet, *personally*, Charles IV. must not be considered as a Barbarian. After his education at Paris, he recovered the use of the Bohemian, his native, idiom; and the emperor conversed and wrote with equal facility in French, Latin, Italian, and German (Struvius, p. 615, 616.). Petrarch always represents him as a polite and learned prince.

¹⁵¹ Besides the German and Italian historians, the expedition of Charles IV. is painted in lively and original colours in the curious *Mémoires sur la Vie de Petrarque*, tom. iii. p. 376—430. by the abbé de Sade, whose prolixity has never been blamed by any reader of taste and curiosity.

¹⁵² See the whole ceremony, in Struvius, p. 629.

¹⁵³ The republic of Europe, with the pope and emperor at its head, was never represented with more dignity than in the council of Constance. See Lenfant's History of that assembly.

¹⁵⁴ Gravina, *Origines Juris Civilis*, p. 108.

¹⁵⁵ Six thousand urns have been discovered of the slaves and freedmen of Augustus and Livia. So minute was the division of office, that one slave was appointed to weigh the wool which was spun by the empress's maids, another for the care of her lap-dog, etc. (*Camere Sepolcrali*, etc. by Bianchini. Extract of his work, in the *Bibliothèque Italique*, tom. iv. p. 175. His *Eloge*, by Fontenelle, tom. vi. p. 356.). But these servants were of the same rank, and possibly not more numerous than those of Pollio or Lentulus. They only prove the general riches of the city.

CHAP. L.

¹ As in this and the following chapter I shall display much Arabic learning, I must profess my total ignorance of the Oriental tongues, and my gratitude to the learned interpreters, who have transfused their science into the Latin, French, and English languages. Their collections, versions, and histories, I shall occasionally notice.

² The geographers of Arabia may be divided into three classes: 1. The

Greeks and *Latins*, whose progressive knowledge may be traced in Agatharcides (de Mari Rubro, in Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. i.), Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 159—167. l. iii. p. 211—216. edit. Weffeling), Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1112—1114. from Eratosthenes, p. 1122—1132. from Artemidorus), Dionysius (Periegesis, 927—969.), Pliny (Hist. Natur. v. 12. vi. 32.), and Ptolemy (Descript. et Tabulæ Urbium, in Hudson, tom. iii.). 2. The *Arabic writers*, who have treated the subject with the zeal of patriotism or devotion: the extracts of Pocock (Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 125—128.) from the Geography of the Sherif al Edrissi, render us still more dissatisfied with the version or abridgment (p. 24—27. 44—56. 108, etc. 119, etc.) which the Maronites have published under the absurd title of Geographia Nubiensis (Paris, 1619.); but the Latin and French translators, Greaves (in Hudson, tom. iii.) and Galland (Voyage de la Palestine par La Roque, p. 265—346.), have opened to us the Arabia of Abulfeda, the most copious and correct account of the peninsula, which may be enriched, however, from the Bibliothèque Orientale of d'Herbelot, p. 120. et alibi passim. 3. The *European Travellers*; among whom Shaw (p. 438—455.) and Niebuhr (Description, 1773. Voyages, tom. i. 1776.) deserve an honourable distinction: Busching (Géographie par Berenger, tom. viii. p. 416—510.) has compiled with judgment; and d'Anville's Maps (Orbis Veteribus Notus, and 1re Partie de l'Asie) should lie before the reader, with his Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 208—231.

³ Abulfed. Descript. Arabiæ, p. 1. D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 19, 20. It was in this place, the paradise or garden of a satrap, that Xenophon and the Greeks first passed the Euphrates (Anabasis. l. i. c. 10. p. 29. edit. Wells).

⁴ Reland has proved, with much superfluous learning. 1. That our Red Sea (the Arabian Gulf) is no more than a part of the *Mare Rubrum*, the Ερυθρα θαλασση of the ancients, which was extended to the indefinite space of the Indian ocean. 2. That the synonymous words *ερυθρος*, *αιθιοψς*, allude to the colour of the blacks or negroes (Dissert. Miscell. tom. i. p. 59—117.).

⁵ In the thirty days, or stations, between Cairo and Mecca, there are fifteen destitute of good water. See the route of the Hadjees, in Shaw's Travels, p. 477.

⁶ The aromatics, especially the *thus* or frankincense, of Arabia, occupy the xiith book of Pliny. Our great poet (Paradise Lost, l. iv.) introduces, in a simile, the spicy odours that are blown by the north-east wind from the Sabæan coast:

—Many a league,

Pleas'd with the grateful scent, old Ocean smiles.

(Plin. Hist. Natur. xii. 42.)

⁷ Agatharcides affirms, that lumps of pure gold were found, from the size of an olive to that of a nut; that iron was twice, and silver ten times, the value of gold (de Mari Rubro, p. 60.). These real or imaginary treasures are vanished; and no gold mines are at present known in Arabia (Niebuhr, Description, p. 124.).

⁸ Consult, peruse, and study, the Specimen Historiæ Arabum of Pocock! (Oxon. 1650, in 4to). The thirty pages of text and version are extracted from the Dynasties of Gregory Abulpharagius, which Pocock afterwards translated (Oxon. 1663, in 4to): the three hundred and fifty-eight notes form a classic and original work on the Arabian antiquities.

⁹ Arrian remarks the Ichthyophagi of the coast of Hejaz (Periplus Maris Erythræi, p. 12.) and beyond Aden (p. 15.). It seems probable that the shores of the Red Sea (in the largest sense) were occupied by these savages in the time, perhaps, of Cyrus; but I can hardly believe that any cannibals were left among the savages in the reign of Justinian (Procop. de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 19.).

¹⁰ See the Specimen Historiæ Arabum of Pocock, p. 2. 5. 86, etc. The journey of M. d'Arvieux, in 1664, to the camp of the emir of Mount Carmel (Voyage de la Palestine, Amsterdam, 1718.), exhibits a pleasing and original picture of the life of the Bedoweens, which may be illustrated from Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 327—344.) and Volney (tom. i. p. 343—385.), the last and most judicious of our Syrian travellers.

¹¹ Read (it is no unpleasing task) the incomparable articles of the *Horse* and the *Camel*, in the Natural History of M. de Buffon.

¹² For the Arabian horses, see d'Arvieux (p. 159—173.) and Niebuhr (p. 142—144.). At the end of the xiiith century, the horses of Neged were esteemed sure-footed, those of Yemen strong and serviceable, those of Hejaz most noble. The horses of Europe, the tenth and last class, were generally despised, as having too much body and too little spirit (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 339.): their strength was requisite to bear the weight of the knight and his armour.

¹³ Qui carnibus camelorum vesci solent odii tenaces sunt, was the opinion of an Arabian physician (Pocock, Specimen, p. 88.). Mahomet himself, who was fond of milk, prefers the cow, and does not even mention the camel; but the diet of Mecca and Medina was already more luxurious (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 404.).

¹⁴ Yet Marcian of Heraclea (in Periplo, p. 16. in tom. i. Hudson,

Minor Geograph.) reckons one hundred and sixty-four towns in Arabia Fœlix. The size of the towns might be small—the faith of the writer might be large.

¹⁵ It is compared by Abulfeda (in Hudson, tom. iii. p. 54.) to Damascus, and is still the residence of the Imam of Yemen (Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. i. p. 331—342.). Saana is twenty-four parasangs from Dabar (Abulfeda, p. 51.), and sixty-eight from Aden (p. 53.).

¹⁶ Pocock, Specimen, p. 57. Geograph. Nubienfis, p. 52. Meriaba, or Merab, six miles in circumference, was destroyed by the legions of Augustus (Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 32.), and had not revived in the xivth century (Abulfed. Descript. Arab. p. 58.).

¹⁷ The name of city, *Medina*, was appropriated, *ματ' ἐξοχην*, to Yatreb (the Iatrippa of the Greeks), the seat of the prophet. The distances from Medina are reckoned by Abulfeda in stations, or day's journey of a caravan (p. 15.): to Bahrein, xv; to Bassora, xviii; to Cufah, xx; to Damascus or Palestine, xx; to Cairo, xxv; to Mecca, x; from Mecca to Saana (p. 52.) or Aden, xxx; to Cairo, xxxi days, or 412 hours (Shaw's Travels, p. 477.); which, according to the estimate of d'Anville (Mesures Itinéraires, p. 99.), allows about twenty five English miles for a day's journey. From the land of frankincense (Hadramaut, in Yemen, between Aden and Cape Fartafch) to Gaza, in Syria, Pliny (Hist. Nat. xii. 32.) computes lxx mansions of camels. These measures may assist fancy and elucidate facts.

¹⁸ Our notions of Mecca must be drawn from the Arabians (d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 368—371. Pocock, Specimen, p. 125—128. Abulfeda, p. 11—40.). As no unbeliever is permitted to enter the city, our travellers are silent; and the short hints of Thevenot (Voyages du Levant, part. i. p. 490.) are taken from the suspicious mouth of an African renegado. Some Persians counted 6000 houses (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 167.).

¹⁹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1110. See one of these salt houses near Bassora, in d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 6.

²⁰ Mirum dictû ex innumeris populis pars æqua in *commerciis* aut in *latrociniis* degit (Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 32.). See Sale's Koran. Sural cvi. p. 503. Pocock, Specimen, p. 2. D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 361. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 5. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 72. 120. 126, etc.

²¹ A nameless doctor (Universal Hist. vol. xx. octavo edition) has formally *demonstrated* the truth of Christianity by the independence of the Arabs. A critic, besides the exceptions of fact, might dispute the meaning of the text (Genes. xvi. 12.), the extent of the application, and the foundation of the pedigree.

²² It was subdued, A. D. 1173, by a brother of the great Saladin, who founded a dynasty of Curds or Ayoubites (Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 425. D'Herbelot, p. 477.).

²³ By the lieutenant of Soliman I. (A. D. 1538.) and Selim II. (1568). See Cantemir's *Hist. of the Othman empire*, p. 201. 221. The Pasha, who resided at Saana, commanded twenty-one Beys, but no revenue was ever remitted to the Porte (Marfigli, *Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomanno*, p. 124.), and the Turks were expelled about the year 1630 (Niebuhr, p. 167, 168.).

²⁴ Of the Roman province, under the name of Arabia and the third Palestine, the principal cities were Bosra and Petra, which dated their æra from the year 105, when they were subdued by Palma a lieutenant of Trajan (Dion Cassius, l. lxxviii.). Petra was the capital of the Nabathæans; whose name is derived from the eldest of the sons of Ismael (Genes. xxv. 12, etc. with the Commentaries of Jerom, Le Clerc, and Calmet). Justinian relinquished a palm country of ten days journey to the south of Ælah (Procop. de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 19.), and the Romans maintained a centurion and a custom-house (Arrian in *Periplo Maris Erythræi*, p. 11. in Hudson, tom. i.), at a place (λευκη κομη, Pagus Albus Hawara) in the territory of Medina (d'Anville *Mémoire sur l'Egypte*, p. 243.). These real possessions, and some naval inroads of Trajan (*Peripl.*, p. 14, 15.), are magnified by history and medals into the Roman conquest of Arabia.

²⁵ Niebuhr (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 302, 303. 329—331.) affords the most recent and authentic intelligence of the Turkish empire in Arabia.

²⁶ Diodorus Siculus (tom. ii. l. xix. p. 390—393. edit. Weffeling) has clearly exposed the freedom of the Nabathæan Arabs, who resisted the arms of Antigonus and his son.

²⁷ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1127—1129. Plin. *Hist. Natur.* vi. 32. Ælius Gallus landed near Medina, and marched near a thousand miles into the part of Yemen between Mareb and the Ocean. The non ante devictis Sabeæ regibus (Od. i. 29.), and the intacti Arabum thesauri (Od. iii. 24.) of Horace, attest the virgin purity of Arabia.

²⁸ See the imperfect history of Yemen in Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 55—66. of Hira, p. 66—74. of Gassan, p. 75—78. as far as it could be known or preserved in the time of ignorance.

²⁹ The Σαρακηνικα Φυλα, μυριαδες ταυτα, και το πλειζον αυτων ερημονομοι, και αδεσποτοι, are described by Menander (*Excerpt. Legation.* p. 149.), Procopius (*de Bell. Persic.* l. i. c. 17. 19. l. ii. c. 10.); and, in the most lively colours, by Ammianus Marcellinus (l. xiv. c. 4.), who had spoken of them as early as the reign of Marcus.

³⁰ The name which, used by Ptolemy and Pliny in a more confined, by Ammianus and Procopius in a larger, sense, has been derived, ridiculously, from *Sarah*, the wife of Abraham, obscurely from the village of *Saraka*, (μετα Ναβαταις. Stephan. de Urbibus), more plausibly from the Arabic words, which signify a *thievish* character, or *Oriental* situation, (Hottinger, Hist. Oriental. l. i. c. i. p. 7, 8. Pocock, Specimen, p. 33—35. Affeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 567.). Yet the last and most popular of these etymologies, is refuted by Ptolemy (Arabia, p. 2. 18. in Hudson, tom. iv.), who expressly remarks the western and southern position of the Saracens, then an obscure tribe on the borders of Egypt. The appellation cannot therefore allude to any *national* character; and, since it was imposed by strangers, it must be found, not in the Arabic, but in a foreign language.

³¹ Saraceni . . . mulieres aiunt in eos regnare (Expositio totius Mundi, p. 3. in Hudson, tom. iii.). The reign of Mavia is famous in ecclesiastical story. Pocock, Specimen, p. 69. 83.

³² Μη ἐξίνωμι ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων, is the report of Agatharades de Mari Rubro, p. 63, 64. in Hudson, tom. i.), Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. iii. c. 47. p. 215.), and Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1124.). But I much suspect that this is one of the popular tales, or extraordinary accidents, which the credulity of travellers so often transforms into a fact, a custom, and a law.

³³ Non gloriabantur antiquitus Arabes, nisi gladio, hospite, et eloquentiâ (Sephadius, apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 161, 162.). This gift of speech they shared only with the Persians; and the sententious Arabs would probably have disdained the simple and sublime logic of Demosthenes.

³⁴ I must remind the reader that d'Arvieux, d'Herbelot, and Niebuhr, represent, in the most lively colours, the manners and government of the Arabs, which are illustrated by many incidental passages in the life of Mahomet.

³⁵ Observe the first chapter of Job, and the long wall of 1500 stadia, which Sesostris built from Pelusium to Heliopolis (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. i. p. 67.). Under the name of *Hycsos*, the shepherd-kings, they had formerly subdued Egypt (Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 98—163, etc.

³⁶ Or, according to another account, 1200 (d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 75.): the two historians who wrote of the *Ayam al Arab*, the battles of the Arabs, lived in the ixth and xth century. The famous war of Dahes and Gabrah was occasioned by two horses, lasted forty years, and ended in a proverb (Pocock, Specimen, p. 48.).

³⁷ The modern theory and practice of the Arabs in the revenge of murder, are described by Niebuhr (Description, p. 26—31.). The

harsher features of antiquity may be traced in the Koran, c. 2. p. 20. c. 17. p. 230. with Sale's Observations.

³⁸ Procopius (de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 16.) places the *two* holy months about the summer solstice. The Arabians consecrate *four* months of the year—the first, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth; and pretend, that in a long series of ages the truce was infringed only four or six times (Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 147—150. and Notes on the ixth chapter of the Koran, p. 154, etc. Casiri, Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. ii. p. 20, 21.).

³⁹ Arrian, in the second century, remarks (in Periplo Maris Erythræi, p. 12.) the partial or total difference of the dialects of the Arabs. Their language and letters are copiously treated by Pocock (Specimen, p. 150—154.), Casiri (Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. i. p. 1. 83. 292. tom. ii. p. 25, etc.), and Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 72—86.). I pass slightly; I am not fond of repeating words like a parrot.

⁴⁰ A familiar tale in Voltaire's Zadig (le Chien et le Cheval) is related, to prove the natural sagacity of the Arabs (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 120, 121. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 37—46.); but d'Arvieux, or rather La Roque (Voyage de Palestine, p. 92.), denies the boasted superiority of the Bedoweens. The one hundred and sixty-nine sentences of Ali (translated by Ockley, London, 1718.) afford a just and favourable specimen of Arabian wit.

⁴¹ Pocock (Specimen, p. 158—161.) and Casiri (Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. i. p. 48. 84, etc. 119. tom. ii. p. 17, etc.) speak of the Arabian poets before Mahomet: the seven poems of the Caaba have been published in English by Sir William Jones; but his honourable mission to India has deprived us of his own notes, far more interesting than the obscure and obsolete text.

⁴² Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 29, 30.

⁴³ D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 458. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 118. Caab and Hefnus (Pocock, Specimen, p. 43. 46. 48.) were likewise conspicuous for their liberality; and the latter is elegantly praised by an Arabian poet: "Videbis eum cum accefferis exultantem, ac si dares illi quod ab illo petis."

⁴⁴ Whatever can now be known of the idolatry of the ancient Arabians, may be found in Pocock (Specimen, p. 89—136. 163, 164.). His profound erudition is more clearly and concisely interpreted by Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 14—24.); and Assemanni (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 580—590.) has added some valuable remarks.

⁴⁵ Ἱερὸν ἀγνώστου ἰδρύεται τιμωμένον ὑπὸ πάντων Ἀραβῶν περιττότερον (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. iii. p. 211.). The character and position are so correctly apposite, that I am surprised how this curious passage

should have been read without notice or application. Yet this famous temple had been overlooked by Agatharcides (*de Mari Rubro*, p. 58. in Hudson, tom. i.), whom Diodorus copies in the rest of the description. Was the Sicilian more knowing than the Egyptian? Or was the Caaba built between the years of Rome 650 and 746, the dates of their respective histories? (Dodwell, in *Differt. ad tom. i. Hudson*, p. 72. Fabricius, *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. ii. p. 770.).

⁴⁶ Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 60, 61. From the death of Mahomet we ascend to 68, from his birth to 129, years, before the Christian æra. The veil or curtain, which is now of silk and gold, was no more than a piece of Egyptian linen (*Abulfeda*, in *Vit. Mohammed*, c. 6. p. 14.).

⁴⁷ The original plan of the Caaba (which is fervilely copied in Sale, the *Universal History*, etc.) was a Turkish draught, which Reland (*de Religione Mohammedicâ*, p. 113—123.) has corrected and explained from the best authorities. For the description and legend of the Caaba, consult Pocock (*Specimen*, p. 115—122.), the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of d'Herbelot (*Caaba*, *Hagier*, *Zemzem*, etc.), and Sale (*Preliminary discourse*, p. 114—122.).

⁴⁸ Cofa, the fifth ancestor of Mahomet, must have usurped the Caaba A. D. 440; but the story is differently told by Jannabi (*Gagnier*, *Vie de Mahomet*, tom. i. p. 65—69.) and by Abulfeda (in *Vit. Moham.* c. 6. p. 13.).

⁴⁹ In the second century, Maximus of Tyre attributes to the Arabs the worship of a stone—*Ἀράβιοι σεβασσι μὲν, ὅντινα δὲ ἔκ οὐδα, τὸ δὲ ἀγάλμα εἶδον; λίθος ἦν τετραγώνος* (*differt. viii. tom. i. p. 142. edit. Reiske*); and the reproach is furiously re-echoed by the Christians (*Clemens Alex. in Protreptico*, p. 40. *Arnobius contra Gentes*, l. vi. p. 246.). Yet these stones were no other than the *βαϊτυλα* of Syria and Greece, so renowned in sacred and profane antiquity (*Euseb. Præp. Evangel.* l. i. p. 37. *Marsham, Canon. Chron.* p. 54—56.).

⁵⁰ The two horrid subjects of *Ἀνδροθυσία* and *Παιδοθυσία*, are accurately discussed by the learned Sir John Marsham (*Canon. Chron.* p. 76—78. 301—304.). Sanchoniatho derives the Phœnician sacrifices from the example of Chronus; but we are ignorant whether Chronus lived before or after Abraham, or indeed whether he lived at all.

⁵¹ *Κατ' ἑτος ἑκάστον παιδά εθνον*, is the reproach of Porphyry; but he likewise imputes to the Roman the same barbarous custom, which, A. U. C. 657, had been finally abolished. *Dumætha*, *Daumat al Gendal*, is noticed by Ptolemy (*Tabul.* p. 37. *Arabia*, p. 9—29.) and Abulfeda (p. 57); and may be found in d'Anville's maps, in the mid-desert between Chaibar and Tadmor.

⁵² Procopius (*de Bell. Persico*, l. i. c. 28.), Evagrius (l. vi. c. 21.),

and Pocock (Specimen, p. 72. 86.), attest the human sacrifices of the Arabs in the sixth century. The danger and escape of Abdallah, is a tradition rather than a fact (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 82—84.).

⁵³ Suillis carnibus abstinent, says Solinus (Polyhistor. c. 33.), who copies Pliny (l. viii. c. 68.) in the strange supposition, that hogs cannot live in Arabia. The Egyptians were actuated by a natural and superstitious horror for that unclean beast (Marsham, Canon. p. 205.). The old Arabians likewise practised, *post coitum*, the rite of ablution (Herodot. l. i. c. 80.), which is sanctified by the Mahometan law (Reland, p. 75, etc. Chardin, or rather the *Mollah* of Shaw Abbas, tom. iv. p. 71, etc.).

⁵⁴ The Mahometan doctors are not fond of the subject; yet they hold circumcision necessary to salvation, and even pretend that Mahomet was miraculously born without a foreskin (Pocock, Specimen, p. 319, 320. Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 106, 107.).

⁵⁵ Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 142—145.) has cast on their religion the curious but superficial glance of a Greek. Their astronomy would be far more valuable: they had looked through the telescope of reason, since they could doubt whether the sun were in the number of the planets or of the fixed stars.

⁵⁶ Simplicius (who quotes Porphyry), de Cælo, l. ii. com. xlv. p. 123. lin. 18. apud Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 474. who doubts the fact, because it is adverse to his systems. The earliest date of the Chaldean observations is the year 2234 before Christ. After the conquest of Babylon by Alexander, they were communicated, at the request of Aristotle, to the astronomer Hipparchus. What a moment in the annals of science!

⁵⁷ Pocock (Specimen, p. 138—146.), Hottinger (Hist. Oriental. p. 162—203.), Hyde (de Religione Vet. Persarum, p. 124. 128, etc.), d'Herbelot (*Sabi*, p. 725, 726.), and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 14, 15.), rather excite than gratify our curiosity; and the last of these writers confounds Sabianism with the primitive religion of the Arabs.

⁵⁸ D'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 130—147) will fix the position of these ambiguous Christians; Assemannus (Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iv. p. 607—614.) may explain their tenets. But it is a slippery task to ascertain the creed of an ignorant people, afraid and ashamed to disclose their secret traditions.

⁵⁹ The Magi were fixed in the province of Bahrein (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 114.), and mingled with the old Arabians (Pocock, Specimen, p. 146—150.).

⁶⁰ The state of the Jews and Christians in Arabia, is described by

Pocock from Shareftani, etc. (Specimen, p. 60. 134, etc.), Hottinger (Hist. Orient. p. 212—238), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 474—476.), Bafnage (Hist. des Juifs, tom. vii. p. 185. tom. viii. p. 280.), and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 22, etc. 33, etc.).

⁶¹ In their offerings it was a maxim to defraud God for the profit of the idol, not a more potent, but a more irritable patron (Pocock, Specimen, p. 108, 109.).

⁶² Our versions now extant, whether Jewish or Christian, appear more recent than the Koran; but the existence of a prior translation may be fairly inferred, 1. From the perpetual practice of the synagogue, of expounding the Hebrew lesson by a paraphrase in the vulgar tongue of the country. 2. From the analogy of the Armenian, Persian, Æthiopic versions, expressly quoted by the fathers of the fifth century, who assert that the Scriptures were translated into *all* the Barbaric languages (Walton, Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglot. p. 34. 93—97. Simon, Hist. Critique du V. et du N. Testament, tom. i. p. 180, 181, 282—286. 293. 305, 306. tom. iv. p. 206.).

⁶³ In eo conveniunt omnes, ut plebeio vilique genere ortum, etc. (Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 136.). Yet Theophanes, the most ancient of the Greeks, and the father of many a lie, confesses that Mahomet was of the race of Ismael, *ἐκ μίας γενικωτάτης φυλῆς* (Chronograph. p. 277.).

⁶⁴ Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed. c. 1, 2.) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, p. 25—97.) describe the popular and approved genealogy of the prophet. At Mecca, I would not dispute its authenticity; at Lausanne, I will venture to observe, 1. *That* from Ismael to Mahomet, a period of 2500 years, they reckon thirty, instead of seventy-five, generations. 2. *That* the modern Bedowees are ignorant of their history and careless of their pedigree (Voyage de d'Arvieux, p. 100. 103.).

⁶⁵ The seed of this history, or fable, is contained in the cvth chapter of the Koran; and Gagnier (in Præfat. ad Vit. Moham. p. 18, etc.) has translated the historical narrative of Abulfeda, which may be illustrated from d'Herbelot. (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 12.), and Pocock (Specimen, p. 64.). Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 48.) calls it a lie of the coinage of Mahomet; but Sale (Koran, p. 501—503.), who is half a Musulman, attacks the inconsistent faith of the Doctor for believing the miracles of the Delphic Apollo. Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. part. ii. p. 14. tom. ii. p. 823.) ascribes the miracle to the devil, and extorts from the Mahometans the confession, that God would not have defended against the Christians the idols of the Caaba.

⁶⁶ The safest æras of Abulfeda (in Vit. c. i. p. 2.), of Alexander,

or the Greeks, 882, of Bocht Nafer, or Nabonasser, 1316, equally lead us to the year 569. The old Arabian calendar is too dark and uncertain to support the Benedictines (*Art de vérifier les Dates*, p. 15.), who from the day of the month and week deduce a new mode of calculation, and remove the birth of Mahomet to the year of Christ 570, the 10th of November. Yet this date would agree with the year 882 of the Greeks, which is assigned by Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 5.) and Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 101. and Errata Pocock's version). While we refine our chronology, it is possible that the illiterate prophet was ignorant of his own age.

⁶⁷ I copy the honourable testimony of Abu Taled to his family and nephew. *Laus Dei, qui nos a stirpe Abrahami et femine Ismaelis constituit, et nobis regionem sacram dedit, et nos judices hominibus statuit. Porro Mohammed filius Abdollahi nepotis mei (nepos meus) quo cum ex æquo librabitur e Koraishidis quispiam cui non præponderaturus est, bonitate et excellentiâ, et intellectû et gloriâ et acumine etsi opum inops fuerit (et certe opes umbra transiens sunt et depositum quod reddi debet), desiderio Chadijæ filiæ Chowailedi tenetur, et illa vicissim ipsius, quidquid autem dotis vice petieritis, ego in me suscipiam* (Pocock, Specimen, e septimâ parte libri Ebn Hamduni).

⁶⁸ The private life of Mahomet, from his birth to his mission, is preserved by Abulfeda (in *Vit.* c. 3—7.), and the Arabian writers of genuine or apocryphal note, who are alleged by Hottinger (*Hist. Orient.* p. 204—211.), Maracci (tom. i. p. 10—14.), and Gagnier (*Vie de Mahomet*, tom. i. p. 97—134.).

⁶⁹ Abulfeda, in *Vit.* c. lxxv, lxxvi. Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, tom. iii. p. 272—289.; the best traditions of the person and conversation of the prophet are derived from Ayesha, Ali and Abu Horaira (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. ii. p. 149.), surnamed the father of a cat, who died in the year 59 of the Hegira.

⁷⁰ Those who believe that Mahomet could read or write, are incapable of reading what is written, with another pen, in the Surats, or chapters of the Koran vii. xxix. xcvi. These texts, and the tradition of the Sonna, are admitted, without doubt, by Abulfeda (in *Vit.* c. vii.), Gagnier (*Not. ad Abulfed.* p. 15.), Pocock (*Specimen*, p. 151.), Reland (*de Religione Mohammedicâ*, p. 236.), and Sale (*Preliminary Discourse*, p. 42.). Mr. White, almost alone, denies the ignorance, to accuse the imposture, of the prophet. His arguments are far from satisfactory. Two short trading journies to the fairs of Syria, were surely not sufficient to infuse a science so rare among the citizens of Mecca: it was not in the cool deliberate act of a treaty, that Mahomet would have dropt the mask; nor can any conclusion be

drawn from the words of disease and delirium. The *lettered* youth, before he aspired to the prophetic character, must have often exercised, in private life, the arts of reading and writing; and his first converts, of his own family, would have been the first to detect and upbraid his scandalous hypocrisy (White's Sermons, p. 203. 204. Notes, p. xxxvi—xxxviii.).

⁷¹ The Count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomed, p. 201—228.) leads his Arabian pupil, like the Telemachus of Fenelon, or the Cyrus of Ramsay. His journey to the court of Persia is probably a fiction, nor can I trace the origin of his exclamation, "Les Grecs font pourtant des hommes." The two Syrian journies are expressed by almost all the Arabian writers, both Mahometans and Christians (Gagnier ad Abulfed. p. 10.).

⁷² I am not at leisure to pursue the fables or conjectures which name the strangers accused or suspected by the infidels of Mecca (Koran, c. 16. p. 23. c. 35. p. 297. with Sale's Remarks. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 22—27. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 11. 74. Maracci, tom. ii. p. 400.). Even Prideaux has observed, that the transaction must have been secret, and that the scene lay in the heart of Arabia.

⁷³ Abulfeda in Vit. c. 7. p. 15. Gagnier, tom. i. p. 133. 135. The situation of mount Hera is remarked by Abulfeda (Geograph. Arab. p. 4.). Yet Mahomet had never read of the cave of Egeria, ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ, of the Idæan mount, where Minos conversed with Jove, etc.

⁷⁴ Koran, c. 9. p. 153. Al Beidawi, and the other commentators quoted by Sale, adhere to the charge; but I do not understand that it is coloured by the most obscure or absurd tradition of the Talmudists.

⁷⁵ Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 225—228. The Collyridian heresy was carried from Thrace to Arabia by some women, and the name was borrowed from the *κολλῦρις*, or cake, which they offered to the goddesses. This example, that of Beryllus bishop of Bostra (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. vi. c. 33.), and several others, may excuse the reproach, Arabia hæresæon ferax.

⁷⁶ The three gods in the Koran, c. 4. p. 81. c. 5, p. 92.) are obviously directed against our Catholic mystery: but the Arabic commentators understand them of the Father, the Son, and the Virgin Mary, an heretical Trinity, maintained, as it is said, by some Barbarians at the council of Nice (Eutych. Annal. tom. i. p. 440.). But the existence of the *Marianites* is denied by the candid Beaufobre (Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 532.): and he derives the mistake from the word *Ruah*, the Holy Ghost, which in some Oriental tongues is

of the feminine gender, and is figuratively styled the mother of Christ in the gospel of the Nazarenes.

⁷⁷ This train of thought is philosophically exemplified in the character of Abraham, who opposed in Chaldæa the first introduction of idolatry (Koran, c. 6. p. 106. d'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 13.).

⁷⁸ See the Koran, particularly the second (p. 30.), the fifty-seventh (p. 437.), the fifty-eighth (p. 441.) chapter, which proclaim the omnipotence of the Creator.

⁷⁹ The most orthodox creeds are translated by Pocock (*Specimen*, p. 274. 284—292.), Ockley (*Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. ii. p. lxxxii—xcv.), Reland (*de Religion. Moham.* l. i. p. 7—13.), and Chardin (*Voyages en Perse*, tom. iv. p. 4—28.). The great truth, that God is without similitude, is foolishly criticised by Maracci (*Alcoran*, tom. i. part iii. p. 87—94.), because he made man after his own image.

⁸⁰ Reland, *de Relig. Moham.* l. i. p. 17—47. Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 73—76. *Voyage de Chardin*, tom. iv. p. 28—37. and 37—47. for the Persian addition, "Ali is the vicar of God!" Yet the precise number of prophets is not an article of faith.

⁸¹ For the apocryphal books of Adam, see Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus* V. T. p. 27^a—29.; of Seth, p. 154—157.; of Enoch, p. 160—219. But the book of Enoch is consecrated, in some measure, by the quotation of the apostle St. Jude; and a long legendary fragment is alleged by Syncellus and Scaliger.

⁸² The seven precepts of Noah are explained by Marsham (*Canon. Chronicus*, p. 154—180.), who adopts, on this occasion, the learning and credulity of Selden.

⁸³ The articles of *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, etc. in the *Bibliothèque* of d'Herbelot, are gaily bedecked with the fanciful legends of the Mahometans, who have built on the ground-work of Scripture and the Talmud.

⁸⁴ Koran, c. 7. p. 128, etc. c. 10. p. 173, etc. D'Herbelot, p. 647, etc.

⁸⁵ Koran, c. 3. p. 40. c. 4. p. 80. D'Herbelot, p. 390, etc.

⁸⁶ See the gospel of St. Thomas, or of the Infancy, in the *Codex Apocryphus* N. T. of Fabricius, who collects the various testimonies concerning it (p. 128—158.). It was published in Greek by Cotelier, and in Arabic by Sike, who thinks our present copy more recent than Mahomet. Yet his quotations agree with the original about the speech of Christ in his cradle, his living birds of clay, etc. *Sike*, c. 1. p. 168, 169. c. 36. p. 198, 199. c. 46. p. 206. *Cotelier*, c. 2. p. 160, 161.).

⁸⁷ It is darkly hinted in the Koran (c. 3. p. 39.), and more clearly explained by the tradition of the Sonnites (Sale's Note, and Maracci, tom. ii. p. 112.). In the xiiith century, the immaculate conception was condemned by St. Bernard as a presumptuous novelty (Fra Paolo, Istoria del Concilio di Trento, l. ii.).

⁸⁸ See the Koran, c. 3. v. 53. and c. 4. v. 156. of Maracci's edition. Deus est præstantissimus dolose agentium (an odd praise) nec crucifixerunt eum, sed objecta est eis similitudo: an expression that may suit with the system of the Docetes; but the commentators believe (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 113—115. 173. Sale, p. 42, 43. 79.), that another man, a friend or an enemy, was crucified in the likeness of Jesus; a fable which they had read in the gospel of St. Barnabas, and which had been started as early as the time of Irenæus, by some Ebionite heretics (Beaufobre, Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. ii. p. 25. Mosheim de Reb. Christ. p. 353.).

⁸⁹ This charge is obscurely urged in the Koran (c. 3. p. 45.): but neither Mahomet, nor his followers, are sufficiently versed in languages and criticism to give any weight or colour to their suspicions. Yet the Arians and Nestorians could relate some stories, and the illiterate prophet might listen to the bold assertions of the Manichæans. See Beaufobre, tom. i. p. 291—305.

⁹⁰ Among the prophecies of the Old and New Testament, which are perverted by the fraud or ignorance of the Musulmans, they apply to the prophet the promise of the *Paraclete*, or Comforter, which had been already usurped by the Montanists and Manichæans (Beaufobre, Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 263, etc.); and the easy change of letters, *παρικλυτος* for *παράκλυτος*, affords the etymology of the name of Mohammed (Maracci, tom. i. part. i. p. 15—28.).

⁹¹ For the Koran, see d'Herbelot, p. 85—88. Maracci, tom. i. in Vit. Mohammed. p. 32—45. Sale, Preliminary Discourse, p. 56—70.

⁹² Koran, c. 17. v. 89. In Sale, p. 235, 236. In Maracci, p. 410.

⁹³ Yet a sect of Arabians was persuaded, that it might be equalled or surpassed by an human pen (Pocock, Specimen, p. 221, etc.); and Maracci (the polemic is too hard for the translator) derides the rhyming affectation of the most applauded passage (tom. i. part. ii. p. 69—75.).

⁹⁴ Colloquia (whether real or fabulous) in mediâ Arabiâ atque ab Arabibus habita (Lowth, de Poesi Hebræorum Prælect. xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv. with his German editor Michaelis, Epimetron iv.). Yet Michaelis (p. 671—673.) has detected many Egyptian images, the elephantiasis, papyrus, Nile, crocodile, etc. The language is ambiguously styled,

Arabico-Hebræa. The resemblance of the sister dialects was much more visible in their childhood than in their mature age (Michaelis, p. 682. Schultens, in Præfat. Job).

⁹⁵ Al Bochari died A. H. 224. See d'Herbelot, p. 208. 416. 827. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. c. 19. p. 33.

⁹⁶ See more remarkably, Koran, c. 2. 6. 12. 13. 17. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 18, 19.) has confounded the impostor. Maracci, with a more learned apparatus, has shewn that the passages which deny his miracles are clear and positive (Alcoran, tom. i. part. ii. p. 7—12.), and those which seem to assert them, are ambiguous and insufficient (p. 12—22.).

⁹⁷ See the Specimen Hist. Arabum, the text of Abulpharagius, p. 17. the notes of Pocock, p. 187—190. D'Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 76, 77. Voyages de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 200—203. Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. p. 22—64) has most laboriously collected and confuted the miracles and prophecies of Mahomet, which, according to some writers, amount to three thousand.

⁹⁸ The nocturnal journey is circumstantially related by Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed, c. 19. p. 33.), who wishes to think it a vision; by Prideaux (p. 31—40.), who aggravates the absurdities; and by Gagnier (tom. i. p. 252—343.), who declares, from the zealous Al Jannabi, that to deny this journey, is to disbelieve the Koran. Yet the Koran, without naming either heaven, or Jerusalem, or Mecca, has only dropt a mysterious hint: *Laus illi qui transtulit servum suum ab oratorio Haram ad oratorium remotissimum* (Koran, c. 17. v. 1. in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 407.; for Sale's version is more licentious). A slender basis for the aerial structure of tradition.

⁹⁹ In the prophetic style, which uses the present or past for the future, Mahomet had said: *Appropinquavit hora et scissa est luna* (Koran, c. 54. v. 1. in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 683.). This figure of rhetoric has been converted into a fact, which is said to be attested by the most respectable eye-witnesses (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 690.). The festival is still celebrated by the Persians (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 201.); and the legend is tediously spun out by Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 183—234.) on the faith, as it should seem, of the credulous Al Jannabi. Yet a Mahometan doctor has arraigned the credit of the principal witnesses (apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 187.); the best interpreters are content with the simple sense of the Koran (Al Beidawi, apud Hottinger, Hist. Orient. l. ii. p. 302.); and the silence of Abulfeda is worthy of a prince and a philosopher.

¹⁰⁰ Abulpharagius, in Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 17.; and his scepticism is justified in the notes of Pocock, p. 190—194. from the purest authorities.

¹⁰¹ The most authentic account of these precepts, pilgrimage, prayer, fasting, alms, and ablutions, is extracted from the Persian and Arabian theologians by Maracci (Prodrom. part. iv. p. 9—24.). Reland (in his excellent treatise de Religione Mohammedicâ, Utrecht, 1717, p. 67—123.); and Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. iv. p. 47—195.). Maracci is a partial accuser; but the jeweller, Chardin, had the eyes of a philosopher; and Reland, a judicious student, had travelled over the East in his closet at Utrecht. The xivth letter of Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. p. 325—360. in octavo) describes what he had seen of the religion of the Turks.

¹⁰² Mahomet (Sale's Koran, c. 9. p. 153.) reproaches the Christians with taking their priests and monks for their lords, besides God. Yet Maracci (Prodromus, part iii. p. 69, 70.) excuses the worship, especially of the pope, and quotes, from the Koran itself, the case of Eblis, or Satan, who was cast from heaven for refusing to adore Adam.

¹⁰³ Koran, c. 5. p. 94. and Sale's note, which refers to the authority of Jallaloddin and Al Beidawi. D'Herbelot declares, that Mahomet condemned *la vie religieuse*; and that the first swarms of fakirs, dervises, etc. did not appear till after the year 300 of the Hegira (Bibliot. Orient. p. 292. 718.).

¹⁰⁴ See the double prohibition (Koran, c. 2. p. 25. c. 5. p. 94.); the one in the style of a legislator, the other in that of a fanatic. The public and private motives of Mahomet are investigated by Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 62—64.); and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 124.).

¹⁰⁵ The jealousy of Maracci (Prodromus, part. iv. p. 33.) prompts him to enumerate the more liberal alms of the Catholics of Rome. Fifteen great hospitals are open to many thousand patients and pilgrims, fifteen hundred maidens are annually portioned, fifty six charity schools are founded for both sexes, one hundred and twenty confraternities relieve the wants of their brethren, etc. The benevolence of London is still more extensive; but I am afraid that much more is to be ascribed to the humanity, than to the religion, of the people.

¹⁰⁶ See Herodotus (l. ii. c. 123.) and our learned countryman Sir John Marsham (Canon. Chronicus, p. 46.). The *Adys* of the same writer (p. 254—274.) is an elaborate sketch of the infernal regions, as they were painted by the fancy of the Egyptians and Greeks, of the poets and philosophers of antiquity.

¹⁰⁷ The Koran (c. 2. p. 259, etc.; of Sale, p. 32.; of Maracci, p. 97.) relates an ingenious miracle, which satisfied the curiosity, and confirmed the faith, of Abraham.

¹⁰⁸ The candid Reland has demonstrated, that Mahomet damns all

unbelievers (de Religion. Moham. p. 128 — 142.), that devils will not be finally saved (p. 196 — 199.); that paradise will not *solely* consist of corporeal delights (p. 199 — 205.); and that women's souls are immortal (p. 205 — 209.).

¹⁰⁹ Al Beidawi, apud Sale, Koran, c. 9. p. 164. The refusal to pray for an unbelieving kindred, is justified, according to Mahomet, by the duty of a prophet, and the example of Abraham, who reprobated his own father as an enemy of God. Yet Abraham (he adds, c. 9. v. 116. Maracci, tom. ii. p. 317.) fuit sane pius, mitis.

¹¹⁰ For the day of judgment, hell, paradise, etc. consult the Koran c. 2. v. 25. c. 56. 78, etc.); with Maracci's virulent, but learned, refutation (in his notes, and in the Prodromus, part. iv. p. 78. 120. 122, etc.); d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 368. 375. Reland, p. 47 — 61.); and Sale (p. 76 — 103.). The original ideas of the Magi are darkly and doubtfully explored by their apologist Dr. Hyde (Hist. Religionis Persarum, c. 33. p. 402 — 412. Oxon 1760.). In the article of Mahomet, Bayle has shewn how indifferently wit and philosophy supply the absence of genuine information.

¹¹¹ Before I enter on the history of the prophet, it is incumbent on me to produce my evidence. The Latin, French, and English versions of the Koran, are preceded by historical discourses, and the three translators, Maracci (tom. i. p. 10 — 32.), Savary (tom. i. p. 1 — 248.), and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 33 — 56.), had accurately studied the language and character of their author. Two professed lives of Mahomet have been composed by Dr. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, seventh edition, London, 1718, in octavo) and the count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomet, Londres, 1730, in octavo); but the adverse wish of finding an impostor or an hero, has too often corrupted the learning of the doctor and the ingenuity of the count. The article in d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 598 — 603.), is chiefly drawn from Novairi and Mircond; but the best and most authentic of our guides is M. Gagnier, a Frenchman by birth, and professor at Oxford of the Oriental tongues. In two elaborate works (Ismael Abulfeda de Vita et Rebus gestis Mohammedis, etc. Latine vertit, Præfatione et Notis illustravit Johannes Gagnier, Oxon. 1723, in folio. La Vie de Mahomet traduite et compilée de l'Alcoran, des Traditions authentiques de la Sonna et des meilleurs Auteurs Arabes; Amsterdam, 1748, 3 vols. in 12mo) he has interpreted, illustrated, and supplied the Arabic text of Abulfeda and Al Jannabi; the first, an enlightened prince, who reigned at Hamah, in Syria, A. D. 1310 — 1332. (see Gagnier Præfat. ad Abulfed.); the second, a credulous doctor, who visited Mecca A. D. 1556. d'Herbelot, p. 397. Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 209, 210.). These are

my general vouchers, and the inquisitive reader may follow the order of time, and the division of chapters. Yet I must observe, that both Abulfeda and Al Jannabi are modern historians, and that they cannot appeal to any writers of the first century of the Hegira.

¹¹² After the Greeks, Prideaux (p. 8.) discloses the secret doubts of the wife of Mahomet. As if he had been a privy counsellor of the prophet, Boulainvilliers (p. 272, etc.) unfolds the sublime and patriotic views of Cadijah and the first disciples.

¹¹³ *Vezirus*, portitor, bajulus, onus ferens; and this plebeian name was transferred by an apt metaphor to the pillars of the state (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 19.). I endeavour to preserve the Arabian idiom, as far as I can feel it myself, in a Latin or French translation.

¹¹⁴ The passages of the Koran in behalf of toleration, are strong and numerous: c. 2. v. 257. c. 16. 129. c. 17. 54. c. 45. 15. c. 50. 39. c. 88. 21, etc. with the notes of Maracci and Sale. This character alone may generally decide the doubts of the learned, whether a chapter was revealed at Mecca or Medina.

¹¹⁵ See the Koran (passim, and especially c. 7. p. 123, 124, etc.), and the tradition of the Arabs (Pocock, Specimen, p. 35—37.). The caverns of the tribe of Thamud, fit for men of the ordinary stature, were shewn in the midway between Medina and Damascus (Abulfed. Arabia Descript. p. 43, 44.), and may be probably ascribed to the Troglodytes of the primitive world (Michaelis, ad Lowth de Poesi Hebræor. p. 131—134. Recherches sur les Egyptiens, tom. ii. p. 48, etc.).

¹¹⁶ In the time of Job, the crime of impiety was punished by the Arabian magistrate (c. 31. v. 26, 27, 28.). I blush for a respectable prelate (de Poesi Hebræorum, p. 650, 651. edit. Michaelis; and letter of a late professor in the university of Oxford, p. 15—53.), who justifies and applauds this patriarchal inquisition.

¹¹⁷ D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 445. He quotes a particular history of the flight of Mahomet.

¹¹⁸ The *Hegira* was instituted by Omar, the second caliph, in imitation of the æra of the martyrs of the Christians (d'Herbelot, p. 444.); and properly commenced sixty-eight days before the flight of Mahomet, with the first of Moharren, or first day of that Arabian year, which coincides with Friday July 16th, A. D. 622 (Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. c. 22, 23. p. 45—50.; and Greaves's edition of Ullug Beig's Epochæ Arabum, etc. c. 1. p. 8. 10, etc.)

¹¹⁹ Mahomet's life, from his mission to the Hegira, may be found in Abulfeda (p. 14—45.) and Gagnier (tom. i. p. 134—251. 342—383.). The legend from p. 187—234. is vouched by Al Jannaby, and disdained by Abulfeda.

¹²⁰ The triple inauguration of Mahomet is described by Abulfeda (p. 30. 33. 40. 86.) and Gagnier (tom. i. p. 342, etc. 349, etc. tom. ii. p. 223, etc.).

¹²¹ Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 44.) reviles the wickedness of the impostor, who despoiled two poor orphans, the sons of a carpenter; a reproach which he drew from the *disputatio contra Saracenos*, composed in Arabic before the year 1130; but the honest Gagnier (ad Abulfed. p. 53.) has shewn that they were deceived by the word *Al Nagjar*, which signifies, in this place, not an obscure trade, but a noble tribe of Arabs. The desolate state of the ground is described by Abulfeda; and his worthy interpreter has proved, from Al Bochari, the offer of a price; from Al Jannabi, the fair purchase; and from Ahmed Ben Joseph, the payment of the money by the generous Abubeker. On these grounds the prophet must be honourably acquitted.

¹²² Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 246. 324.) describes the seal and pulpit, as two venerable relics of the apostle of God: and the portrait of his court is taken from Abulfeda (c. 44. p. 85.).

¹²³ The viiith and ixth chapters of the Koran are the loudest and most vehement; and Maracci (Prodromus, part iv. p. 59—64.) has inveighed with more justice than discretion against the double-dealing of the impostor.

¹²⁴ The xth and xxth chapters of Deuteronomy, with the practical comments of Joshua, David, etc. are read with more awe than satisfaction by the pious Christians of the present age. But the bishops, as well as the rabbis of former times, have beat the drum ecclesiastic with pleasure and success (Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 142, 143.).

¹²⁵ Abulfeda, in Vit. Moham. p. 156. The private arsenal of the apostle consisted of nine swords, three lances, seven pikes or halfpikes, a quiver and three bows, seven cuirasses, three shields, and two helmets (Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 328—334.), with a large white standard, a black banner (p. 335.), twenty horses (p. 322.), etc. Two of his martial sayings are recorded by tradition (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 88. 337.).

¹²⁶ The whole subject *de jure belli Mohammedanorum*, is exhausted in a separate dissertation by the learned Reland (*Dissertationes Miscellanæ*, tom. iii. Dissert. x. p. 3—53.).

¹²⁷ The doctrine of absolute predestination, on which few religions can reproach each other, is sternly exposed in the Koran (c. 3. p. 52, 53. c. 4. p. 70, etc. with the notes of Sale, and c. 17. p. 413. with those of Maracci). Reland. (*de Relig. Mohamm.* p. 61—64.) and Sale (Prelim. Discourse, p. 103.) represent the opinions of the doctors, and our modern travellers the confidence, the fading confidence, of the Turks.

¹²⁸ Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 9.) allows him seventy or eighty horse; and on two other occasions prior to the battle of Ohud, he enlists a body of thirty (p. 10.), and of 500 (p. 66.) troopers. Yet the Musulmans, in the field of Ohud, had no more than two horses, according to the better sense of Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohamm. p. xxxi. p. 65.) In the *stony* province, the camels were numerous; but the horse appears to have been less common than in the *Happy* or the *Desert* Arabia.

¹²⁹ Bedder Houneene, twenty miles from Medina, and forty from Mecca, is on the high road of the caravan of Egypt; and the pilgrims annually commemorate the prophet's victory by illuminations, rockets, etc. Shaw's Travels, p. 477.

¹³⁰ The place to which Mahomet retired during the action is styled by Gagnier (in Abulfeda, c. 27. p. 58. Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 30. 33.), *Umbraculum, une loge de bois avec une porte*. The same Arabic word is rendered by Reiske (Annales Moslemici Abulfedæ, p. 23.) by *Solium, Suggestus editior*; and the difference is of the utmost moment for the honour both of the interpreter and of the hero. I am sorry to observe the pride and acrimony with which Reiske chastises his fellow-labourer. Sæpe sic vertit, ut integræ paginæ nequeant nisi unâ liturâ corrigi: Arabice non satis callebat et carebat judicio critico. J. J. Reiske, Prodidagmata ad Hagii Charlifæ Tabulas, p. 228. ad calcem Abulfedæ Syriæ Tabulæ; Lipsiæ, 1766, in 4to.

¹³¹ The loose expressions of the Koran (c. 3. p. 124, 125. c. 8. p. 9.) allow the commentators to fluctuate between the numbers of 1000, 3000, or 9000 angels; and the smallest of these might suffice for the slaughter of seventy of the Koreish (Maracci, Alcoran, tom. ii. p. 131.). Yet the same scholiasts confess, that this angelic band was not visible to any mortal eye (Maracci, p. 297.) They refine on the words (c. 8. 16.), "not thou, but God, etc." (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orientale, p. 600, 601.).

¹³² Geograph. Nubienfis, p. 47.

¹³³ In the third chapter of the Koran (p. 50—53. with Sale's notes), the prophet alleges some poor excuses for the defeat of Ohud.

¹³⁴ For the detail of the three Koreish wars, of Beder, of Ohud, and of the ditch, peruse Abulfeda (p. 56—61. 64—69. 73—77.), Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 23—45. 70—96. 120—139.), with the proper articles of d'Herbelot, and the abridgments of Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 6, 7.) and Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 102.).

¹³⁵ The wars of Mahomet against the Jewish tribes, of Kainoka, the Nadhirites, Koraidha, and Chaibar, are related by Abulfeda (p. 61.

71. 77. 87, etc.) and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 61—65. 107—112. 139—148. 268—294.).

¹³⁶ Abu Rafe, the servant of Mahomet, is said to affirm, that he himself, and seven other men, afterwards tried, without success, to move the same gate from the ground (Abulfeda, p. 90.). Abu Rafe was an eye witness, but who will witness for Abu Rafe?

¹³⁷ The banishment of the Jews is attested by Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 9.) and the great Al Zabari (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 285.). Yet Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 324.) believes, that the Jewish religion, and Kareite sect, are still professed by the tribe of Chaibar; and that in the plunder of the caravans, the disciples of Moses are the confederates of those of Mahomet.

¹³⁸ The successive steps of the reduction of Mecca are related by Abulfeda (p. 84—87. 97—100. 102—111.) and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 209—245. 309—322. tom. iii. p. 1—58.), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 8, 9, 10.), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 103.).

¹³⁹ After the conquest of Mecca, the Mahomet of Voltaire imagines and perpetrates the most horrid crimes. The poet confesses, that he is not supported by the truth of history, and can only allege, que celui qui fait la guerre à sa patrie au nom de Dieu, est capable de tout (Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xv. p. 282.). The maxim is neither charitable nor philosophic; and some reverence is surely due to the fame of heroes and the religion of nations. I am informed that a Turkish ambassador at Paris was much scandalized at the representation of this tragedy,

¹⁴⁰ The Mahometan doctors still dispute, whether Mecca was reduced by force or consent (Abulfeda, p. 107, et Gagnier ad locum); and this verbal controversy is of as much moment, as our own about William the Conqueror.

¹⁴¹ In excluding the Christians from the peninsula of Arabia, the province of Hejaz, or the navigation of the Red Sea, Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. iv. p. 166.) and Reland (Dissert. Miscell. tom. iii. p. 51.) are more rigid than the Musulmans themselves. The Christians are received without scruple into the ports of Mocha, and even of Gedda, and it is only the city and precincts of Mecca that are inaccessible to the profane (Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 308, 309. Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 205. 248, etc.).

¹⁴² Abulfeda, p. 112—115. Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 67—88. D'Herbelot, MAHOMED.

¹⁴³ The siege of Tayef, division of the spoil, etc. are related [by Abulfeda (p. 117—123.); and Gagnier, (tom. iii. p. 83—111.). It is Al Jannabi who mentions the engines and engineers of the tribe of

Daws. The fertile spot of Tayef was supposed to be a piece of the land of Syria detached and dropped in the general deluge.

¹⁴⁴ The last conquests and pilgrimage of Mahomet are contained in Abulfeda (p. 121—133.), Gagnier (tom. iii. p. 119—219.), Elmacin (p. 10, 11.), Abulpharagius (p. 103.). The ixth of the Hegira was styled the Year of Embassies (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121.).

¹⁴⁵ Compare the bigotted Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 232—255.) with the no less bigotted Greeks, Theophanes (p. 276—278.), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 86.), and Cedrenus (p. 421.).

¹⁴⁶ For the battle of Muta, and its consequences, see Abulfeda (p. 100—102.) and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 327—343.). Καλεδος (says Theophanes) ὃν λεγούσι μαχαίραν τὴν Θερ.

¹⁴⁷ The expedition of Tabuc is recorded by our ordinary historians, Abulfeda (Vit. Mahom. p. 123—127.) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 147—163.); but we have the advantage of appealing to the original evidence of the Koran (c. 9. p. 154. 165.), with Sale's learned and rational notes,

¹⁴⁸ The *Diploma securitatis Aienfibus*, is attested by Ahmed Ben Joseph, and the author *Libri Splendorum* (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfedam, p. 125.); but Abulfeda himself, as well as Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 11.), though he owns Mahomet's regard for the Christians (p. 13.), only mention peace and tribute. In the year 1630, Sionita published at Paris the text and version of Mahomet's patent in favour of the Christians; which was admitted and reprobated by the opposite taste of Salmasius and Grotius (Bayle, MAHOMET. Rem. AA.) Hottinger doubts of its authenticity (Hist. Orient. p. 237.); Renaudot urges the consent of the Mahometans (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 169.); but Mosheim (Hist. Eccles. p. 244.) shews the futility of their opinion, and inclines to believe it spurious. Yet Abulpharagius quotes the impostor's treaty with the Nestorian patriarch (Asselman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 418.); but Abulpharagius was primate of the Jacobites.

¹⁴⁹ The epilepsy, or falling-sickness, of Mahomet, is asserted by Theophanes, Zonaras, and the rest of the Greeks; and is greedily swallowed by the gross bigotry of Hottinger (Hist. Orient. p. 10, 11.), Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 12.), and Maracci (tom. ii.), Alcoran (p. 762, 763.). The titles (*the wrapped-up, the covered*) of two chapters of the Koran (73, 74.), can hardly be strained to such an interpretation; the silence, the ignorance of the Mahometan commentators, is more conclusive than the most peremptory denial; and the charitable side is espoused by Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, tom. i. p. 301.), Gagnier (ad Abulfeda, p. 9. Vie de Mahomet. tom. i. p. 118.), and Sale (Koran. p. 469—474.).

¹⁵⁰ This poison (more ignominious since it was offered as a test of his propetic knowledge) is frankly confessed by his zealous votaries, Abulfeda (p. 92.), and Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 286—288.).

¹⁵¹ The Greeks and Latins have invented and propagated the vulgar and ridiculous story, that Mahomet's iron tomb is suspended in the air at Mecca (σημα μετεωρίζομενον. Laonicus Chalcocondyles de Rebus Turcicis, l. iii. p. 66.), by the action of equal and potent loadstones (Dictionnaire de Bayle, MAHOMET, Rem. EE. FF.). Without any philosophical enquiries, it may suffice, that, 1. The prophet was not buried at Mecca; and, 2. That his tomb at Medina, which has been visited by millions, is placed on the ground (Reland de Relig. Moham. l. ii. c. 19. p. 209—211.), Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 263—268.).

¹⁵² Al Jannabi enumerates (Vie de Mahomet. tom. iii. p. 372—391.) the multifarious duties of a pilgrim who visits the tombs of the prophet and his companions; and the learned casuist decides, that this act of devotion is nearest in obligation and merit to a divine precept. The doctors are divided which, of Mecca or Medina, be the most excellent (p. 391—394.).

¹⁵³ The last sickness, death, and burial of Mahomet, are described by Abulfeda and Gagnier (Vit. Moham. p. 123—142. Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 220—271.). The most private and interesting circumstances were originally received from Ayesha, Ali, the sons of Abbas, etc.; and as they dwelt at Medina, and survived the prophet many years, they might repeat the pious tale to a second or third generation of pilgrims.

¹⁵⁴ The Christians, rashly enough, have assigned to Mahomet a tame pigeon, that seemed to descend from heaven and whisper in his ear. As this pretended miracle is urged by Grotius (de Veritate Religionis Christianæ), his Arabic translator, the learned Pocock, enquired of him the names of his authors; and Grotius confessed, that it is unknown to the Mahometans themselves. Lest it should provoke their indignation and laughter, the pious *lie* is suppressed in the Arabic version; but it has maintained an edifying place in the numerous editions of the Latin text (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 186, 187. Reland, de Religion. Moham. l. ii. c. 39. p. 259—262.).

¹⁵⁵ Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρχόμενον, φωνή τις γιγνομένη ἢ ὅταν γένηται οὐκ ἀποτρέπει με τὰτα ὅαν μέλλω πράττειν, προτρέπει δὲ ὅποτε (Plato, in Apolog. Socrat. c. 19. p. 121, 122. edit. Fischer). The familiar examples, which Socrates urges in his Dialogue with

Theages (Platon. Opera, tom. i. p. 128, 129. edit. Hen. Stephan.), are beyond the reach of human foresight; and the divine inspiration (the *Δαιμονιον*) of the philosopher, is clearly taught in the Memorabilia of Xenophon. The ideas of the most rational Platonists are expressed by Cicero (de Divinat. i. 54.) and in the xivth and xvth Dissertation of Maximus of Tyre (p. 153—172. edit. Davis).

¹⁵⁶ In some passage of his voluminous writings, Voltaire compares the prophet, in his old age, to a fakir: “qui detache la chaine de son cou pour en donner sur les oreilles à ses confrères.”

¹⁵⁷ Gagnier relates, with the same impartial pen, this humane law of the prophet, and the murders of Caab, and Sophian, which he prompted and approved (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 69. 97. 208.).

¹⁵⁸ For the domestic life of Mahomet, consult Gagnier, and the corresponding chapters of Abulfeda; for his diet (tom. iii. p. 285—288.); his children (p. 189. 289.); his wives (p. 290—303.); his marriage with Zeineb (tom. ii. p. 152—160.); his amour with Mary (p. 303—309.); the false accusation of Ayesha (p. 186—199.). The most original evidence of the three last transactions, is contained in the xxivth, xxxiiid, and lxvith chapters of the Koran, with Sale's Commentary. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 80—90.) and Maracci (Prodrom. Alcoran, part iv. p. 49—59.) have maliciously exaggerated the frailties of Mahomet.

¹⁵⁹ Incredibile est quo ardore apud eos in Venerem uterque solvitur fexus (Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 4.).

¹⁶⁰ Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 133—137.) has recapitulated the laws of marriage, divorce, etc.; and the curious reader of Selden's Uxor Hebraica will recognize many Jewish ordinances.

¹⁶¹ In a memorable case, the caliph Omar decided that all presumptive evidence was of no avail; and that all the four witnesses must have actually seen stylum in pyxide (Abulfedæ Annales Moslemici, p. 71. verf. Reiske).

¹⁶² Sibi robur ad generationem, quantum triginta viri habent, inesse jactaret: ita ut unicâ horâ posset undecim fœminis *satisfacere*, ut ex Arabum libris refert Stus Petrus Paschasius, c. 2. (Maracci, Prodromus Alcoran, p. iv. p. 55. See likewise Observations de Belon, l. iii. c. 10. fol. 179. recto). Al Jaunabi (Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 287.) records his own testimony, that he surpassed all men in conjugal vigour; and Abulfeda mentions the exclamation of Ali, who washed his body after his death, “O propheta, certe, pœnis tuus cœlum versus erectus est” (in Vit. Mohammed. p. 140.).

¹⁶³ I borrow the style of a father of the church, *ενανθλευων* *Ηρακλης* *τρισκαίδεκατον αθλον* (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 108.).

¹⁶⁴ The common and most glorious legend includes, in a single night, the fifty victories of Hercules over the virgin daughters of Thestius (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. iv. p. 274. Pausanias, l. ix. p. 763. Statius Sylv. l. i. eleg. iii. v. 42.). But Athenæus allows seven nights (Deipnosophist. l. xiii. p. 556.), and Apollodorus fifty, for this arduous atchievement of Hercules, who was then no more than eighteen years of age (Bibliot. l. ii. c. 4. p. III. cum notis Heyne, part i. p. 332.).

¹⁶⁵ Abulfeda in Vit. Moham. p. 12, 13, 16, 17. cum notis Gagnier.

¹⁶⁶ This outline of the Arabian history is drawn from the Bibliothèque Orientale of d'Herbelot (under the names of *Aboubecre*, *Omar*, *Othman*, *Ali*, etc.); from the Annals of Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, and Elmacin (under the proper years of the *Hegira*), and especially from Ockley's History of the Saracens (vol. i. p. 1—10. 115—122. 229. 249. 363—372. 378—391. and almost the whole of the second volume). Yet we should weigh with caution the traditions of the hostile sects; a stream which becomes still more muddy as it flows farther from the source. Sir John Chardin has too faithfully copied the fables and errors of the modern Persians (Voyages, tom. ii. p. 235—250, etc.).

¹⁶⁷ Ockley (at the end of his second volume) has given an English version of 169 sentences, which he ascribes, with some hesitation, to Ali, the son of Abu Taleb. His preface is coloured by the enthusiasm of a translator: yet these sentences delineate a characteristic, though dark, picture of human life.

¹⁶⁸ Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 5, 6.) from an Arabian MS. represents Ayesha as adverse to the substitution of her father in the place of the apostle. This fact, so improbable in itself, is unnoticed by Abulfeda, Al Jannabi, and Al Bochari, the last of whom quotes the tradition of Ayesha herself (Vit. Mohammed, p. 136. Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 236.).

¹⁶⁹ Particularly by his friend and cousin Abdallah, the son of Abbas, who died A. D. 687, with the title of grand doctor of the Moslems. In Abulfeda he recapitulates the important occasions in which Ali had neglected his salutary advice (p. 76. vers. Reiske); and concludes (p. 85.), O princeps fidelium, absque controversiâ tu quidem vere fortis es, at inops boni consilii, et rerum gerendarum parum callens.

¹⁷⁰ I suspect that the two seniors (Abulpharagius, p. 115. Ockley, tom. i. p. 371.) may signify not two actual counsellors, but his two predecessors, Abubeker and Omar.

¹⁷¹ The schism of the Persians is explained by all our travellers of the last century, especially in the iid and ivth volumes of their master,

Chardin. Niebuhr, though of inferior merit, has the advantage of writing so late as the year 1764 (*Voyages en Arabie*, etc. tom. ii. p. 208—233.), since the ineffectual attempt of Nadir Shah to change the religion of the nation (see his *Persian History* translated into French by Sir William Jones, tom. ii. p. 5. 6. 47, 48. 144—155.).

¹⁷² Omar is the name of the devil; his murderer is a saint. When the Persians shoot with the bow, they frequently cry, "May this arrow go to the heart of Omar!" (*Voyages de Chardin*, tom. ii. p. 239, 240. 259, etc.)

¹⁷³ This gradation of merit is distinctly marked in a creed illustrated by Reland (*de Relig. Mohamm.* l. i. p. 37.); and a Sonnite argument inserted by Ockley (*Hist. of the Saracens*, tom. ii. p. 230.). The practice of cursing the memory of Ali was abolished, after forty years by the Ommiades themselves (*d'Herbelot*, p. 690.); and there are few among the Turks who presume to revile him as an infidel (*Voyages de Chardin*, tom. iv. p. 46.).

¹⁷⁴ The plain of Siffin is determined by d'Anville (*l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 29) to be the *Campus Barbaricus* of Procopius.

¹⁷⁵ Abulfeda, a moderate Sonnite, relates the different opinions concerning the burial of Ali, but adopts the sepulchre of Cufa, hodie famâ numeroque religiose frequentantium celebratum. This number is reckoned by Niebuhr to amount annually to 2000 of the dead, and 5000 of the living (tom. ii. p. 208, 209.)

¹⁷⁶ All the tyrants of Persia, from Adhad el Dowlat (A. D. 977, *d'Herbelot*, p. 58, 59. 95.) to Nadir Shah (A. D. 1743, *Hist. de Nadir Shah*, tom. ii. p. 155.) have enriched the tomb of Ali with the spoils of the people. The dome is copper, with a bright and massy gilding, which glitters to the sun at the distance of many a mile.

¹⁷⁷ The city of Meshed Ali, five or six miles from the ruins of Cufa and one hundred and twenty to the south of Bagdad, is of the size and form of the modern Jerufalem. Meshed Hosein, larger and more populous, is at the distance of thirty miles.

¹⁷⁸ I borrow, on this occasion, the strong sense and expression of Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 4.): *Evulgato imperii arcano, posse imperatorem alibi quam Romæ fieri.*

¹⁷⁹ I have abridged the interesting narrative of Ockley (tom. ii. p. 170—231.). It is long and minute; but the pathetic, almost always, consists in the detail of little circumstances.

¹⁸⁰ Niebuhr the Dane (*Voyages en Arabie*, etc. tom. ii. p. 208, etc.) is perhaps the only European traveller who has dared to visit Meshed Ali and Meshed Hosein. The two sepulchres are in the hands of the Turks, who tolerate and tax the devotion of the Persian heretics. The festival of

the death of Hosein is amply described by Sir John Chardin, a traveller whom I have often praised.

¹⁸¹ The general article of *Imam*, in d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque*, will indicate the succession; and the lives of the *twelve* are given under their respective names.

¹⁸² The name of *Antichrist* may seem ridiculous, but the Mahometans have liberally borrowed the fables of every religion (Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 80. 82.) In the royal stable of Isfahan, two horses were always kept saddled, one for the Mahadi himself, the other for his lieutenant, Jesus the son of Mary.

¹⁸³ In the year of the Hegira 200 (A. D. 815). See d'Herbelot, p. 546.

¹⁸⁴ D'Herbelot, p. 342. The enemies of the Fatimites disgraced them by a Jewish origin. Yet they accurately deduced their genealogy from Jaafar, the sixth Imam; and the impartial Abulfeda allows (*Annal. Moslem.* p. 230.) that they were owned by many, qui absque controversiâ genuini sunt Alidarum, homine propaginum suæ gentis exacte callentes. He quotes some lines from the celebrated *Scherif or Rahdi*, Egone humilitatem induam in terris hostium? (I suspect him to be an Edrisite of Sicily) cum in Ægypto sit Chalifa de gente Alii, quocum ego communem habeo patrem et vindicem.

¹⁸⁵ The kings of Persia of the last dynasty are descended from Sheik Sefi, a saint of the xivth century, and through him from Moussa Cassem, the son of Hosein, the son of Ali (Olearius, p. 957. Chardin, tom. iii. p. 288.). But I cannot trace the intermediate degrees in any genuine or fabulous pedigree. If they were truly Fatimites, they might draw their origin from the princes of Mazanderan, who reigned in the ixth century (d'Herbelot, p. 96.).

¹⁸⁶ The present state of the family of Mahomet and Ali is most accurately described by Demetrius Cantemir (*Hist. of the Othman Empire*, p. 94.); and Niebuhr (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 9—16. 317, etc.). It is much to be lamented, that the Danish traveller was unable to purchase the chronicles of Arabia.

¹⁸⁷ The writers of the *Modern Universal History* (vol. i. and ii.) have compiled, in 850 folio pages, the life of Mahomet and the annals of the caliphs. They enjoyed the advantage of reading, and sometimes correcting, the Arabic texts; yet, notwithstanding their high-sounding boasts, I cannot find, after the conclusion of my work, that they have afforded me much (if any) additional information. The dull mass is not quickened by a spark of philosophy or taste: and the compilers indulge the criticism of acrimonious bigotry against Boulainvilliers, Sale, Gagnier, and all who have treated Mahomet with favour, or even justice.

CHAP. LI.

¹ See the description of the city and country of Al Yamanah, in Abulfeda, Descript. Arabiæ, p. 60, 61. In the xiiith century, there were some ruins, and a few palms; but in the present century, the same ground is occupied by the visions and arms of a modern prophet, whose tenets are imperfectly known (Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 296—302.).

² Their first salutation may be transcribed, but cannot be translated. It was thus that Moseilama said or sung:

Surge tandem itaque strenue permolenda; nam stratus tibi thorus est.
Aut in propatulo tentorio si velis, aut in abditiore cubiculo si malis;
Aut supinam te humi exporrectam fustigabo, si velis, aut si malis
manibus pedibusque nixam;

Aut si velis ejus (*Priapi*) gemino triente, aut si malis totus veniam.
Imo, totus venito, O Apostole Dei clamabat fœmina. Id ipsum, dicebat
Moseilama mihi quoque suggestit Deus.

The prophetess Segjah, after the fall of her lover, returned to idolatry; but, under the reign of Moawiyah, she became a Musulman, and died at Bassora (Abulfeda, Annal. vers. Reiske, p. 63.).

³ See this text, which demonstrates a God from the work of generation, in Abulpharagius (Specimen, Hist. Arabum, p. 13. and Dynast. p. 103.) and Abulfeda (Annal. p. 63.).

⁴ His reign in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 251. Elmacin, p. 18. Abulpharagius, p. 108. Abulfeda, p. 60. D'Herbelot, p. 58.

⁵ His reign in Eutychius, p. 264. Elmacin, p. 24. Abulpharagius, p. 110. Abulfeda, p. 66. D'Herbelot, p. 686.

⁶ His reign in Eutychius, p. 323. Elmacin, p. 36. Abulpharagius, p. 115. Abulfeda, p. 75. D'Herbelot, p. 695.

⁷ His reign in Eutychius, p. 343. Elmacin, p. 51. Abulpharagius, p. 117. Abulfeda, p. 83. D'Herbelot, p. 89.

⁸ His reign in Eutychius, p. 344. Elmacin, p. 54. Abulpharagius, p. 123. Abulfeda, p. 101. D'Herbelot, p. 586.

⁹ Their reigns in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 360—395. Elmacin, p. 59—108. Abulpharagius, Dynast. ix. p. 124—139. Abulfeda, p. 111—141. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 691. and the particular articles of the Omniades.

¹⁰ For the vith and viith century, we have scarcely any original evidence of the Byzantine historians, except the Chronicles of Theophanes (Theophanis Confessoris Chronographia, Gr. et Lat. cum notis Jacobi Goar. Paris, 1655, in folio); and the Abridgement of Nicepho-

rus (Nicephori Patriarchæ, C. P. Breviarium Historicum, Gr. et Lat. Paris, 1548, in folio), who both lived in the beginning of the ixth century (see Hanckius de Scriptor. Byzant. p. 200—246.). Their contemporary Photius does not seem to be more opulent. After praising the style of Nicephorus, he adds, *Και ὅλως πολλὰς ἐστὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀποκρυσπτομένου τῆδε τῆς ἱστορίας τῆ συνγραφῆς*, and only complains of his extreme brevity (Phot. Bibliot. cod. lxvi. p. 100.). Some additions may be gleaned from the more recent histories of Cedrenus and Zonaras of the xiiith century.

¹¹ Tabari, or Al Tabari, a native of Tabarestan, a famous Imam of Bagdad, and the Livy of the Arabians, finished his general history in the year of the Hegira 302 (A. D. 914.). At the request of his friends, he reduced a work of 30,000 sheets to a more reasonable size. But his Arabic original is known only by the Persian and Turkish versions. The Saracenic history of Ebn Amid, or Elmacin, is said to be an abridgment of the great Tabari (Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. preface p. xxxix. and, list of authors, d'Herbelot, p. 866. 870. 1014.).

¹² Besides the lists of authors framed by Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 179—189.), Ockley (at the end of his second volume), and Petit de la Croix (Hist. de Gengiscan, p. 525—550.), we find in the Bibliothèque Orientale *Tarikh*, a catalogue of two or three hundred histories or chronicles of the East, of which not more than three or four are older than Tabari. A lively sketch of Oriental literature is given by Reiske (in his Prodidagmata ad Hagij Chalifæ librum memorialem ad calcem Abulfedæ Tabulæ Syriæ, Lipsiæ, 1766.); but his project and the French version of Petit de la Croix (Hist. de Timur Bec. tom. i. préface, p. xlv.) have fallen to the ground.

¹³ The particular historians and geographers will be occasionally introduced. The four following titles represent the annals, which have guided me in this general narrative. 1. *Annales Eutychii, Patriarchæ Alexandrini*, ab Edwardo Pocockio, Oxon. 1656, 2 vols. in 4to. A pompous edition of an indifferent author, translated by Pocock to gratify the presbyterian prejudices of his friend Selden. 2. *Historia Saracenica Georgii Elmacini*, operâ et studio Thomæ Erpenii, in 4to, Lugd. Batavorum, 1625. He is said to have hastily translated a corrupt MS. and his version is often deficient in style and sense. 3. *Historia compendiosa Dynastiarum a Gregorio Abulpharagio*, interprete Edwardo Pocockio, in 4to, Oxon. 1663. More useful for the literary than the civil history of the East. 4. *Abulfedæ Annales Moslemici ad Ann. Hegiræ, cccvi.* a Jo. Jac. Reiske, in 4to, Lipsiæ, 1754. The best of our Chronicles, both for the original and version, yet how far below the name

Notes.

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of Abulfeda. We know that he wrote at Hamah, in the xivth century. The three former were Christians of the xth, xiith, and xiiith centuries; the two first, natives of Egypt, a Melchite patriarch, and a Jacobite scribe.

¹⁴ M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. pref. p. xix, xx.) has characterised, with truth and knowledge, the two sorts of Arabian historians, the dry annalist, and the tumid and flowery orator.

¹⁵ *Bibliothèque Orientale*, par M. d'Herbelot, in folio, Paris, 1697. For the character of the respectable author, consult his friend Thevenot (*Voyages du Levant*, part. i. ch. i.). His work is an agreeable miscellany, which must gratify every taste; but I never can digest the alphabetical order, and I find him more satisfactory in the Persian than the Arabic history. The recent supplement from the papers of M. M. Visselou and Galland (in folio, La Haye, 1779) is of a different cast, a medley of tales, proverbs, and Chinese antiquities.

¹⁶ Pocock will explain the chronology (*Specimen Hist. Arabum*, p. 66—74.), and d'Anville the Geography (*l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 125.), of the Dynasty of the Almondars. The English scholar understood more Arabic than the Mufti of Aleppo (Ockley, vol. ii. p. 34.): the French geographer is equally at home in every age and every climate of the world.

¹⁷ *Fecit et Chaled plurima in hoc anno prælia, in quibus vicerunt Muslimi, et infidelium immensâ multitudine occisâ spolia infinita et innumera sunt nacti* (*Hist. Saracenica*, p. 20.). The Christian annalist slides into the national and compendious term of *infidels*, and I often adopt (I hope without scandal) this characteristic mode of expression.

¹⁸ A cycle of 120 years, the end of which an intercalary month of 30 days supplied the use of our Bissextile, and restored the integrity of the solar year. In a great revolution of 1440 years, this intercalation was successively removed from the first to the twelfth month; but Hyde and Freret are involved in a profound controversy, whether the twelve, or only eight of these changes were accomplished before the æra of Yezdegerd, which is unanimously fixed to the 16th of June A. D. 632. How laboriously does the curious spirit of Europe explore the darkest and most distant antiquities (Hyde, *de Religione Persarum*, c. 14—18. p. 181—211. Freret in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xvi. p. 233—257.).

¹⁹ Nine days after the death of Mahomet (7th June A. D. 632), we find the æra of Yezdegerd 16th June A. D. 632), and his accession cannot be postponed beyond the end of the first year. His predecessors could not therefore resist the arms of the caliph Omar, and these unquestionable dates overthrow the thoughtless chronology of Abulpharagius. See Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 130.

²⁰ Cadefia, says the Nubian geographer (p. 121.), is in margine folitudinis, 61 leagues from Bagdad, and two stations from Cufa. Otter (Voyage, tom. i. p. 163.) reckons 15 leagues, and observes, that the place is supplied with dates and water.

²¹ Atrox, contumax, plus semel renovatum, are the well-chosen expressions of the translator of Abulfeda (Reiske, p. 69.).

²² D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 297. 348.

²³ The reader may satisfy himself on the subject of Bassora, by consulting the following writers: Geograph. Nubiens. p. 121. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 192. D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 130. 133. 145. Raynal, Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes, tom. ii. p. 92—100. Voyages di Pietro della Valle, tom. iv. p. 370—391. De Tavernier, tom. i. p. 240—247. De Thevenot, tom. ii. p. 545—584. D'Otter, tom. ii. p. 45—78. De Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 172—199.

²⁴ Mente vix potest numerove comprehendi quanta spolia. . . . nostris cesserint. Abulfeda, p. 69. Yet I still suspect, that the extravagant numbers of Elmacin may be the error, not of the text, but of the version. The best translators from the Greek, for instance, I find to be very poor arithmeticians.

²⁵ The Camphire tree grows in China and Japan; but many hundred weight of those meaner sorts are exchanged for a single pound of the more precious gum of Borneo and Sumatra (Raynal, Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 362—365. Dictionnaire d'Hist. Naturelle par Bomare. Miller's Gardener's Dictionary). These may be the islands of the first climate from whence the Arabians imported their camphire (Geograph. Nub. p. 34, 35. d'Herbelot, p. 232.).

²⁶ See Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 376, 377. I may credit the fact, without believing the prophecy.

²⁷ The most considerable ruins of Assyria are the tower of Belus, at Babilon, and the hall of Chosroes, at Ctesiphon: they have been visited by that vain and curious traveller Pietro della Valle (tom. i. p. 713—718. 731—735.).

²⁸ Consult the article of *Cousah* in the Bibliothèque of d'Herbelot (p. 277, 278.), and the second volume of Ockley's history, particularly p. 40. and 153.

²⁹ See the article of *Nehavend*, in d'Herbelot, p. 667, 668.; and Voyages en Turquie et en Perse. par Otter, tom. i. p. 191.

³⁰ It is in such a style of ignorance and wonder that the Athenian orator describes the Arctic conquests of Alexander, who never advanced beyond the shores of the Caspian. Ἀλεξάνδρος ἔξω τῆς ἀρκτὸς καὶ τῆς οἰκισμένης, ὀλίγῃ δέιν, πάσης μετέστηκει. Eschines contra Ctesiphontem,

tom. iii. p. 554, edit. Græc. Orator. Reiske. This memorable cause was pleaded at Athens, Olymp. cxii. 3. (before Christ 330.), in the autumn (Tayler, præfat. p. 370, etc.), about a year after the battle of Arbela; and Alexander, in the pursuit of Darius, was marching towards Hyrcania and Bactriana.

³¹ We are indebted for this curious particular to the Dynasties of Abulpharagius, p. 116; but it is needless to prove the identity of Estachar and Persepolis (d'Herbelot, p. 327.); and still more needless to copy the drawings and descriptions of Sir John Chardin, or Corneille le Bruyn.

³² After the conquest of Persia, Theophanes adds, *αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκέλευσεν Οὐμαρος ἀναγραφεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οἰκισμένην. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἀναγραφή καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ πτηνῶν καὶ φυτῶν* (Chronograph. p. 283.).

³³ Amidst our meagre relations, I must regret, that d'Herbelot has not found and used a Persian translation of Tabari, enriched, as he says, with many extracts from the native historians of the Ghebers or Magi (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 1014.).

³⁴ The most authentic accounts of the two rivers, the Sihon (Jaxartes), and the Gihon (Oxus), may be found in Sherif al Edrisi (Geograph. Nubiens. p. 138.). Abulfeda (Descript. Chorasan. in Hudson, tom. iii. p. 23.). Abulghazi Khan, who reigned on their banks (Hist. Genealogique des Tatars, p. 32. 57. 766.), and the Turkish Geographer, a MS. in the king of France's library (Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 194—360.).

³⁵ The territory of Fergana is described by Abulfeda, p. 76, 77.

³⁶ *Eo redegit angustiarum eundem regem exulem, ut Turcici regis, et Sogdiani, et Sinensis, auxilia missis literis imploraret* (Abulfed. Annal. p. 74.). The connection of the Persian and Chinese history is illustrated by Freret ((Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xvi. p. 245—255.), and de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 54—59.), and for the geography of the borders, tom. ii. p. 1—43.).

³⁷ Hist. Sinica, p. 41—46. in the third part of the Relations Curieuses of Thevenot.

³⁸ I have endeavoured to harmonize the various narratives of Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 37.), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 116.), Abulfeda (Annal. p. 74. 79.), and d'Herbelot (p. 485.). The end of Yezdegerd was not only unfortunate but obscure.

³⁹ The two daughters of Yezdegerd married Hassan, the son of Ali, and Mohammed, the son of Abubeker; and the first of these was the father of a numerous progeny. The daughter of Phirouz became the wife of the caliph Walid, and their son Yezid derived his genuine or

fabulous descent from the Chosroes of Persia, the Cæsars of Rome, and the Chagans of the Turks or Avars (d'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orientale*, p. 96. 487.).

⁴⁰ It was valued at 2000 pieces of gold, and was the prize of Obeidollah, the son of Ziyad, a name afterwards infamous by the murder of Hosein (Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, vol. ii. p. 142, 143.). His brother Salem was accompanied by his wife, the first Arabian woman (A. D. 680.) who passed the Oxus: she borrowed, or rather stole, the crown and jewels of the princess of the Sogdians (p. 231, 232.).

⁴¹ A part of Abulfeda's geography is translated by Greaves, inserted in Hudson's collection of the minor geographers (tom. iii.), and entitled, *Descriptio Chorasmiae et Mawaralnahræ*, id est, regionum extra fluvium Oxum, p. 80. The name of *Transoxiana*, softer in sound, equivalent in sense, is aptly used by Petit de la Croix (*Hist. de Gengiscan*, etc.), and some modern Orientalists, but they are mistaken in ascribing it to the writers of antiquity.

⁴² The conquests of Catibah are faintly marked by Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 84.), d'Herbelot (*Bibliot. Orient. Catibah, Samarcand Valid.*), and de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 58, 59).

⁴³ A curious description of Samarcand is inserted in the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, tom. i. p. 208, etc. The librarian Casiri (tom. ii. 9.) relates, from credible testimony, that paper was first imported from China to Samarcand, A. H. 30. and *invented*, or rather introduced, at Mecca, A. H. 88. The Escorial library contains paper MSS. as old as the ivth or vth century of the Hegira.

⁴⁴ A separate history of the conquest of Syria has been composed by Al Wakidi, cadi of Bagdad, who was born A. D. 748, and died A. D. 822: he likewise wrote the conquest of Egypt, of Diarbekir, etc. Above the meagre and recent chronicles of the Arabians, Al Wakidi has the double merit of antiquity and copiousness. His tales and traditions afford an artless picture of the men and the times. Yet his narrative is too often defective, trifling, and improbable. Till something better shall be found, his learned and spirited interpreter (Ockley, in his *History of the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 21—342.) will not deserve the petulant animadversion of Reiske (*Prodigmata ad Hagij Chalifæ Tabulas*, p. 236.). I am sorry to think that the labours of Ockley were consummated in a jail (see his two prefaces to the 1st vol. A. D. 1708, to the 2d, 1718, with the list of authors at the end).

⁴⁵ The instructions, etc. of the Syrian war, are described by Al Wakidi and Ockley, tom. i. p. 22—27, etc. In the sequel it is

necessary to contract, and needless to quote their circumstantial narrative. My obligations to others shall be noticed.

⁴⁶ Notwithstanding this precept, M. Paw (*Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, tom. ii. p. 192. edit. Lausanne) represents the Bedoweens as the implacable enemies of the Christian monks. For my own part I am more inclined to suspect the avarice of the Arabian robbers, and the prejudices of the German philosopher.

⁴⁷ Even in the seventh century, the monks were generally laymen; they wore their hair long and deshevelled and shaved their heads when they were ordained priests. The circular tonsure was sacred and mysterious; it was the crown of thorns; but it was likewise a royal diadem, and every priest was a king, etc. (Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 721—758. especially p. 737, 738.).

⁴⁸ Huic Arabia est conferta, ex alio latere Nabathæis contigua; opima varietate commerciorum, castrisque oppleta validis et castellis, quæ ad repellendos gentium vicinarum excursus, sollicitudo perviget veterum per opportunos saltos erexit et Cautos. Ammian Marcellin. xiv. 8. Reland, *Palestin.* tom. i. p. 85, 86.

⁴⁹ With Gerasa and Philadelphia, Ammianus praises the fortifications of Bosra firmitate caustissimas. They deserved the same praise in the time of Abulfeda (*Tabul. Syriæ*, p. 99.), who describes this city, the metropolis of Hawran (Auranitis), four days journey from Damascus. The Hebrew etymology I learn from Reland, *Palestin.* tom. ii. p. 666.

⁵⁰ The apostle of a desert and an army was obliged to allow this ready succedaneum for water (*Koran*, c. iii. p. 66. c. v. p. 83.); but the Arabian and Persian casuists have embarrassed his free permission with many niceties and distinctions (Reland *de Relig. Mohammed*, l. i. p. 82, 83. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. iv.).

⁵¹ *The bells rung!* Ockley, vol. i. p. 38. Yet I much doubt whether this expression can be justified by the text of Al Wakidi, or the practice of the times. Ad Græcos, says the learned Ducange (*Glossar. med. et infim. Græcitat.* tom. i. p. 774.) campanarum usus serius transit et etiamnum rarissimus est. The oldest example which he can find in the Byzantine writers is of the year 1040; but the Venetians pretend, that they introduced bells at Constantinople in the ixth century.

⁵² Damascus is amply described by the Sherif al Edrisi (*Geograph. Nub.* p. 116, 117.); and his translator, Sionita (*Appendix*, c. 4.); Abulfeda (*Tabula Syriæ*, p. 100.); Schultens (*Index Geograph. ad Vit. Saladin*); d'Herbelot (*Bibliot. Orient.* p. 291.); Thevenot, *Voyage du Levant* (part. i. p. 688—698.); Maundrell (*Journey from*

Aleppo to Jerufalem, p. 122—130.); and Pocock (Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 117—127.).

⁵³ Nobilissima civitas, says Justin. According to the Oriental traditions, it was older than Abraham or Semiramis. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. 6. 7. p. 24. 29. edit. Havercamp. Justin. xxxvi, 2.

⁵⁴ Εἶδεν γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὴν Διοῦ πόλιν ἀληθῶς, καὶ τῆς Ἑωᾶς ἀπάσης οὐθαλμῶν, τὴν ἱερὴν καὶ μεγίστην Δαμασκὸν λέγων, τοῖς τε ἀλλοῖς συμπάσιν, οἷον ἱερῶν καλλεῖ, καὶ νεῶν μεγεθεῖ, καὶ ὤρων ευκαίρια καὶ πηγῶν ἀγλαΐα καὶ ποταμῶν πληθεῖ, καὶ γῆς ευφορία νικῶσαν, etc. Julian, epist. xxiv. p. 392. These splendid epithets are occasioned by the figs of Damascus, of which the author sends an hundred to his friend Serapion, and this rhetorical theme is inserted by Petavius, Spanheim, etc. (p. 390—396.) among the genuine epistles of Julian. How could they overlook that the writer is an inhabitant of Damascus (he thrice affirms, that this peculiar fig grows only παρὲρ ἡμῖν), a city which Julian never entered or approached?

⁵⁵ Voltaire, who casts a keen and lively glance over the surface of history, has been struck with the resemblance of the first Moslems and the heroes of the Iliad; the siege of Troy and that of Damascus (Hist. Générale, tom. i. p. 348.).

⁵⁶ These words are a text of the Koran, c. ix. 32. lxi. 8. Like our fanatics of the last century, the Moslems, on every familiar or important occasion, spoke the language of *their* scriptures; a style more natural in their mouths, than the Hebrew idiom transplanted into the climate and dialect of Britain.

⁵⁷ The name of Werdan is unknown to Theophanes, and, though, it might belong to an Armenian chief, has very little of a Greek aspect or sound. If the Byzantine historians have mangled the Oriental names the Arabs, in this instance, likewise have taken ample revenge on their enemies. In transposing the Greek character from right to left, might they not produce, from the familiar appellation of *Andrew*, something like the anagram *Werdan*?

⁵⁸ Vanity prompted the Arabs to believe, that Thomas was the son-in-law of the emperor. We know the children of Heraclius by his two wives; and his *august* daughter would not have married in exile at Damascus (see Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 118, 119.) Had he been less religious, I might only suspect the legitimacy of the damsel.

⁵⁹ Al Wakidi (Ockley, p. 10.) says, “with poisoned arrows;” but this savage invention is so repugnant to the practice of the Greeks and Romans, that I must suspect, on this occasion, the malevolent credulity of the Saracens.

⁶⁰ Abulfeda allows only seventy days for the siege of Damascus (Annal. Moslem. p. 67. vers. Reiske); but Elmacin, who mentions this opinion, prolongs the term to six months, and notices the use of *balistæ* by the Saracens (Hist. Saracen. p. 25. 32.) Even this longer period is insufficient to fill the interval between the battle of Aiznadin (July, A. D. 633.) and the accession of Omar (24 July, A. D. 634), to whose reign the conquest of Damascus is unanimously ascribed (Al Wakidi, apud Ockley, vol. i. p. 115. Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 112. vers. Pocock. Perhaps, as in the Trojan war, the operations were interrupted by excursions and detachments, till the last seventy days of the siege.

⁶¹ It appears from Abulfeda (p. 125.) and Elmacin (p. 32.) that this distinction of the two parts of Damascus was long remembered, though not always respected, by the Mahometan sovereigns. See likewise Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 379, 380. 383.)

⁶² On the fate of these lovers, whom he names Phocyas and Eudocia, Mr. Hughes has built the Siege of Damascus, one of our most popular tragedies; and which possesses the rare merit of blending nature and history, the manners of the times and the feelings of the heart. The foolish delicacy of the players compelled him to soften the guilt of the hero and the despair of the heroine. Instead of a base renegade, Phocyas serves the Arabs as an honourable ally; instead of prompting their pursuit, he flies to the succour of his countrymen, and after killing Caled and Derar, is himself mortally wounded, and expires in the presence of Eudocia, who professes her resolution to take the veil at Constantinople. A frigid catastrophe!

⁶³ The towns of Gabala and Laodicea, which the Arabs passed, still exist in a state of decay (Maundrell, p. 11, 12. Pocock, vol. ii. p. 13.). Had not the Christians been overtaken, they must have crossed the Orontes on some bridge in the sixteen miles between Antioch and the sea, and might have rejoined the high road of Constantinople at Alexandria. The itineraries will represent the directions and distances (p. 146. 148. 581, 582. edit. Wesseling).

⁶⁴ *Dair Abil Kodos*. After retrenching the last word, the epithet, *holy*, I discover the Abila of Lyfania between Damascus and Heliopolis: the name (*Abil* signifies a vineyard) concurs with the situation to justify my conjecture (Reland, Palestin. tom. i. p. 317. tom. ii. p. 525. 527.)

⁶⁵ I am bolder than Mr. Ockley (vol. i. p. 164.) who dares not insert this figurative expression in the text, though he observes in a marginal note, that the Arabians often borrow their families from that useful and

familiar animal. The rein-deer may be equally famous in the songs of the Laplanders.

⁶⁶ We heard the *tecbir*; so the Arabs call

Their shout of onset, when with loud appeal

They challenge heaven, as if demanding conquest.

This word, so formidable in their holy wars, is a verb active (says Ockley in his index) of the second conjugation, from *Kabbara*, which signifies saying *Alla Acbar*, God is most mighty.

⁶⁷ In the geography of Abulfeda, the description of Syria, his native country, is the most interesting and authentic portion. It was published in Arabic and Latin, Lipsiæ, 1766, in quarto, with the learned notes of Kochler and Reiske, and some extracts of geography and natural history from Ibn Ol Wardii. Among the modern travels, Pocock's Description of the East (of Syria and Mesopotamia, vol. ii. p. 88.—209.) is a work of superior learning and dignity; but the author too often confounds what he had seen and what he had read.

⁶⁸ The praises of Dionysius are just and lively. *Και την μεν* (Syria) *πολλοι τε και ολβιοι ανδρες εχουσιν* (in *Periegesi*, v. 902. in tom. iv. *Geograph. Minor*, Hudson). In another place, he styles the country *πελυπολιν αιαν* (v. 898.) He proceeds to say,

Πασα δε τρι λιπαρη τε και ευβοτος επλετο χωρη

Μηλα τε Φερβεμεναι και δενδρεσι καρπον αεξειν.

v. 921, 922.

This poetical geographer lived in the age of Augustus, and his description of the world is illustrated by the Greek commentary of Eustathius, who paid the same compliment to Homer and Dionysius (*Fabric. Bibliot. Græc.* l. iv. c. 2. tom. iii. p. 21, etc.).

⁶⁹ The topography of the Libanus and Anti-Libanus is excellently described by the learning and sense of Reland (*Palestin.* tom. i. p. 311—326.).

⁷⁰ — *Emesæ fastigia celsa resident*

Nam diffusa solo latus explicat; ac subit auras

Turribus in cœlum nitentibus: incola claris

Cor studiis acuit. . . .

Denique flammicomo devoti pectora foli

Vitam agitant. Libanus frondosa cacumina turgēt,

Et tamen his certant celsi fastigia templi.

These verses of the Latin version of Rufus Avienus are wanting in the Greek original of Dionysius; and since they are likewise unnoticed by Eustathius, I must, with Fabricius (*Bibliot. latin.* tom. iii. p. 153. edit. Ernesti), and against Salmasius (*ad Vopiscum*, p. 366, 367. in *Hist. August.*) ascribe them to the fancy rather than the MSS. of Avienus.

⁷¹ I am much better satisfied with Maundrell's slight octavo Journey, p. 134—139. than with the pompous folio of Doctor Pocock (Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 106—113.); but every preceding account is eclipsed by the magnificent description and drawings of M. M. Dawkins and Wood, who have transported into England the ruins of Palmyra and Baalbeck.

⁷² The Orientals explain the prodigy by a never-failing expedient. The edifices of Baalbeck were constructed by the fairies or the genii (Hist. de Timour Bec, tom. iii. l. v. c. 23. p. 311, 312. Voyage d'Otter, tom. i. p. 83.) With less absurdity, but with equal ignorance, Abulfeda and Ibn Chankel ascribethem to the Sabæans or Aadites. Non sunt in omni Syriâ ædificia magnificentiora his (Tabula Syriæ, p. 103.).

⁷³ I have read somewhere in Tacitus, or Grotius, Subjectos habent tanquam suos, viles tanquam alienos. Some Greek officers ravished the wife, and murdered the child, of their Syrian landlord; and Manuel smiled at his undutiful complaint.

⁷⁴ See Reland, Palestin. tom. i. p. 272. 283. tom. ii. p. 773. 775. This learned professor was equal to the task of describing the Holy Land, since he was alike conversant with Greek and Latin, with Hebrew and Arabian literature. The Vermuk, or Hieromax, is noticed by Cellarius (Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 392.) and d'Anville (Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 185.). The Arabs, and even Abulfeda himself, do not seem to recognize the scene of their victory.

⁷⁵ These women were of the tribe of the Hamiarites, who derived their origin from the ancient Amalekites. Their females were accustomed to ride on horseback, and to fight like the Amazons of old (Ockley, vol. i. p. 67.).

⁷⁶ We killed of them, says Abu Obeidah to the caliph, one hundred and fifty thousand, and made prisoners forty thousand (Ockley, vol. i. p. 241.). As I cannot doubt his veracity, nor believe his computation, I must suspect that the Arabic historians indulged themselves in the practice of composing speeches and letters for their heroes.

⁷⁷ After deploring the sins of the Christians, Theophanes adds (Chronograph. p. 276.), ανεζη ὁ ερημικὸς Αμαλίκη τυπτῶν ἡμᾶς τὸν λαὸν τῆς Χρῆστῃ, καὶ γίνεταί πρῳτῇ Φορᾷ πτωτὶς τῆς Ρωμικῆς στρατῆς ἢ κατὰ τὸ Γαβιθὰν λεγῶ (does he mean Aiznadin?) καὶ Ιερμοχὴν, καὶ τὴν αἰματοχυσίαν. His account is brief and obscure, but he accuses the numbers of the enemy, the adverse wind, and the cloud of dust: μὴ δυνάμεντες (the Romans) ἀντιπροσώπηται ἐχθροῖς διὰ τὸν κονιστὸν ἡττῶνται, καὶ ἐαυτὰς βάλλοντες εἰς τὰς σινδόδας τῆς Ιερμοχίδε ποταμῆς ἐκεῖ ἀπώλοντο ἀρδῆν (Chronograph. p. 280.).

⁷⁸ See Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 70, 71.), who transcribes the poetical complaint of Jabalah himself, and some panegyrical strains of an Arabian poet, to whom the chief of Gassan sent from Constantinople a gift of five hundred pieces of gold by the hands of the ambassador of Omar.

⁷⁹ In the name of the city, the profane prevailed over the sacred; *Jerusalem* was known to the devout Christians (Euseb. de Martyr. Palest. c. xi.); but the legal and popular appellation of *Ælia* (the colony of Ælius Hadrianus) has passed from the Romans to the Arabs (Reland, Palestin. tom. i. p. 207. tom. ii. p. 835. d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, *Cods*, p. 269. *Ilia*, p. 420.) The epithet of *Al Cods*, the Holy, is used as the proper name of Jerusalem.

⁸⁰ The singular journey and equipage of Omar are described (besides Ockley, vol. i. p. 250.) by Murtadi (Merveilles de l'Égypte, p. 200—202.).

⁸¹ The Arabs boast of an old prophecy preserved at Jerusalem, and describing the name, the religion, and the person of Omar, the future conqueror. By such arts the Jews are said to have soothed the pride of their foreign masters, Cyrus and Alexander (Joseph Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. i. s. p. 547. 579—582.)

⁸² Το βδελυγμα της ερημωσης το ρηθεν δια 'Δανιηλ τς προφητς εως εν τοπω αγιω. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 281. This prediction, which had already served for Antiochus and the Romans, was again refuted for the present occasion, by the œconomy of Sophronius, one of the deepest theologians of the Monothelite controversy.

⁸³ According to the accurate survey of d'Anville (Dissertation sur l'ancienne Jérusalem, p. 42—54.) the mosch of Omar, enlarged and embellished by succeeding caliphs, covered the ground of the ancient temple (παλαιον τς μεγαλς ναος δαπεδον, says Phocas), a length of 215, a breadth of 172, *toises*. The Nubian geographer declares, that this magnificent structure was second only in size and beauty to the great mosch of Cordova (p. 113.) whose present state Mr. Swinburne has so elegantly represented (Travels into Spain, p. 296—302.).

⁸⁴ Of the many Arabic tarikhs or chronicles of Jerusalem (d'Herbelot, p. 867.), Ockley found one among the Pocock MSS. of Oxford (vol. i. p. 257.), which he has used to supply the defective narrative of Al Wakidi.

⁸⁵ The Persian historian of Timur (tom. iii. l. v. c. 21. p. 300.) describes the castle of Aleppo as founded on a rock one hundred cubits in height, a proof, says the French translator, that he had never visited the place. It is now in the midst of the city, of no strength, with a single gate, the circuit is about 5 or 600 paces, and the ditch

half full of stagnant water (Voyages de Tavernier, tom. i. p. 149. Pocock, vol. ii. part. 1. p. 150.) The fortresses of the East are contemptible to an European eye.

⁸⁶ The date of the conquest of Antioch by the Arabs is of some importance. By comparing the years of the world in the chronography of Theophanes with the years of the Hegira in the history of Elmacin, we shall determine, that it was taken between January 23d and September 1st of the year of Christ 638 (Pagi Critica, in Baron. Annal. tom. ii. p. 812, 813.). Al Wakidi (Ockley, vol. i. p. 314.) assigns that event to Tuesday, August 21st, an inconsistent date; since Easter fell that year on April 5th, the 21st of August must have been a Friday (see the Tables of the Art de Verifier les Dates).

⁸⁷ His bounteous edict, which tempted the grateful city to assume the victory of Pharfalia for a perpetual æra, is given εν Αντιοχεια τη μητροπολει, ιερα και ασυλα και αυτονομω και αρχυση και προκαθημενη της ανατολης. Joh. Malala, in Chron. p. 91. edit. Venet. We may distinguish his authentic information of domestic facts from his gross ignorance of general history.

⁸⁸ See Ockley (vol. i. p. 308. 312.), who laughs at the credulity of his author. When Heraclius bade farewell to Syria, Vale Syria et ultimum vale, he prophesied that the Romans should never re-enter the province till the birth of an inauspicious child, the future scourge of the empire. Abulfeda, p. 68. I am perfectly ignorant of the mystic sense, or nonsense, of this prediction.

⁸⁹ In the loose and obscure chronology of the times, I am guided by an authentic record (in the book of ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus), which certifies that, June 4, A. D. 638, the emperor crowned his younger son Heraclius in the presence of his eldest Constantine, and in the palace of Constantinople; that January 1, A. D. 639, the royal procession visited the great church, and on the 4th of the same month, the hippodrome.

⁹⁰ Sixty-five years before Christ, Syria Pontusque monumenta sunt Cn. Pompeii virtutis (Vell. Patercul. ii. 38.), rather of his fortune and power: he adjudged Syria to be a Roman province, and the last of the Seleucides were incapable of drawing a sword in the defence of their patrimony (see the original texts collected by Usher, Annal. p. 420.).

⁹¹ Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 73. Mahomet could artfully vary the praises of his disciples. Of Omar he was accustomed to say, that if a prophet could arise after himself, it would be Omar; and that in a general calamity, Omar would be excepted by the divine justice (Ockley, vol. i. p. 221.).

⁹² Al Wakidi had likewise written an history of the conquest of Diarbekir, or Mesopotamia (Ockley, at the end of the iid vol.), which our interpreters do not appear to have seen. The Chronicle of Dionysius of Telmar, the Jacobite patriarch, records the taking of Edessa A. D. 637, and of Dara A. D. 641. (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103.); and the attentive may glean some doubtful information from the Chronography of Theophanes (p. 285—287.). Most of the towns of Mesopotamia yielded by surrender (Abulpharag. p. 112.).

⁹³ He dreamt that he was at Thessalonica, an harmless and unmeaning vision; but his soothsayer, or his cowardice, understood the sure omen of a defeat concealed in that inauspicious word *δὲς ἀλλ' ὦ νικῆν*, Give to another the victory (Theophan. p. 286. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 88.).

⁹⁴ Every passage and every fact that relates to the isle, the city, and the colossus of Rhodes, are compiled in the laborious treatise of Meursius, who has bestowed the same diligence on the two larger islands of Crete and Cyprus. See in the iiid vol. of his works, the *Rhodus* of Meursius (l. i. c. 15. p. 715—719.). The Byzantine writers, Theophanes and Constantine, have ignorantly prolonged the term to 1360 years; and ridiculously divide the weight among 30,000 camels.

⁹⁵ Centum colossi alium nobilitaturi locum, says Pliny, with his usual spirit. Hist. Natur. xxxiv. 18.

⁹⁶ We learn this anecdote from a spirited old woman, who reviled to their faces the caliph and his friend. She was encouraged by the silence of Amrou and the liberality of Moawiyah (Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. III.).

⁹⁷ Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 46, etc. who quotes the Abyssinian history, or romance, of Abdel Balcides. Yet the fact of the embassy and ambassador may be allowed.

⁹⁸ This saying is preserved by Pocock (Not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 184.), and justly applauded by Mr. Harris (Philosophical Arrangements, p. 350.).

⁹⁹ For the life and character of Amrou, see Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 28. 63. 94. 328. 342. 344. and to the end of the volume; vol. ii. p. 51. 55. 57. 74. 110—112. 162.) and Otter (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxi. p. 131, 132.). The readers of Tacitus may aptly compare Vespasian and Mucianus, with Moawiyah and Amrou. Yet the resemblance is still more in the situation, than in the characters, of the men.

¹⁰⁰ Al Wakidi had likewise composed a separate history of the conquest of Egypt, which Mr. Ockley could never procure; and his own enquiries (vol. i. p. 344—362.) have added very little to the original text of Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 296—323. vers. Pocock),

the Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, who lived three hundred years after the revolution.

¹⁰¹ Strabo, an accurate and attentive spectator, observes of Heliopolis γυνὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πανέρημος ἡ πόλις (Geograph. l. xvii. p. 1158.); but of Memphis, he declares, πόλις δ' ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐκνδρος δευτέρα μετ' Ἀλεξανδρείαν (p. 1161.); he notices, however, the mixture of inhabitants, and the ruin of the palaces. In the proper Egypt, Ammianus enumerates Memphis among the four cities, maximis urbibus quibus provincia nitet (xxii. 16.); and the name of Memphis appears with distinction in the Roman Itinerary and episcopal lists.

¹⁰² These rare and curious facts, the breadth (2946 feet) and the bridge of the Nile, are only to be found in the Danish traveller and the Nubian geographer (p. 98.).

¹⁰³ From the month of April, the Nile begins imperceptibly to rise: the swell becomes strong and visible in the moon after the summer solstice (Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 10.), and is usually proclaimed at Cairo on St. Peter's day (June 29.). A register of thirty successive years marks the greatest height of the waters between July 25 and August 18 (Maillet, Description de l'Egypte, lettre xi. p. 67, etc. Pocock's Description of the East, vol. i. p. 200. Shaw's Travels, p. 383.).

¹⁰⁴ Murtadi, Merveilles de l'Egypte, p. 243—259. He expatiates on the subject with the zeal and minuteness of a citizen and a bigot, and his local traditions have a strong air of truth and accuracy.

¹⁰⁵ D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 233.

¹⁰⁶ The position of New and of Old Cairo is well known, and has been often described. Two writers, who were intimately acquainted with ancient and modern Egypt, have fixed, after a learned enquiry, the city of Memphis at *Gizeh*, directly opposite the Old Cairo (Sicard, Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant, tom. vi. p. 5, 6. Shaw's Observations and Travels, p. 296—304.). Yet we may not disregard the authority or the arguments of Pocock (vol. i. p. 25—41.), Niebuhr (Voyage, tom. i. 77—109.), and, above all, of d'Anville (Description de l'Egypte, p. 111, 112. 130—149.), who have removed Memphis towards the village of Mohannah, some miles farther to the south. In their heat, the disputants have forgot that the ample space of a metropolis covers and annihilates the far greater part of the controversy.

¹⁰⁷ See Herodotus, l. iii. c. 27, 28, 29. Ælian. Hist. Var. l. iv. c. 8. Suidas in Ωχρος, tom. ii. p. 774. Diodor. Sicul. tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 197. edit. Wesseling. Τῶν Περσῶν ηγεσθηκοτων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ, says the last of these historians.

¹⁰⁸ Mokawkas sent the prophet two Coptic damsels, with two maids

and one eunuch, an alabaster vase, an ingot of pure gold, oil, honey, and the finest white linen of Egypt, with an horse, a mule and an ass, distinguished by their respective qualifications. The embassy of Mahomet was dispatched from Medina in the seventh year of the Hegira (A. D. 628). See Gagnier (*Vie de Mahomet*, tom. ii. p. 255, 256. 303.), from Al Jannabi.

¹⁰⁹ The præfecture of Egypt, and the conduct of the war, had been trusted by Heraclius to the patriarch Cyrus (Theophan. p. 280, 281.). "In Spain," said James II. "do you not consult your priests?" "We do," replied the Catholic ambassador, "and our affairs succeed accordingly." I know not how to relate the plans of Cyrus, of paying tribute without impairing the revenue, and of converting Omar by his marriage with the emperor's daughter (Nicephor. Breviar, p. 17, 18.).

¹¹⁰ See the life of Benjamin, in Renaudot (*Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 156—172.), who has enriched the conquest of Egypt with some facts from the Arabic text of Severus the Jacobite historian.

¹¹¹ The local description of Alexandria is perfectly ascertained by the master hand of the first of geographers (d'Anville, *Mémoire sur l'Égypte*, p. 52—63.); but we may borrow the eyes of the modern travellers, more especially of Thevenot (*Voyage au Levant*, part. i. p. 381—395.). Pocock (vol. i. p. 2—13.), and Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 34—43.). Of the two modern rivals Savary and Volney, the one may amuse, the other will instruct.

¹¹² Both Eutychius (*Annal.* tom. ii. p. 319. and Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 28.) concur in fixing the taking of Alexandria to Friday of the new moon of Moharram of the twentieth year of the Hegira (December 22, A. D. 640). In reckoning backwards fourteen months spent before Alexandria, seven months before Babylon, etc. Amrou might have invaded Egypt about the end of the year 638: but we are assured, that he entered the country the 12th of Bayni, 6th of June (Murtadi, *Merveilles de l'Égypte*, p. 164. Severus, apud Renaudot, p. 162.). The Saracen, and afterwards Lewis IX. of France, halted at Pelusium, or Damietta, during the season of the inundation of the Nile.

¹¹³ Eutych. *Annal.* tom. ii. p. 316. 319.

¹¹⁴ Notwithstanding some inconsistencies of Theophanes and Cedrenus, the accuracy of Pagi (*Critica*, tom. ii. p. 824,) has extracted from Nicephorus and the *Chronicon Orientale* the true date of the death of Heraclius, February 11th, A. D. 641, fifty days after the loss of Alexandria. A fourth of that time was sufficient to convey the intelligence.

¹¹⁵ Many treatises of this lover of labour (*Βιλασπονός*) are still extant; but for readers of the present age, the printed and unpublished are

nearly in the same predicament. Moses and Aristotle are the chief objects of his verbose commentaries, one of which is dated as early as May 10th. A. D. 617 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. ix. p. 458—468.). A modern (John Le Clerc), who sometimes assumed the same name, was equal to old Philoponus in diligence, and far superior in good sense and real knowledge.

¹¹⁶ Abulpharag. Dynast. p. 114. vers. Pocock. Audi quid factum sit et mirare. It would be endless to enumerate the moderns who have wondered and believed, but I may distinguish with honour the rational scepticism of Renaudot (Hist. Alex. Patriarch. p. 170.); historia. . . . habet aliquid *απιστον* ut Arabibus familiare est.

¹¹⁷ This curious anecdote will be vainly sought in the annals of Eutychius, and the Saracenic history of Elmacin. The silence of Abulfeda, Murtadi, and a crowd of Moslems, is less conclusive from their ignorance of Christian literature.

¹¹⁸ See Reland, de Jure Militari Mohammedanorum, in his iiid volume of Dissertations, p. 37. The reason for not burning the religious books of the Jews or Christians, is derived from the respect that is due to the *name* of God.

¹¹⁹ Consult the collections of Freinsheim (Supplement. Livian. c. 12. 43.) and Usher (Annal. p. 469.). Livy himself had styled the Alexandrian library, *elegantiae regum curæque egregium opus*; a liberal encomium, for which he is partly criticised by the narrow stoicism of Seneca (De Tranquillitate Animi, c. 9.), whose wisdom, on this occasion, deviates into nonsense.

¹²⁰ See this History, vol. iii. p. 85. quarto edition.

¹²¹ Aulus Gellius (Noctes Atticæ, vi. 17.), Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 16.), and Orosius (l. vi. c. 15.). They all speak in the *past* tense, and the words of Ammianus are remarkably strong: fuerunt Bibliothecæ innumerabiles; et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, etc.

¹²² Renaudot answers for versions of the Bible, Hexapla, *Catenæ Patrum*, Commentaries, etc. (p. 170.). Our Alexandrian MS. if it came from Egypt, and not from Constantinople, or mount Athos (Wetstein, Prolegom. ad N. T. p. 8, etc.), might *possibly* be among them.

¹²³ I have often perused with pleasure a chapter of Quintilian (Institut. Orator. x. 1.) in which that judicious critic enumerates and appreciates the series of Greek and Latin classics.

¹²⁴ Such as Galen, Pliny, Aristotle, etc. On this subject Wotton (Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, p. 85—95.) argues, with solid sense, against the lively exotic fancies of Sir William Temple

Temple. The contempt of the Greeks for *Barbaric* science, would scarcely admit the Indian or Æthiopic books into the library of Alexandria; nor is it proved that philosophy has sustained any real loss from their exclusion.

¹²⁵ This curious and authentic intelligence of Murtadi (p. 284—289.) has not been discovered either by Mr. Ockley, or by the self-sufficient compilers of the Modern Universal History.

¹²⁶ Eutychius, Annal. tom. ii. p. 320. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 35.

¹²⁷ On these *obscure* canals, the reader may try to satisfy himself from d'Anville (Mém. sur l'Égypte, p. 108—110. 124. 132.), and a learned thesis maintained and printed at Strasburgh in the year 1770 (Jungendorum marium fluviorumque molimina, p. 39—47. 68—70.). Even the supine Turks have agitated the old project of joining the two seas (Mémoires du Baron de Tott, tom. iv.)

¹²⁸ A small volume, des Merveilles, etc. de l'Égypte, composed in the xiiith century by Murtadi of Cairo, and translated from an Arabic MS. of cardinal Mazarin, was published by Pierre Vazier, Paris, 1666. The antiquities of Egypt are wild and legendary: but the writer deserves credit and esteem for his account of the conquest and geography of his native country (See the correspondence of Amron and Omar, p. 279—289.)

¹²⁹ In a twenty years residence at Cairo, the consul Maillet had contemplated that varying scene, the Nile (lettre ii. particularly p. 70. 75.); the fertility of the land (lettre ix.). From a college at Cambridge, the poetic eye of Gray had *seen* the same objects with a keener glance:

What wonder in the sultry climes that spread,
Where Nile, redundant o'er his summer bed,
From his broad bosom life and verdure flings,
And broods o'er Egypt with his wat'ry wings;
If with advent'rous oar, and ready sail,
The dusky people drive before the gale:
Or on frail floats to neighbouring cities ride,
That rise and glitter o'er the ambient tide.

(Mason's, Works and Memoirs
of Gray, p. 199, 200.)

¹³⁰ Murtadi, p. 164—167. The reader will not easily credit an human sacrifice under the Christian emperors, or a miracle of the successors of Mahomet.

¹³¹ Maillet, Description de l'Égypte, p. 22. He mentions this number as the *common* opinion; and adds, that the generality of these villages contain two or three thousand persons, and that many of them are more populous than our large cities.

¹³² Eutyeh. Annal. tom. ii. p. 308. 311. The twenty millions are computed from the following *data*: one-twelfth of mankind above sixty, one-third below sixteen, the proportion of men to women as seventeen to sixteen (Recherches sur la Population de la France, p. 71, 72.). The president Goguet (Origine des Arts, etc. tom. iii. p. 26, etc.) bestows twenty-seven millions on ancient Egypt, because the seventeen hundred companions of Sesostris were born on the same day.

¹³³ Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 218.; and this gross lump is swallowed without scruple by d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 1031.), Arbuthnot (Tables of ancient Coins, p. 262.), and de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 135.). They might allege the not less extravagant liberality of Appian in favour of the Ptolemies (in præfat.) of seventy-four myriads, 740,000 talents, an annual income of 185, or near 300, millions of pounds sterling, according as we reckon by the Egyptian or the Alexandrian talent (Bernard de Ponderibus Antiq. p. 186.).

¹³⁴ See the measurement of d'Anville (Mém. sur l'Égypte, p. 23, etc.). After some peevish cavils, M. Paw (Recherches sur les Égyptiens, tom. i. p. 118—121.) can only enlarge his reckoning to 2250 square leagues.

¹³⁵ Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexand. p. 334. who calls the common reading or version of Elmacin, *error librarii*. His own emendation, of 4,300,000 pieces, in the ixth century, maintains a probable medium between the 3,000,000 which the Arabs acquired by the conquest of Egypt (idem, p. 168.), and the 2,400,000 which the sultan of Constantinople levied in the last century (Pietro della Valle, tom. i. p. 352.; Thevenot, part. i. p. 824.). Paw (Recherches, tom. ii. p. 365—373.) gradually raises the revenue of the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, and the Cæsars, from six to fifteen millions of German crowns.

¹³⁶ The list of Schultens (Index Geograph. ad calcem Vit. Saladin. p. 5.) contains 2396 places; that of d'Anville (Mém. sur l'Égypte, p. 29.), from the divan of Cairo, enumerates 2696.

¹³⁷ See Maillet (Description de l'Égypte, p. 28.), who seems to argue with candour and judgment. I am much better satisfied with the observations than with the reading of the French consul. He was ignorant of Greek and Latin literature, and his fancy is too much delighted with the fictions of the Arabs. Their best knowledge is collected by Abulfeda (Descript. Ægypt. Arab. et Lat. à Joh. David Michaelis, Gottingæ, in 4to, 1776): and in two recent voyages into Egypt, we are amused by Savary, and instructed by Volney. I wish the latter could travel over the globe.

¹³⁸ My conquest of Africa is drawn from two French interpreters of

Arabic literature, Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la domination des Arabes, tom. i. p. 8—55.) and Otter (Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxi. p. 111—125. and 136.). They derive their principal information from Novairi, who composed, A. D. 1331, an Encyclopædia in more than twenty volumes. The five general parts successively treat of, 1. Physics, 2. Man, 3. Animals, 4. Plants, and, 5. History; and the African affairs are discussed in the sixth chapter of the sixth section of this last part (Reiske, Prodidagmata ad Hagij Chalifæ Tabulas, p. 232—234.). Among the older historians who are quoted by Novairi we may distinguish the original narrative of a soldier who led the van of the Moslems.

¹³⁹ See the history of Abdallah, in Abulfeda (Vit. Mohammed. p. 109.) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 45—48.

¹⁴⁰ The province and city of Tripoli are described by Leo Africanus (in Navigatione et Viaggi di Ramusio, tom. i. Venetia, 1550, fol. 76. verso) and Marmol (Description de l'Afrique, tom. ii. p. 562.). The first of these writers was a Moor, a scholar, and a traveller, who composed or translated his African geography in a state of captivity at Rome, where he had assumed the name and religion of pope Leo X. In a similar captivity among the Moors, the Spaniard Marmol, a soldier of Charles V. compiled his Description of Africa, translated by d'Ablancourt into French (Paris, 1667, 3 vols. in 4to). Marmol had read and seen, but he is destitute of the curious and extensive observation which abounds in the original work of Leo the African.

¹⁴¹ Theophanes, who mentions the defeat, rather than the death, of Gregory. He brands the præfect with the name of *Τυραννος*; he had probably assumed the purple (Chronograph. p. 285.).

¹⁴² See in Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 45.), the death of Zobeir, which was honoured with the tears of Ali, against whom he had rebelled. *His* valour at the siege of Babylon, if indeed it be the same person, is mentioned by Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 308.).

¹⁴³ Shaw's Travels, p. 118, 119.

¹⁴⁴ *Mimica emptio*, says Abulfeda; erat hæc, et mira donatio; quandoquidem Othman, ejus nomine nummos ex ærario prius ablatos ærario præstabat (Annal. Moslem. p. 78.). Elmâcin (in his cloudy version, p. 39.) seems to report the same job. When the Arabs besieged the palace of Othman, it stood high in their catalogue of grievances.

¹⁴⁵ Επεστράτευσαν Σαρακηνοὶ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν, καὶ συμβαλόντες τῷ τυραννῶ Γρηγορίῳ τὸν τῆς πύργου καὶ τῆς συν αὐτῷ κτείνεσι καὶ σοίχη-

σάντες ὁρᾶς μετὰ τῶν Ἀβρῶν ὑπερβῶν. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 285. edit. Paris. His chronology is loose and inaccurate.

¹⁴⁶ Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 293.) inferts the vague rumours that might reach Constantinople, of the western conquests of the Arabs; and I learn from Paul Warnefrid, deacon of Aquileia (de Gestis Langobard. l. v. c. 13.), that at this time they sent a fleet from Alexandria into the Sicilian and African seas.

¹⁴⁷ See Novairi (apud Otter, p. 118.), Leo Africanus (fol. 81. verso), who reckons only cinque città ed infinite casali, Marmol, (Description de l'Afrique, tom. iii. p. 33.), and Shaw (Travels, p. 57. 65—68.).

¹⁴⁸ Leo African. fol. 58. verso 59. recto. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 415. Shaw, p. 43.

¹⁴⁹ Leo African. fol. 52. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 228.

¹⁵⁰ Regio ignobilis, et vix quicquam illustre sortita, parvis oppidis habitatur, parva flumina emittit, solo quam viris melior, et segnitie gentis obscura. Pomponius Mela, i. 5. iii. 10. Mela deserves the more credit, since his own Phœnician ancestors had migrated from Tingitana to Spain (see, in ii. 6. a passage of that geographer so cruelly tortured by Salmasius, Isaac Vossius, and the most virulent of critics, James Gronovius). He lived at the time of the final reduction of that country by the emperor Claudius: yet almost thirty years afterwards, Pliny (Hist. Nat. v. 1.) complains of his authors, too lazy to enquire, too proud to confess their ignorance of that wild and remote province.

¹⁵¹ The foolish fashion of this citron wood prevailed at Rome among the men, as much as the taste for pearls among the women. A round board or table, four or five feet in diameter, sold for the price of an estate (latifundii taxatione), eight, ten, or twelve thousand pounds sterling (Plin. Hist. Natur. xiii. 29.). I conceive that I must not confound the tree *citrus*, with that of the fruit *citrum*. But I am not botanist enough to define the former (it is like the wild cypress) by the vulgar or Linnæan name; nor will I decide whether the *citrum* be the orange or the lemon. Salmasius appears to exhaust the subject, but he too often involves himself in the web of his disorderly erudition (Plinian. Exercitat. tom. ii. p. 666, etc.).

¹⁵² Leo African. fol. 16. verso. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 28. This province, the first scene of the exploits and greatness of the *cherifs*, is often mentioned in the curious history of that dynasty at the end of the iiii volume of Marmol, Description de l'Afrique. The iiii vol. of the Recherches Historiques sur les Maures (lately published at Paris) illustrates the history and geography of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco.

¹⁵³ Otter (p. 119.) has given the strong tone of fanaticism to this exclamation, which Cardonne (p. 37.) has softened to a pious wish of *preaching* the Koran. Yet they had both the same text of Novairi before their eyes.

¹⁵⁴ The foundation of Cairoan is mentioned by Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 129, 130.); and the situation, mosch, etc. of the city, are described by Leo Africanus (fol. 75.), Marmol (tom. ii. p. 532.), and Shaw (p. 115.).

¹⁵⁵ A portentous, though frequent mistake, has been the confounding, from a slight similitude of name, the *Cyrene* of the Greeks, and the *Cairoan* of the Arabs, two cities which are separated by an interval of a thousand miles along the sea-coast. The great Thuanus has not escaped this fault, the less excusable as it is connected with a formal and elaborate description of Africa (Historiar. l. vii. c. 2. in tom. i. p. 240. edit. Buckley).

¹⁵⁶ Besides the Arabic chronicles of Abulfeda, Elmacin, and Abulpharagius, under the lxxiiid year of the Hegira, we may consult d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 7.) and Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 339—349.). The latter has given the last and pathetic dialogue between Abdallah and his mother, but he has forgot a physical effect of *her* grief for his death, the return, at the age of ninety, and fatal consequences, of her *menfes*.

¹⁵⁷ Λεοντιος ἀπάντα τὰ Ρωμαϊκά ἐξωπλίσε πλοῖμα, στρατηγόν τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Ἰωάννην τὸν Πατρικίον ἐμπειρόν τῶν πολεμίων προχειρισάμενος πρὸς Καρχηδόνα κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐξεπέμψεν. Nicephori Constantinopolitani Breviar. p. 28. The patriarch of Constantinople, with Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 309.), have slightly mentioned this last attempt for the relief of Africa. Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 129. 141.) has nicely ascertained the chronology by a strict comparison of the Arabic and Byzantine historians, who often disagree both in time and fact. See likewise a note of Otter (p. 121.).

¹⁵⁸ Dove s'erano ridotti i nobili Romani ed i *Gotti*; and afterwards, i Romani fuggirono ed i *Gotti*, lasciarono Carthagine (Leo African. fol. 72. recto). I know not from what Arabic writer the African derived his Goths, but the fact, though new, is so interesting and so probable, that I will accept it on the slightest authority.

¹⁵⁹ This commander is styled by Nicephorus Βασιλεὺς Σαρακηνῶν, a vague though not improper definition of the caliph. Theophanes introduces the strange appellation of Πρωτοσυμβολος, which his interpreter Goar explains by *Vizir Azem*. They may approach the truth, in assigning the active part to the minister, rather than the prince; but they forget

that the Onimiades had only a *kateb*, or secretary, and that the office of vizir was not revived or instituted till the 132d year of the Hegira (d'Herbelot, p. 912.).

¹⁶⁰ According to Solinus (l. 27. p. 36. edit. Salmaf.), the Carthage of Dido stood either 677 or 737 years; a various reading, which proceeds from the difference of MSS. or editions (Salmaf. Plinian. Exercit. tom. i. p. 228). The former of these accounts, which gives 823 years before Christ, is more consistent with the well-weighed testimony of Velleius Paterculus: but the latter is preferred by our chronologists (Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 398.), as more agreeable to the Hebrew and Tyrian annals.

¹⁶¹ Leo African. fol. 71, verso; 72, recto. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 445—447. Shaw, p. 80.

¹⁶² The history of the word *Barbar* may be classed under four periods. 1. In the time of Homer, when the Greeks and Asiatics might probably use a common idiom, the imitative sound of Bar-bar was applied to the ruder tribes, whose pronunciation was most harsh, whose grammar was most defective. *Καρεῖς Βαρβαροφωνοί* (Iliad ii. 867. with the Oxford scholiast, Clarke's Annotation, and Henry Stephens's Greek Thesaurus, tom. i. p. 720.). 2. From the time, at least, of Herodotus, it was extended to *all* the nations who were strangers to the language and manners of the Greeks. 3. In the age of Plautus, the Romans submitted to the insult (Pompeius Festus, l. ii. p. 48. edit. Dacier), and freely gave themselves the name of Barbarians. They insensibly claimed an exemption for Italy, and her subject provinces; and at length removed the disgraceful appellation to the savage or hostile nations beyond the pale of the empire. 4. In every sense, it was due to the Moors; the familiar word was borrowed from the Latin provincials by the Arabian conquerors, and has justly settled as a local denomination (Barbary) along the northern coast of Africa.

¹⁶³ The first book of Leo Africanus, and the observations of Dr. Shaw (p. 220. 223. 227. 247, etc.), will throw some light on the roving tribes of Barbary, of Arabian or Moorish descent. But Shaw had seen these savages with distant terror; and Leo, a captive in the Vatican, appears to have lost more of his Arabic, than he could acquire of Greek or Roman, learning. Many of his gross mistakes might be detected in the first period of the Mahometan history.

¹⁶⁴ In a conference with a prince of the Greeks, Amrou observed that their religion was different; upon which score it was lawful for brothers to quarrel. Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 328.

¹⁶⁵ Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 78. vers. Reiske.

¹⁶⁶ The name of Andalusia is applied by the Arabs not only to the

modern province, but to the whole peninsula of Spain (Geograph. Nub. p. 151. d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 114, 115.). The etymology has been most improbably deduced from Vandalusia, country of the Vandals (d'Anville Etats de l'Europe, p. 146, 147, etc.). But the Handalusia of Casiri, which signifies in Arabic the region of the evening, of the West, in a word, the Hesperia of the Greeks, is perfectly apposite (Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 327, etc.).

¹⁶⁷ The fall and resurrection of the Gothic monarchy are related by Mariana (tom. i. p. 238—260. l. vi. c. 19—26. l. vii. c. 1, 2.). That historian has infused into his noble work (Historiæ, de Rebus Hispaniæ, libri xxx. Hagæ Comitum 1733, in four volumes in folio, with the Continuation of Miniana), the style and spirit of a Roman classic; and after the xiith century, his knowledge and judgment may be safely trusted. But the Jesuit is not exempt from the prejudices of his order; he adopts and adorns, like his rival Buchanan, the most absurd of the national legends; he is too careless of criticism and chronology, and supplies, from a lively fancy, the chasms of historical evidence. These chasms are large and frequent; Roderic archbishop of Toledo, the father of the Spanish history, lived five hundred years after the conquest of the Arabs; and the more early accounts are comprised in some meagre lines of the blind chronicles of Isidore of Badajoz (Pacensis), and of Alphonso III. king of Leon, which I have seen only in the Annals of Pagi.

¹⁶⁸ Le viol (says Voltaire) est aussi difficile à faire qu'à prouver. Des Evêques se feraient-ils ligués pour une fille? (Hist. Générale, c. xxvi.) His argument is not logically conclusive.

¹⁶⁹ In the story of Cava, Mariana (l. vi. c. 21. p. 241, 242.) seems to vie with the Lucretia of Livy. Like the ancients, he seldom quotes; and the oldest testimony of Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 713, N° 19.), that of Lucas Tudensis, a Galician deacon of the xiiith century, only says, Cava quam pro concubinâ utebatur.

¹⁷⁰ The Orientals, Elmacin, Abulpharagius, Abulfeda, pass over the conquest of Spain in silence, or with a single word. The text of Novairi, and the other Arabian writers, is represented, though with some foreign alloy, by M. de Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes, Paris 1765, 3 vol. in 12mo. tom. i. p. 55—114.), and more concisely by M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 347—350.). The librarian of the Escorial has not satisfied my hopes: yet he appears to have searched with diligence his broken materials; and the history of the conquest is illustrated by some valuable fragments of the genuine Razis (who wrote at Corduba, A. H. 300), of Ben Hazil, etc. See Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. P. 32. 105,

106. 182. 252. 319—332. On this occasion, the industry of Pagi has been aided by the Arabic learning of his friend the Abbé de Longuerue, and to their joint labours I am deeply indebted.

¹⁷¹ A mistake of Roderic of Toledo, in comparing the lunar years of the Hegira with the Julian years of the Æra, has determined Baronius, Mariana, and the crowd of Spanish historians, to place the first invasion in the year 713, and the battle of Xeres in November 714. This anachronism of three years, has been detected by the more correct industry of modern chronologists, above all, of Pagi (*Critica*, tom. iii. p. 169. 171—174.), who have restored the genuine date of the revolution. At the present time, an Arabian scholar like Cardonne, who adopts the ancient error (tom. i. p. 75.), is inexcusably ignorant or careless.

¹⁷² The Æra of Cæsar, which in Spain was in legal and popular use till the xivth century, begins thirty-eight years before the birth of Christ. I would refer the origin to the general peace by sea and land, which confirmed the power and *partition* of the Triumvirs (Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 547. 553. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. v. p. 1034. edit. fol.). Spain was a province of Cæsar Octavian; and Tarragona, which raised the first temple to Augustus (Tacit. Annal. i. 78.), might borrow from the Orientals this mode of flattery.

¹⁷³ The road, the country, the old castle of count Julian, and the superstitious belief of the Spaniards of hidden treasures, etc. are described by Pere Labat (*Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. i. p. 207—217.) with his usual pleasantries.

¹⁷⁴ The Nubian geographer (p. 154.) explains the topography of the war; but it is highly incredible that the lieutenant of Musa should execute the desperate and useless measure of burning his ships.

¹⁷⁵ Xeres (the Roman colony of *Asta Regia*) is only two leagues from Cadiz. In the xvth century it was a granary of corn; and the wine of Xeres is familiar to the nations of Europe (Lud. Nonii *Hispania*, c. 13. p. 54—56. a work of correct and concise knowledge; d'Anville, *Etats de l'Europe*, etc. p. 154.).

¹⁷⁶ *Id sane infortunii regibus pedem ex acie referentibus sæpe contingit.* Ben Hazil of Grenada, in *Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana*, tom. ii. p. 323. Some credulous Spaniards believe that king Roderic, or Rodrigo, escaped to an hermit's cell; and others, that he was cast alive into a tub full of serpents, from whence he exclaimed, with a lamentable voice, "they devour the part with which I have so grievously sinned" (*Don Quixote*, part. ii. l. iii. c. 1.).

¹⁷⁷ The direct road from Corduba to Toledo was measured by Mr. Swinburne's mules in $72\frac{1}{2}$ hours; but a larger computation must be adopted for the slow and devious marches of an army. The Arabs

traversed the province of La Mancha, which the pen of Cervantes has transformed into classic ground to the readers of every nation.

¹⁷⁸ The antiquities of Toledo, *Urbs Parva* in the Punic wars, *Urbs Regina* in the vith century, are briefly described by Nonius (*Hispania*, c. 59. p. 181—186.). He borrows from Roderic the *fatale palatium* of Moorish portraits; but modestly insinuates, it was no more than a Roman amphitheatre.

¹⁷⁹ In the *Historia Arabum* (c. 9. p. 17. ad calcem Elmacin), Roderic of Toledo describes the emerald tables, and inserts the name of Medinat Almeyda in Arabic words and letters. He appears to be conversant with the Mahometan writers; but I cannot agree with M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 350.), that he had read and transcribed Novairi; because he was dead an hundred years before Novairi composed his history. This mistake is founded on a still grosser error. M. de Guignes confounds the historian Roderic Ximenes archbishop of Toledo in the xiiith century, with cardinal Ximenes who governed Spain in the beginning of the xvith, and was the subject, not the author of historical compositions.

¹⁸⁰ Tarik might have inscribed on the last rock, the boast of Regnard and his companions in their Lapland journey, "Hic tandem stetimus, nobis ubi defuit orbis."

¹⁸¹ Such was the argument of the traitor Oppas, and every chief to whom it was addressed did not answer with the spirit of Pelagius: *Omnis Hispania dudum sub uno regimine Gothorum, omnis exercitus Hispaniæ in uno congregatus Ismaelitarum non valuit sustinere impetum.* Chron. Alphonfi Regis, apud Pagi, tom. iii. p. 177.

¹⁸² The revival of the Gothic kingdom in the Asturias is distinctly though concisely noticed by d'Anville (*Etats de l'Europe*, p. 159.).

¹⁸³ The honourable relics of the Cantabrian war (Dion Cassius, l. liii. p. 720.) were planted in this metropolis of Lusitania, perhaps of Spain (*submittit cui tota suos Hispania fasces*). Nonius (*Hispania*, c. 31. p. 106—110.) enumerates the ancient structures, but concludes with a sigh: *Urbs hæc olim nobilissima ad magnam incolarum infrequentiam delapsa est et præter priscae claritatis ruinas nihil ostendit.*

¹⁸⁴ Both the interpreters of Novairi, de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 349.) and Cardonne (*Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, tom. i. p. 93, 94. 104, 105.), lead Musa into the Narbonnese Gaul. But I find no mention of this enterprise either in Roderic of Toledo or the MSS. of the Escorial, and the invasion of the Saracens is postponed by a French chronicle till the ixth year after the conquest of Spain, A. D. 721. (Pagi Critica, tom. iii. p. 177. 195. *Historians of France*, tom. iii.). I much question whether Musa ever passed the Pyrenees.

¹⁸⁵ Four hundred years after Theodemir, his territories of Murcia and Carthagenæ retain in the Nubian geographer Edrifi (p. 154. 161.) the name of Tadmîr (d'Anville, *Etats de l'Europe*, p. 156. Pagi, tom. iii. p. 174.). In the present decay of Spanish agriculture, Mr. Swinburne (*Travels into Spain*, p. 119.) surveyed with pleasure the delicious valley from Murcia to Orihuela, four leagues and a half of the finest corn, pulse, lucern, oranges, etc.

¹⁸⁶ See the treaty in Arabic and Latin, in the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, tom. ii. p. 105, 106. It is signed the 4th of the month of Regeb, A. H. 94. the 5th of April, A. D. 713, a date which seems to prolong the resistance of Theodemir and the government of Musa.

¹⁸⁷ From the history of Sandoval, p. 87. Fleury (*Hist. Eccles.* tom. ix. p. 261.) has given the substance of another treaty concluded A. Æ. C. 782. A. D. 734, between an Arabian chief, and the Goths and Romans, of the territory of Coimbra in Portugal. The tax of the churches is fixed at twenty-five pounds of gold; of the monasteries, fifty; of the cathedrals, one hundred: the Christians are judged by their count, but in capital cases he must consult the alcaide. The church doors must be shut, and they must respect the name of Mahomet. I have not the original before me; it would confirm or destroy a dark suspicion, that the piece has been forged to introduce the immunity of a neighbouring convent.

¹⁸⁸ This design, which is attested by several Arabian historians (*Cardonne*, tom. i. p. 95, 96.), may be compared with that of Mithridates, to march from the Crimæa to Rome; or with that of Cæsar, to conquer the East, and return home by the North: and all three are perhaps surpassed by the *real* and successful enterprise of Hannibal.

¹⁸⁹ I much regret our loss, or my ignorance, of two Arabic works of the viiiith century, a Life of Musa, and a Poem on the Exploits of Tarik. Of these authentic pieces, the former was composed by a grandson of Musa, who had escaped from the massacre of his kindred; the latter, by the Vizir of the first Abdalrahman caliph of Spain, who might have conversed with some of the veterans of the conqueror (*Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana*, tom. ii. p. 36. 139.).

¹⁹⁰ *Bibliot. Arab. Hispana*, tom. ii. p. 32. 252. The former of these quotations is taken from a *Biographia Hispanica*, by an Arabian of Valentia (see the copious Extracts of Casiri, tom. ii. p. 30—121.); and the latter from a general Chronology of the Caliphs, and of the African and Spanish Dynasties, with the particular History of the Kingdom of Grenada, of which Casiri has given almost an entire version (*Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana*, tom. ii. p. 177—319.). The author, Ebn Khateb, a native of Grenada, and a contemporary of Novairi and Abulfeda (born

A. D. 1313, died A. D. 1374), was an historian, geographer, physician, poet, etc. (tom. ii. p. 71—72.).

¹⁹¹ Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 116, 117.

¹⁹² A copious treatise of husbandry, by an Arabian of Seville, in the xiiith century, is in the Escorial library, and Casiri had some thoughts of translating it. He gives a list of the authors quoted, Arabs as well as Greeks, Latins, etc.; but it is much if the Andalusian saw these strangers through the medium of his countryman Columella (Casiri, Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. i. p. 323—338.).

¹⁹³ Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 104. Casiri translates the original testimony of the historian Rasis, as it is alleged in the Arabic Biographia Hispanica, pars ix. But I am most exceedingly surprised at the address, Principibus cæterisque Christianis Hispanis suis *Castellæ*. The name of Castellæ was unknown in the viiith century; the kingdom was not erected till the year 1022, an hundred years after the time of Rasis (Bibliot. tom. ii. p. 330.), and the appellation was always expressive, not of a tributary province, but of a line of *castles* independent of the Moorish yoke (d'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 166—170.). Had Casiri been a critic, he would have cleared a difficulty, perhaps of his own making.

¹⁹⁴ Cardonne, tom. i. p. 337, 338. He computes the revenue at 130,000,000 of French livres. The entire picture of peace and prosperity relieves the bloody uniformity of the Moorish annals.

¹⁹⁵ I am happy enough to possess a splendid and interesting work, which has only been distributed in presents by the court of Madrid: *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis, operâ et studio Michaelis Casiri, Syro Maronitæ, Matriti, in folio, tomus prior, 1760. tomus posterior, 1770.* The execution of this work does honour to the Spanish press; the MSS. to the number of MDCCCLI, are judiciously classed by the editor, and his copious extracts throw *some* light on the Mahometan literature and history of Spain. These relics are now secure, but the task has been supinely delayed, till in the year 1671 a fire consumed the greatest part of the Escorial library, rich in the spoils of Grenada and Morocco.

¹⁹⁶ The *Harbiî*, as they are styled, qui tolerari nequeunt, are, 1. Those who, *besides* God, worship the sun, moon, or idols. 2. Atheists. Utrique, quamdiu princeps aliquis inter Mohammedanos superest, oppugnari debent donec religionem amplectantur, nec requies iis concedenda est, nec pretium acceptandum pro obtinendâ conscientiæ libertate (Reland, Dissertat. x. de Jure Militari Mohammedan. tom. iii. p. 14.): A rigid theory!

¹⁹⁷ The distinction between a proscribed and a tolerated sect, between

the *Harbii* and the People of the Book, the believers in some divine revelation is correctly defined in the conversation of the caliph Al Mamun with the idolaters or Sabæans of Charræ. Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* p. 107, 108.

¹⁹⁸ The Zend or Pazend, the bible of the Ghebers, is reckoned by themselves, or at least by the Mahometans, among the ten books which Abraham received from heaven; and their religion is honourably styled the religion of Abraham (d'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 701.; Hyde, *de Religione veterum Persarum*, c. iii. p. 27, 28, etc.). I much fear that we do not possess any pure and *free* description of the system of Zoroaster. Dr. Prideaux (*Connection*, vol. i. p. 300. octavo) adopts the opinion, that he had been the slave and scholar of some Jewish prophet in the captivity of Babylon. Perhaps the Persians, who have been the masters of the Jews, would assert the honour, a poor honour, of being *their* masters.

¹⁹⁹ The Arabian Nights, a faithful and amusing picture of the Oriental world, represent in the most odious colours the Magians, or worshippers of fire, to whom they attribute the annual sacrifice of a Musulman. The religion of Zoroaster has not the least affinity with that of the Hindoos, yet they are often confounded by the Mahometans; and the sword of Timour was sharpened by this mistake (*Hist. de Timour Bec*, par Cherefeddin Ali Yezdi, l. v.).

²⁰⁰ *Vie de Mahomet*, par Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 114, 115.

²⁰¹ *Hæ tres sectæ, Judæi, Christiani, et qui inter Persas Magorum institutis addicti sunt, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, populi liberi dicantur* (Reland, *Dissertat.* tom. iii. p. 15.). The caliph Al Mamun confirms this honourable distinction in favour of the three sects, with the vague and equivocal religion of the Sabæans, under which the ancient polytheists of Charræ were allowed to shelter their idolatrous worship (Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* p. 167, 168.).

²⁰² This singular story is related by d'Herbelot (*Bibliot. Orient.* p. 448, 449.) on the faith of Khondemir, and by Mirchond himself (*Hist. priorum Regum Persarum*, etc. p. 9, 10. not. p. 88, 89.)

²⁰³ Mirchond (Mohammed Emir Khoondah Shah), a native of Herat, composed in the Persian language a general history of the East, from the creation to the year of the Hegira 875 (A. D. 1471). In the year 904 (A. D. 1498) the historian obtained the command of a princely library, and his applauded work, in seven or twelve parts, was abbreviated in three volumes by his son Khondemir, A. H. 927. A. D. 1520. The two writers most accurately distinguished by Petit de la Croix (*Hist. de Genghizcan*, p. 537, 538. 544, 545.), are loosely confounded by d'Herbelot (p. 358. 410. 924, 925.): but his numerous

extracts, under the improper name of Khondemir, belong to the father rather than the son. The historian of Genghizcan refers to a MS. of Mirchond, which he received from the hands of his friend d'Herbelot himself. A curious fragment (the Taherian and Soffarian Dynasties) has been lately published in Persian and Latin (Viennæ, 1782, in 4to, cum notis Bernard de Jenish); and the editor allows us to hope for a continuation of Mirchond.

²⁰⁴ Quo testimonio boni se quidpiam præstitisse opinabantur. Yet Mirchond must have condemned their zeal, since he approved the legal toleration of the Magi, cui (the fire temple) peracto singulis annis censû, uti sacra Mohammedis lege cautum, ab omnibus molestiis ac oneribus libero esse licuit.

²⁰⁵ The last Magian of name and power appears to be Mardavige the Dilemite, who, in the beginning of the xth century, reigned in the northern provinces of Persia, near the Caspian Sea (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 355.). But his soldiers and successors, the *Bowides*, either professed or embraced the Mahometan faith; and under their dynasty (A. D. 933—1020) I should place the fall of the religion of Zoroaster.

²⁰⁶ The present state of the Ghebers in Persia, is taken from Sir John Chardin, not indeed the most learned, but the most judicious and inquisitive, of our modern travellers (Voyages en Perse, tom. ii. p. 109. 179—187. in 4to). His brethren, Pietro della Valle, Olearius, Thevenot, Tavernier, etc. whom I have fruitlessly searched, had neither eyes nor attention for this interesting people.

²⁰⁷ The letter of Abdoulrahman, governor or tyrant of Africa, to the caliph Aboul Abbas, the first of the Abbassides, is dated A. H. 132 (Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 168.).

²⁰⁸ Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 66. Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 287, 288.

²⁰⁹ Among the Epistles of the Popes, see Leo IX, epist. 3. Gregor. VII. l. i. epist. 22, 23. l. iii. epist. 19, 20, 21.; and the criticisms of Pagi (tom. iv. A. D. 1053, N° 14. A. D. 1073, N° 13.), who investigates the name and family of the Moorish prince, with whom the proudest of the Roman pontiffs so politely corresponds.

²¹⁰ Mozarabes, or Mostarabes, *adscititii*, as it is interpreted in Latin (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 39, 40. Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 18.). The Mozarabic liturgy, the ancient ritual of the church of Toledo, has been attacked by the popes, and exposed to the doubtful trials of the sword and of fire (Marian. Hist. Hispan. tom. i. l. ix. c. 18. p. 378.). It was, or rather it is, in the Latin tongue; yet in the xith century it was found necessary (A. Æ. C. 1687,

A. D. 1039) to transcribe an Arabic version of the canons of the councils of Spain (Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i. p. 547.), for the use of the bishops and clergy in the Moorish kingdoms.

²¹¹ About the middle of the xth century, the clergy of Cordova was reproached with this criminal compliance, by the intrepid envoy of the emperor Otho I. (Vit. Johan. Gorz, in *Secul. Benedict. V. N° 115. apud Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xii. p. 91.*).

²¹² Pagi, *Critica*, tom. iv. A. D. 1149, N° 8, 9. He justly observes, that when Seville, etc. were retaken by Ferdinand of Castille, no Christians, except captives, were found in the place; and that the Mozarabic churches of Africa and Spain, described by James à Vitriaco, A. D. 1218 (*Hist. Hierosol. c. 80. p. 1095. in Gest. Dei per Francos*), are copied from some older book. I shall add, that the date of the Hegira 677 (A. D. 1278) must apply to the copy, not the composition, of a treatise of jurisprudence, which states the civil rights of the Christians of Cordova (Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i. p. 471.); and that the Jews were the only dissenters whom Abul Waled, king of Grenada (A. D. 1313), could either discountenance or tolerate tom. ii. p. 288.).

²¹³ Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 288. Leo Africanus would have flattered his Roman masters, could he have discovered any latent relics of the Christianity of Africa.

²¹⁴ Abfit (said the Catholic to the Vizir of Bagdad) *ut pari loco habeas Nestorianos, quorum præter Arabas nullus alius rex est, et Græcos, quorum reges à movendo Arabibus bello non desistunt, etc.* See In the Collections of Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 94—101.), the state of the Nestorians under the caliphs. That of the Jacobites is more concisely exposed in the Preliminary Dissertation of the second volume of Assemannus.

²¹⁵ Eutych. *Annal. tom. ii. p. 384. 387, 388.* Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 205, 206. 257. 332. A taint of the Monothelite heresy might render the first of these Greek patriarchs less loyal to the emperors and less obnoxious to the Arabs.

²¹⁶ Motadhed, who reigned from A. D. 892 to 902. The Magians still held their name and rank among the religions of the empire (Assemanni, *Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 97.*).

²¹⁷ Reland explains the general restraints of the Mahometan policy and jurisprudence (*Dissertat. tom. iii. p. 16—20.*). The oppressive edicts of the caliph Motawakkel (A. D. 847—861.), which are still in force are noticed by Eutychius (*Annal. tom. ii. p. 448.*) and d'Herbelot (*Bibliot. Orient. p. 640.*). A persecution of the caliph Omar II. is related, and most probably magnified, by the Greek Theophanes *Chron. p. 334.*).

²¹⁸ The martyrs of Cordova (A. D. 850, etc.) are commemorated and justified by St. Eulogius, who at length fell a victim himself. A synod, convened by the caliph, ambiguously censured their rashness. The moderate Fleury cannot reconcile their conduct with the discipline of antiquity, *toutefois l'autorité de l'église*, etc. (Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. x. p. 415—522. particularly p. 451. 508, 509.). Their authentic acts throw a strong though transient light on the Spanish church in the ixth century.

²¹⁹ See the article *Eslamiah* (as we say Christendom), in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* (p. 325.). This chart of the Mahometan world is suited by the author, Ebn Alwardi, to the year of the Hegira 385. (A. D. 995.). Since that time, the losses in Spain have been overbalanced by the conquests in India, Tartary, and the European Turkey.

²²⁰ The Arabic of the Koran is taught as a dead language in the college of Mecca. By the Danish traveller, this ancient idiom is compared to the Latin; the vulgar tongue of Hejaz and Yemen to the Italian; and the Arabian dialects of Syria, Egypt, Africa, etc. to the Provençal, Spanish, and Portuguese (Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 74, etc.).

CHAP. LII.

¹ Theophanes places the *seven* years of the siege of Constantinople in the year of *our* Christian æra 673 (of the Alexandrian 665, Sept. 1.), and the peace of the Saracens, *four* years afterwards; a glaring inconsistency! which Petavius, Goar, and Pagi (*Critica*, tom. iv. p. 63, 64.), have struggled to remove. Of the Arabians, the Hegira 52. (A. D. 672. January 8.) is assigned by Elmacin, the year 48. (A. D. 668, Feb. 20.) by Abulfeda, whose testimony I esteem the most convenient and creditable.

² For this first siege of Constantinople, see Nicephorus (*Breviar.* p. 21, 22.); Theophanes (*Chronograph.* p. 294.); Cedrenus (*Compend.* p. 437.); Zonaras (*Hist.* tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 89.); Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 56, 57.); Abulfeda (*Annal. Moslem.* p. 107, 108. *vers.* Reiske); d'Herbelot (*Bibliot. Orient. Constantinah*); Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. ii. p. 127, 128.

³ The state and defence of the Dardannelles is exposed in the memoirs of the Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 39—97.), who was sent to fortify them against the Russians. From a principal actor, I should have expected more accurate details; but he seems to write for the amusement, rather than the instruction, of his reader. Perhaps, on the approach of the enemy, the minister of Constantine was occupied,

like that of Mustapha, in finding two Canary birds, who should sing precisely the same note.

⁴ Demetrius Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire, p. 105, 106. Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 10, 11. Voyages de Thevenot, part. i. p. 189. The Christians, who suppose that the martyr Abu Ayub is vulgarly confounded with the patriarch Job, betray their own ignorance rather than that of the Turks.

⁵ Theophanes, though a Greek, deserves credit for these tributes (Chronograph. p. 295, 296. 300, 301.), which are confirmed, with some variation, by the Arabic history of Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 128. vers. Pocock).

⁶ The censure of Theophanes is just and pointed, *την Ρωμαϊκὴν δυναστείαν ακρωτηριασας . . . πανδεινα κακα πεπονθεν ἡ Ρωμανια ὑπο των Αραβων μεχρι τῆς νυν* (Chronograph. p. 302, 303.). The series of these events may be traced in the Annals of Theophanes, and in the Abridgement of the Patriarch Nicephorus, p. 22. 24.

⁷ These domestic revolutions are related in a clear and natural style, in the second volume of Ockley's History of the Saracens, p. 253—370. Besides our printed authors, he draws his materials from the Arabic MSS. of Oxford, which he would have more deeply searched, had he been confined to the Bodleian library instead of the city jail; a fate how unworthy of the man and of his country!

⁸ Elmacin, who dates the first coinage A. H. 76, A. D. 695, five or six years later than the Greek historians, has compared the weight of the best or common gold dinar, to the drachm or dirhem of Egypt (p. 77.), which may be equal to two pennies (48 grains) of our Troy weight (Hooper's Enquiry into Ancient Measures, p. 24—36.), and equivalent to eight shillings of our sterling money. From the same Elmacin and the Arabian physicians, some dinars as high as two dirhems, as low as half a dirhem, may be deduced. The piece of silver was the dirhem, both in value and weight; but an old, though fair coin, struck at Wafet, A. H. 88, and preserved in the Bodleian library, wants four grains of the Cairo standard (see the Modern Universal History, tom. i. p. 548. of the French translation).

⁹ *Και εκωλυσε γραφεσθαι ἑλληνισι τῆς δημοσιᾶς των λογοθεσιων κωδικῆς, ἀλλ' Αραβιοις αὐτὰ παρασημαινεσθαι χωρὶς των ψηφων, ἐπειδὴ ἀδύνατον τῇ ἐκείνων γλώσσῃ μοναδα, ἢ δυαδα, ἢ τριαδα, ἢ οκτω ἢ μισυ ἢ τρια γραφεσθαι.* Theophan. Chronograph. p. 314. This defect, if it really existed, must have stimulated the ingenuity of the Arabs to invent or borrow.

¹⁰ According to a new, though probable notion, maintained by M. de Villoison

Villoison (*Anecdota Græca*, tom. ii. p. 152—157.), our cyphers are not of Indian or Arabic invention. They were used by the Greek and Latin arithmeticians long before the age of Boethius. After the extinction of science in the West, they were adopted by the Arabic versions from the original MSS. and *restored* to the Latins about the xith century.

¹¹ In the division of the *Themes*, or provinces described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Thematibus*, l. i. p. 9, 10.), the *Obsequium*, a Latin appellation of the army and palace, was the fourth in the public order. Nice was the metropolis, and its jurisdiction extended from the Hellespont over the adjacent parts of Bithynia and Phrygia (see the two maps prefixed by Delisle to the *Imperium Orientale* of Banduri).

¹² The caliph had emptied two baskets of eggs and of figs, which he swallowed alternately, and the repast was concluded with marrow and sugar. In one of his pilgrimages to Mecca, Soliman eat, at a single meal, seventy pomegranates, a kid, six fowls, and a huge quantity of the grapes of Tayef. If the bill of fare be correct, we must admire the appetite rather than the luxury of the sovereign of Asia (Abulfeda, *Annal. Moslem.* p. 126.).

¹³ See the article of Omar Ben Abdalaziz, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* (p. 689, 690.), præferens, says Elmacin (p. 91.), religionem suam rebus suis mundanis. He was so desirous of being with God, that he would not have anointed his ear (his own saying) to obtain a perfect cure of his last malady. The caliph had only one shirt, and in an age of luxury, his annual expence was no more than two drachms (Abulpharagius, p. 131.). *Haud diu gavissus eo principe fuit orbis Moslemus* (Abulfeda, p. 127.).

¹⁴ Both Nicephorus and Theophanes agree that the siege of Constantinople was raised the 15th of August (A. D. 718.); but as the former, our best witness, affirms that it continued thirteen months, the latter must be mistaken in supposing that it began on the same day of the preceding year. I do not find that Pagi has remarked this inconsistency.

¹⁵ In the second siege of Constantinople, I have followed Nicephorus (*Brev.* p. 33—36.), Theophanes (*Chronograph.* p. 324—334.), Cedrenus (*Compend.* p. 449—452.), Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 98—102.), Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 88.), Abulfeda (*Annal. Moslem.* p. 126.), and Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 130.), the most satisfactory of the Arabs,

¹⁶ Our sure and indefatigable guide in the middle ages and Byzantine history, Charles du Fresne du Cange, has treated in several places of the Greek fire, and his collections leave few gleanings behind. See particularly *Glossar. Med. et Infim. Græcitat.* p. 1275. sub voce *Πυρρολασσιον*, *ύγρον*. *Glossar. Med. et Infim. Latinitat.* *Ignis Græcus*.

Observations sur Villehardouin, p. 305, 307. Observations sur Joinville, p. 71, 72.

¹⁷ Theophanes styles him *αρχιτεχτων* (p. 295.). Cedrenus (p. 437.) brings this artist from (the ruins of) Heliopolis in Egypt; and chemistry was indeed the peculiar science of the Egyptians.

¹⁸ The naphtha, the oleum incendiarium of the history of Jerufalem (Gest. Dei per Francos, p. 1167.), the Oriental fountain of James de Vitry (l. iii. c. 84.), is introduced on slight evidence and strong probability. Cinnamus (l. vi. p. 165.) calls the Greek fire *πυρ Μηδικον*; and the naphtha is known to abound between the Tigris and the Caspian Sea. According to Pliny (Hist. Natur. ii. 109.), it was subservient to the revenge of Medea, and in either etymology the *ελαιον Μηδίας*, or *Μηδείας* (Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. iv. c. 11.), may fairly signify this liquid bitumen.

¹⁹ On the different sorts of oils and bitumens, see Dr. Watson's (the present bishop of Llandaff's) Chemical Essays, vol. iii. essay i. a classic book, the best adapted to infuse the taste and knowledge of chemistry. The less perfect ideas of the ancients may be found in Strabo (Geograph. l. xvi. p. 1078.) and Pliny (Hist. Natur. ii. 108, 109.) Huic (*Naphthæ*) magna cognatio est ignium, transfiliuntque protinus in eam undecunque visam. Of our travellers I am best pleased with Otter (tom. i. p. 153. 158.).

²⁰ Anna Comnena has partly drawn aside the curtain. *Απο της πευκης, και αλλων τινων τοιςτων δενδρων αιθαλων συναγεται δακρυον ακχυσον. Τυτο μετα θειξ τριβουμενον εμβλλεται εις αυλισκας καλαμων και εμφυσεται παρα τς παιζοντος λαβρω και συνεχει πνευματι* (Alexiad, l. xiii. p. 383.). Elsewhere (l. xi. p. 336.) she mentions the property of burning, *κατα το πρανες και εφ' εκατερα*. Leo, in the ninth chapter of his Tactics (Opera Meursii, tom. vi. p. 843. edit. Lami, Florent. 1745.), speaks of the new invention of *πυρ μετα βροντης και καπνς*. These are genuine and *Imperial* testimonies.

²¹ Constantin. Porphyrogenit. de Administrat. Imperii, c. xiii. p. 64, 65.

²² Histoire de St. Louis, p. 39. Paris, 1668, p. 44. Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1761. The former of these editions is precious for the observations of Ducange; the latter, for the pure and original text of Joinville. We must have recourse to that text to discover, that the feu Gregeois was shot with a pile or javeline, from an engine that acted like a sling.

²³ The vanity, or envy, of shaking the established property of Fame, has tempted some moderns to carry gunpowder above the ninth (see Sir William Temple, Dutens, etc.), and the Greek fire above the

viith century (see the *Saluste du Président des Broffes*, tom. ii. p. 381.), But their evidence, which precedes the vulgar æra of the invention, is seldom clear or satisfactory, and subsequent writers may be suspected of fraud or credulity. In the earliest sieges, some combustibles of oil and sulphur have been used, and the Greek fire has *some* affinities with gunpowder both in nature and effects: for the antiquity of the first, a passage of Procopius (*de Bell. Goth.* l. iv. c. 11.); for that of the second, some facts in the Arabic history of Spain (A. D. 1249. 1312. 1332. *Bibliot. Arab. Hisp.* tom. ii. p. 6, 7, 8.), are the most difficult to elude.

²⁴ That extraordinary man, Friar Bacon, reveals two of the ingredients, saltpetre and sulphur, and conceals the third in a sentence of mysterious gibberish, as if he dreaded the consequences of his own discovery (*Biographia Britannica*, vol. i. p. 430. new edition).

²⁵ For the invasion of France, and the defeat of the Arabs by Charles Martel, see the *Historia Arabum* (c. 11, 12, 13, 14.) of Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who had before him the Christian chronicle of Isidore Pacensis, and the Mahometan history of Novairi. The Moslems are silent or concise in the account of their losses, but M. Cardonne (tom. i. p. 129, 130, 131.) has given a *pure* and simple account of all that he could collect from Ibn Halikan, Hidjaci, and an anonymous writer. The texts of the chronicles of France, and lives of saints, are inserted in the collection of Bouquet (tom. iii.) and the *Annals of Pagi*, who (tom. iii. under the proper years) has restored the chronology, which is anticipated six years in the *Annals of Baronius*. The *Dictionary of Bayle* (*Abderame* and *Munuza*) has more merit for lively reflection than original research.

²⁶ Eginhart, *de Vitâ Caroli Magni*, c. ii. p. 13—18. edit. Schmink, Utrecht, 1711. Some modern critics accuse the minister of Charlemagne of exaggerating the weakness of the Merovingians: but the general outline is just, and the French reader will for ever repeat the beautiful lines of Boileau's *Lutrin*.

²⁷ *Mamaccæ* on the Oyse, between Compiègne and Noyon, which Eginhart calls *perparvi redivs villam* (see the notes, and the map of ancient France for Dom. Bouquet's Collection): *Compendium*, or Compiègne was a palace of more dignity (*Hadrian Valesii Notitia Galliarum*, p. 152.), and that laughing philosopher, the Abbé Galiani (*Dialogues sur le Commerce des Bleds*), may truly affirm, that it was the residence of the *rois Très-Chrétiens et très-chevelus*.

²⁸ Even before that colony, A. U. C. 630. (*Velleius Patercul.* i. 15.), in the time of Polybius (*Hist.* l. iii. p. 265. edit. Gronov.), Narbonne was a Celtic town of the first eminence, and one of the most northern

places of the known world (d'Anville, *Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule*, p. 473.).

²⁹ With regard to the sanctuary of St. Martin of Tours, Roderic Ximenes accuses the Saracens of the *deed*. *Turonis civitatem, ecclesiam et palatia vastatione et incendio simili diruit et consumpsit*. The continuator of Fredegarius imputes to them no more than the *intention*. *Ad domum beatissimi Martini evertendam destinant*. At Carolus, etc. The French annalist was more jealous of the honour of the saint.

³⁰ Yet I sincerely doubt whether the Oxford mosch would have produced a volume of controversy so elegant and ingenious as the sermons lately preached by Mr. White, the Arabic professor, at Mr. Bampton's lecture. His observations on the character and religion of Mahomet, are always adapted to his argument, and generally founded in truth and reason. He sustains the part of a lively and eloquent advocate; and sometimes rises to the merit of an historian and philosopher.

³¹ *Gens Austriæ membrorum præ-eminentiâ valida, et gens Germana corde et corpore præstantissima, quasi in ictû oculi manû ferreâ et pectore arduo Arabes extinxerunt* (Roderic. Toletan. c. xiv.).

³² These numbers are stated by Paul Warnefrid, the deacon of Aquileia (de *Gestis Langobard.* l. vi. p. 921. edit. Grot.), and Anastasius, the librarian of the Roman church (in *Vit. Gregorii II.*), who tells a miraculous story of three consecrated sponges, which rendered invulnerable the French soldiers among whom they had been shared. It should seem, that in his letters to the pope, Eudes usurped the honour of the victory, for which he is chastised by the French annalists, who, with equal falsehood, accuse him of inviting the Saracens.

³³ Narbonne, and the rest of Septimania, was recovered by Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, A. D. 755. (Pagi, *Critica*, tom. iii. p. 300.). Thirty-seven years afterwards it was pillaged by a sudden inroad of the Arabs, who employed the captives in the construction of the mosch of Cordova (de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 354.).

³⁴ This pastoral letter, addressed to Lewis the Germanic, the grandson of Charlemagne, and most probably composed by the pen of the artful Hincmar, is dated in the year 858, and signed by the bishops of the provinces of Rheims and Rouen (Baronius, *Annal. Eccles. A. D. 741. Fleury*, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. x. p. 514—516.). Yet Baronius himself, and the French critics, reject with contempt this episcopal fiction.

³⁵ The steed and the saddle which had carried any of his wives, were instantly killed or burnt, lest they should be afterwards mounted by a male. Twelve hundred mules, or camels, were required for his kitchen furniture; and the daily consumption amounted to three thousand cakes, an hundred sheep, besides oxen, poultry, etc. (Abulpharagius, *Hist. Dynast.* p. 140.).

³⁶ *Al Hemar*. He had been governor of Mesopotamia, and the Arabic proverb praises the courage of that warlike breed of asses who never fly from an enemy. The surname of Mervan may justify the comparison of Homer (*Iliad*. Δ. 557, etc.), and both will silence the moderns, who consider the ass a stupid and ignoble emblem (d'Herbelot. *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 558.).

³⁷ Four several places, all in Egypt, bore the name of Busr, or Busris, so famous in Greek fable. The first where Mervan was slain, was to the west of the Nile, in the province of Fium, or Arsinoë; the second in the Delta, in the Sebennytic nome; the third, near the pyramids; the fourth, which was destroyed by Diocletian (see above, vol. i. p. 439.), in the Thebais. I shall here transcribe a note of the learned and orthodox Michaelis: *Videntur in pluribus Ægypti superioris urbibus Busris Coptoque arma sumpsisse Christiani, libertatemque de religione sentiendi defendisse, sed succubuisse quo in bello Coptus et Busris diruta, et circa Elnam magna strages edita. Bellum narrant sed causam belli ignorant scriptores Byzantini, alioqui Coptum et Busrim non rebellasse dicturi, sed causam Christianorum suscepturi* (Not. 211. p. 100.). For the geography of the four Busris, see Abulfeda (*Descript. Ægypt.* p. 9. vers. Michaelis. Gottingæ, 1776, in 4to), Michaelis (Not. 122—127. p. 58—63.), and d'Anville (*Mémoire sur l'Égypte*, p. 85. 147. 205.).

³⁸ See Abulfeda (*Annal. Moslem.* p. 136—145.), Eutychius (*Annal.* tom. ii. p. 392. vers. Pocock), Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 109—121.), Abulpharagius (*Hist. Dynast.* p. 134—140.), Roderic of Toledo (*Hist. Arabum*, c. 18. p. 33.), Theophanes (*Chronograph.* p. 356, 357. who speaks of the Abbassides under the names of *Χωρασανιται* and *Μαυροθρονοι*), and the Bibliothèque of d'Herbelot, in the articles of *Ommiades*, *Abassides*, *Mervan*, *Ibrahim*, *Saffah*, *Abou Moslem*.

³⁹ For the revolution of Spain, consult Roderic of Toledo (c. xviii. p. 34, etc.), the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana (tom. ii. p. 30. 198.), and Cardonne (*Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, tom. i. p. 180—197. 205. 272. 323, etc.).

⁴⁰ I shall not stop to refute the strange errors and fancies of Sir William Temple (his works, vol. iii. p. 371—374. octavo edition) and Voltaire (*Hist. Générale*, c. xxviii. tom. ii. p. 124, 125. édition de Lausanne), concerning the division of the Saracen empire. The mistakes of Voltaire proceeded from the want of knowledge or reflection; but Sir William was deceived by a Spanish impostor, who has framed an apocryphal history of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs.

⁴¹ The geographer d'Anville (*l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 121—123.),

and the Orientalist d'Herbelot (Bibliothèque, p. 167, 168), may suffice for the knowledge of Bagdad. Our travellers, Pietro della Valle (tom. i. p. 688—698.), Tavernier (tom. i. p. 230—238.), Thevenot (part. ii. p. 209—212.), Otter (tom. i. p. 162—168.), and Niebuhr (Voyage en Arabie, tom. ii. p. 239—271.), have seen only its decay; and the Nubian geographer (p. 204.) and the travelling Jew, Benjamin of Tudela (Itinerarium, p. 112—123. à Const. l'Empereur, apud Elzevir, 1633), are the only writers of my acquaintance, who have known Bagdad under the reign of the Abbassides.

⁴² The foundations of Bagdad were laid A. H. 145, A. D. 762. Mostafem, the last of the Abbassides, was taken and put to death by the Tartars, A. H. 656, A. D. 1258, the 20th of February.

⁴³ Medinat al Salem, Dar al Salam. Urbs pacis, or as it is more neatly compounded by the Byzantine writers, Εἰρηνοπολις (Irenopolis). There is some dispute concerning the etymology of Bagdad, but the first syllable is allowed to signify a garden in the Persian tongue; the garden of Dad, a Christian hermit, whose cell had been the only habitation on the spot.

⁴⁴ Reliquit in ærario sexcenties millies mille stateres, et quater et vicies millies mille aureos aureos. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 126. I have reckoned the gold pieces at eight shillings, and the proportion to the silver as twelve to one. But I will never answer for the numbers of Erpenius; and the Latins are scarcely above the savages in the language of arithmetic.

⁴⁵ D'Herbelot, p. 530. Abulfeda, p. 154. Nivem Meccam apportavit, rem ibi aut nunquam aut rarissime visam.

⁴⁶ Abulfeda, p. 184. 189. describes the splendour and liberality of Almamon. Milton has alluded to this Oriental custom:

—Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
Showers on her kings Barbaric pearls and gold.

I have used the modern word *lottery*, to express the *Missilia* of the Roman emperors, which entitled to some prize the person who caught them, as they were thrown among the crowd.

⁴⁷ When Bell of Antermomy (Travels, vol. i. p. 29.) accompanied the Russian ambassador to the audience of the unfortunate Shah Hussein of Persia, two lions were introduced, to denote the power of the king over the fiercest animals.

⁴⁸ Abulfeda, p. 237. d'Herbelot, p. 590. This embassy was received at Bagdad A. H. 305, A. D. 917. In the passage of Abulfeda, I have used, with some variations, the English translation of the learned and amiable M Harris of Salisbury (Philological Enquiries, p. 363, 364.).

⁴⁹ Cardonne, Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 330—

336. A just idea of the taste and architecture of the Arabians of Spain, may be conceived from the description and plates of the Alhambra of Grenada (Swinburne's Travels, p. 171—188.).

⁵⁰ Cardonne, tom. i. p. 329, 330. This confession, the complaints of Solomon of the vanity of this world (read Prior's verbose but eloquent poem), and the happy ten days of the emperor Seghed (Rambler, N° 204, 205.), will be triumphantly quoted by the detractors of human life. Their expectations are commonly immoderate, their estimates are seldom impartial. If I may speak of myself (the only person of whom I can speak with certainty), my happy hours have far exceeded, and far exceed, the scanty numbers of the caliph of Spain; and I shall not scruple to add, that many of them are due to the pleasing labour of the present composition.

⁵¹ The Gulistan (p. 239.) relates the conversation of Mahomet and a physician (Epistol. Renaudot. in Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. i. p. 814.). The prophet himself was skilled in the art of medicine; and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 394—405.) has given an extract of the aphorisms which are extant under his name.

⁵² See their curious architecture in Reaumur (Hist. des Insectes, tom. v. Mémoire viii.). These hexagons are closed by a pyramid; the angles of the three sides of a similar pyramid, such as would accomplish the given end with the smallest quantity possible of materials, were determined by a mathematician, at 109 degrees 26 minutes for the larger, 70 degrees 34 minutes for the smaller. The actual measure is 109 degrees 28 minutes, 70 degrees 32 minutes. Yet this perfect harmony raises the work at the expence of the artist: the bees are not masters of transcendant geometry.

⁵³ Saed Ebn Ahmed, cadhi of Toledo, who died A. H. 462, A. D. 1069, has furnished Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 160.) with this curious passage, as well as with the text of Pocock's Specimen Historiæ Arabum. A number of literary anecdotes of philosophers, physicians, etc. who have flourished under each caliph, form the principal merit of the Dynasties of Abulpharagius.

⁵⁴ These literary anecdotes are borrowed from the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana (tom. ii. p. 38. 71. 201, 202.), Leo Africanus (de Arab. Medicis et Philosophis, in Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 259—298. particularly p. 274.), and Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 274, 275. 536, 537.), besides the chronological remarks of Abulpharagius.

⁵⁵ The Arabic catalogue of the Escorial will give a just idea of the proportion of the classes. In the library of Cairo, the MSS. of astronomy and medicine amounted to 6500, with two fair globes, the one of brass, the other of silver (Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i. p. 417.).

⁵⁶ As for instance, the fifth, sixth, and seventh books (the eighth is still wanting) of the Conic Sections of Apollonius Pergæus, which were printed from the Florence MS. 1661. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 559.). Yet the fifth book had been previously restored by the mathematical divination of Viviani (see his eloge in Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 59, etc.).

⁵⁷ The merit of these Arabic versions is freely discussed by Renaudot (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. i. p. 812—816.), and piously defended by Casiri (Bibliot. Arab. Hispana, tom. i. p. 238—240). Most of the versions of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, etc. are ascribed to Honain, a physician of the Nestorian sect, who flourished at Bagdad in the court of the caliphs, and died A. D. 876. He was at the head of a school or manufacture of translations, and the works of his sons and disciples were published under his name. See Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 88. 115. 171—174. and apud Affman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 438.), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 456.), Affman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 164.), and Casiri (Bibliot. Arab. Hispana, tom. i. p. 238, etc. 251. 286—290. 302. 304, etc.).

⁵⁸ See Mosheim, Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 181. 214. 236. 257. 315. 338. 396. 438, etc.

⁵⁹ The most elegant commentary on the Categories or Predicaments of Aristotle, may be found in the Philosophical Arrangements of Mr. James Harris (London, 1775, in octavo), who laboured to revive the studies of Grecian literature and philosophy.

⁶⁰ Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 81. 222. Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i. p. 370, 371. In quem (says the primate of the Jacobites) si immiserit se lector, oceanum hoc in genere (*algebræ*) inveniet. The time of Diophantus of Alexandria is unknown, but his six books are still extant, and have been illustrated by the Greek Planudes and the Frenchman Meziriac (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. iv. p. 12—15.).

⁶¹ Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 210, 211. vers. Reiske) describes this operation according to Ibn Challecan, and the best historians. This degree most accurately contains 200,000 royal or Hashemite cubits, which Arabia had derived from the sacred and legal practice both of Palestine and Egypt. This ancient cubit is repeated 400 times in each basis of the great pyramid, and seems to indicate the primitive and universal measures of the East. See the Métrologie of the laborious M. Paucton, p. 101—195.

⁶² See the Astronomical Tables of Ulugh Begh, with the preface of Dr. Hyde, in the 1st volume of his Syntagma Dissertationum, Oxon. 1767.

⁶³ The truth of astrology was allowed by Albumazar, and the best of the Arabian astronomers, who drew their most certain predictions,

not from Venus and Mercury, but from Jupiter and the sun (Abulpharag. Dynast. p. 161—163.). For the state and science of the Persian astronomers, see Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. iii. p. 162—203.).

⁶⁴ Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. i. p. 438. The original relates a pleasant tale, of an ignorant but harmless practitioner.

⁶⁵ In the year 956, Sancho the fat, king of Leon, was cured by the physicians of Cordova (Mariana, l. viii. c. 7. tom. i. p. 318.).

⁶⁶ The school of Salerno, and the introduction of the Arabian sciences into Italy, are discussed with learning and judgment by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 932—940.) and Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 119—127.).

⁶⁷ See a good view of the progress of anatomy in Wotton (Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, p. 208—256.). His reputation has been unworthily depreciated by the wits in the controversy of Boyle and Bentley.

⁶⁸ Bibliot. Arab. Hispanica, tom. i. p. 275. Al Beithar of Malaga, their greatest botanist, had travelled into Africa, Persia, and India.

⁶⁹ Dr. Watson (Elements of Chemistry, vol. i. p. 17, etc.) allows the *original* merit of the Arabians. Yet he quotes the modest confession of the famous Geber of the ixth century (d'Herbelot, p. 387.), that he had drawn most of his science, perhaps of the transmutation of metals, from the ancient sages. Whatever might be the origin or extent of their knowledge, the arts of chemistry and alchymy appear to have been known in Egypt at least three hundred years before Mahomet (Wotton's Reflections, p. 121—133. Pauw, Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, tom. i. p. 376—429.).

⁷⁰ Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 26. 148.) mentions a *Syriac* version of Homer's two poems, by Theophilus, a Christian Maronite of mount Libanus, who professed astronomy at Roha or Edeffa towards the end of the viiith century. His work would be a literary curiosity. I have read somewhere, but I do not believe, that Plutarch's Lives were translated into Turkish for the use of Mahomet the second.

⁷¹ I have perused, with much pleasure, Sir William Jones's Latin Commentary on Asiatic poetry (London, 1774, in octavo), which was composed in the youth of that wonderful linguist. At present, in the maturity of his taste and judgment, he would perhaps abate of the fervent, and even partial, praise which he has bestowed on the Orientals.

⁷² Among the Arabian philosophers, Averroes has been accused of despising the religions of the Jews, the Christians, and the Mahometans (see his article in Bayle's Dictionary). Each of these sects would agree, that in two instances out of three, his contempt was reasonable.

⁷³ D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 546.

⁷⁴ Θεοφίλος ατοπον κρινας, ει την των οντων γνωσιν, δι ην το Ρωμαιων γενος θαυμαζεται, εκδοτον ποιησει τοις εθνεσι, etc. Cedrenus, p. 548. who relates how manfully the emperor refused a mathematician to the instances and offers of the caliph Almamon. This absurd scruple is expressed almost in the same words, by the continuator of Theophanes (Scriptores post Theophanem, p. 118.).

⁷⁵ See the reign and character of Harun al Rashid, in the Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 431—433, under his proper title; and in the relative articles to which M. d'Herbelot refers. That learned collector has shewn much taste in stripping the Oriental chronicles of their instructive and amusing anecdotes.

⁷⁶ For the situation of Racca, the old Nicephorium, consult d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 24—27.). The Arabian Nights represent Harun al Rashid as almost stationary in Bagdad. He respected the royal seat of the Abbassides, but the vices of the inhabitants had driven him from the city (Abulfed. Annal. p. 167.).

⁷⁷ M. de Tournefort, in his coasting voyage from Constantinople to Trebizond, passed a night at Heraclea or Eregri. His eye surveyed the present state, his reading collected the antiquities, of the city (Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xvi. p. 23—35.). We have a separate history of Heraclea in the fragments of Memnon, which are preserved by Photius.

⁷⁸ The wars of Harun al Rashid against the Roman empire, are related by Theophanes (p. 384, 385. 391. 396. 407, 408.), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xv. p. 115. 124.), Cedrenus (p. 477, 478.), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 407.), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 136. 151. 152.), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 147. 151.), and Abulfeda (p. 156. 166—168.)

⁷⁹ The authors from whom I have learned the most of the ancient and modern state of Crete, are Belon (Observations, etc. c. 3—20. Paris, 1555.), Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. i. lettre ii. et iii.), and Meursius (Creta, in his works, tom. iii. p. 343—544.). Although Crete is styled by Homer Πειρα, by Dionysius λιπαρη τε και ευβοτος, I cannot conceive that mountainous island to surpass, or even to equal, in fertility the greater part of Spain.

⁸⁰ The most authentic and circumstantial intelligence is obtained from the four books of the Continuation of Theophanes, compiled by the pen or the command of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with the Life of his father Basil the Macedonian (Scriptores post Theophanem, p. 1—162. à Francisc. Combefis, Paris, 1685.). The loss of Crete and Sicily is related, l. ii. p. 46—52. To these we may add the secondary

evidence of Joseph Genesius (l. ii. p. 21. Venet. 1733.), George Cedrenus (Compend. p. 506—508.), and John Scylitzes Curopalata (apud Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 827. N° 24, etc.). But the modern Greeks are such notorious plagiarists, that I should only quote a plurality of names.

⁸¹ Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 251—256. 268—270.) has described the ravages of the Andalusian Arabs in Egypt, but has forgot to connect them with the conquest of Crete.

⁸² Δηλοι (says the continuator of Theophanes, l. ii. p. 51.) δε ταυτα σαφιστα και πλατικωτερον η τοτε γραφεται Θεογνωστω και εις χειρας ελθουσα ημων. This history of the loss of Sicily is no longer extant. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vii. p. 7. 19. 21, etc.) has added some circumstances from the Italian chronicles.

⁸³ The splendid and interesting tragedy of *Tancrede* would adapt itself much better to this epoch, than to the date (A. D. 1005.) which Voltaire himself has chosen. But I must gently reproach the poet, for infusing into the Greek subjects the spirit of modern knights and ancient republicans.

⁸⁴ The narrative or lamentation of Theodosius, is transcribed and illustrated by Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 719, etc.). Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Basil. c. 69, 70. p. 190—192.) mentions the loss of Syracuse and the triumph of the demons.

⁸⁵ The extracts from the Arabic histories of Sicily are given in Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 271—273.), and in the first volume of Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*. M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 363, 364.) has added some important facts.

⁸⁶ One of the most eminent Romans (Gratianus, magister militum et Romani palatii superista) was accused of declaring, quia Franci nihil nobis boni faciunt, neque adjutorium præbent, sed magis quæ nostra sunt violenter tollunt. Quare non advocamus Græcos, et cum eis foedus pacis componentes, Francorum regem et gentem de nostro regno et dominatione expellimus? Anastasius in Leone IV. p. 199.

⁸⁷ Voltaire (Hist. Générale, tom. ii. c. 38. p. 124.) appears to be remarkably struck with the character of pope Leo IV. I have borrowed his general expression, but the sight of the forum has furnished me with a more distinct and lively image.

⁸⁸ De Guignes, Hist. Générale des Huns, tom. i. p. 363, 364. Car-donne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. p. 24, 25. I observe, and cannot reconcile, the difference of these writers in the succession of the Aglabites.

⁸⁹ Beretti (Chorographia Italiae Medii Ævi, p. 106, 108.) has illustrated

Centumcellæ, Leopolis, Civitas Leonina, and the other places of the Roman dutchy.

⁹⁰ The Arabs and the Greeks are alike silent concerning the invasion of Rome by the Africans. The Latin chronicles do not afford much instruction (see the Annals of Baronius and Pagi). Our authentic and contemporary guide for the popes of the ixth century, is Anastasius, librarian of the Roman church. His Life of Leo IV. contains twenty-four pages (p. 175—199. edit. Paris); and if a great part consists of superstitious trifles, we must blame or commend his hero, who was much oftener in a church than in a camp.

⁹¹ The same number was applied to the following circumstance in the life of Motassem: he was the *eighth* of the Abbassides; he reigned *eight* years, *eight* months, and *eight* days; left *eight* sons, *eight* daughters, *eight* thousand slaves, *eight* millions of gold.

⁹² Amorium is seldom mentioned by the old geographers, and totally forgotten in the Roman Itineraries. After the vith century, it became an episcopal see, and at length the metropolis of the new Galatia (Carol. Scto Paulo, Geograph. Sacra, p. 234.). The city rose again from its ruins, if we should read *Ammuria*, not *Anguria*, in the text of the Nubian geographer (p. 236.).

⁹³ In the East he was styled Δυσυχης (Continuator Theophan. l. iii. p. 84.); but such was the ignorance of the West, that his ambassadors, in public discourse, might boldly narrate, de victoriis, quas adversus exterarum bellando gentes cœlitus fuerat affectus. (Annalist Bertinian, apud Pagi, tom. iii. p. 720.).

⁹⁴ Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 167, 168.) relates one of these singular transactions on the bridge of the river Lamus in Cilicia, the limit of the two empires, and one day's journey westward of Tarsus (d'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 91.). Four thousand four hundred and sixty Moslems, eight hundred women and children, one hundred confederates, were exchanged for an equal number of Greeks. They passed each other in the middle of the bridge, and when they reached their respective friends, they shouted *Allah Acbar*, and *Kyrie Eleison*. Many of the prisoners of Amorium were probably among them, but in the same year (A. H. 231.), the most illustrious of them, the forty-two martyrs, were beheaded by the caliph's order.

⁹⁵ Constantin. Porphyrogenitus, in Vit. Basil. c. 61. p. 186. These Saracens were indeed treated with peculiar severity as pirates and renegadoes.

⁹⁶ For Theophilus Motassem, and the Amorian war, see the Continuator of Theophanes (l. iii. p. 77—84.), Genesius (l. iii. p. 24—

34.), Cedrenus (p. 528—532.), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 180.), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 165, 166.), Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem, p. 191.), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 639—640.).

⁹⁷ M. de Guignes, who sometimes leaps, and sometimes stumbles, in the gulph between Chinese and Mahometan story, thinks he can see, that these Turks are the *Hoei-ke*, alias the *Kao tche*, or *high waggon*s; that they were divided into fifteen hords, from China and Siberia to the dominions of the caliphs and Samanides, etc. (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 1—33. 124—131.).

⁹⁸ He changed the old name of Sumere, or Samara, into the fanciful title of *Ser-mên-rai*, that which gives pleasure at first sight (d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 808. d'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 97, 98.).

⁹⁹ Take a specimen, the death of the caliph Motaz, correptum pedibus pertrahunt, et sudibus probe permulcant, et spoliatum laceris vestibus in sole collocant, præ cuius acerrimo æstû pedes alternos attollebat et demittebat. Adstantium aliquis misero colaphos continuo ingerebat, quos ille objectis manibus avertere studebat. . . . Quo facto traditus tortori fuit totoque triduo cibo potûque prohibitus. . . . Suffocatus, etc. (Abulfeda, p. 206.). Of the caliph Mohtadi, he says, cervices ipsi perpetuis ictibus contundebant, testiculosque pedibus conculcabant (p. 208.).

¹⁰⁰ See under the reigns of Motasssem, Motawakkel, Mostanser, Mostain, Motaz, Mohtadi, and Motamed, in the Bibliothèque of d'Herbelot, and the now familiar Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda.

¹⁰¹ For the sect of the Carmathians, consult Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 219. 224. 229. 231. 238. 241. 243.), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 179—182.), Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 218, 219, etc. 245. 265. 274.), and d'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 256—258. 635.). I find some inconsistencies of theology and chronology, which it would not be easy nor of much importance to reconcile.

¹⁰² Hyde, Syntagma Dissertat. tom. ii. p. 57. in Hist. Shahiludii.

¹⁰³ The dynasties of the Arabian empire may be studied in the Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, under the *proper* years, in the dictionary of d'Herbelot, under the *proper* names. The tables of M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i.) exhibit, a general chronology of the East, interspersed with some historical anecdotes; but his attachment to national blood has sometimes confounded the order of time and place.

¹⁰⁴ The Aglabites and Edrisites are the professed subject of M. de

Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. p. 1—63.).

¹⁰⁵ To escape the reproach of error, I must criticise the inaccuracies of M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 359.) concerning the Edrisites. 1. The dynasty and city of Fez could not be founded in the year of the Hegira 173, since the founder was a *posthumous* child of a descendant of Ali, who fled from Mecca in the year 168. 2. This founder, Edris the son of Edris, instead of living to the improbable age of 120 years. A. H. 313, died A. H. 214, in the prime of manhood. 3. The dynasty ended A. H. 307, twenty-three years sooner than it is fixed by the historian of the Huns. See the accurate Annals of Abulfeda, p. 158, 159. 185. 238.

¹⁰⁶ The dynasties of the Taherites and Soffarides, with the rise of that of the Samanides, are described in the original history and Latin version of Mirchond: yet the most interesting facts had already been drained by the diligence of M. d'Herbelot.

¹⁰⁷ M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 124—154.) has exhausted the Toulonides and Ikshidites of Egypt, and thrown some light on the Carmathians and Hamadanites.

¹⁰⁸ Hic est ultimus chalifah qui multum atque sapius pro concione peroravit. . . . Fuit etiam ultimus qui otium cum eruditis et facetis hominibus fallere hilariterque agere soleret. Ultimus tandem chalifarum cui sumtus, stipendia, reditus, et thesauri, culinæ, cæteraque omnis aulica pompa priorum chalifarum ad instar comparata fuerint. Videbimus enim paulo post quam indignis et servilibus ludibriis exagitati, quam ad humilem fortunam ultimumque contemptum abjecti fuerint hi quondam potentissimi totius terrarum Orientalium orbis domini. Abulfed. Annal. Moslem. p. 261. I have given this passage as the manner and tone of Abulfeda, but the cast of Latin eloquence belongs more properly to Reiske. The Arabian historian (p. 255. 257. 261—269. 283, etc.) has supplied me with the most interesting facts of this paragraph.

¹⁰⁹ Their master, on a similar occasion, shewed himself of a more indulgent and tolerating spirit. Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the head of one of the four orthodox sects, was born at Bagdad A. H. 144, and died there A. H. 241. He fought and suffered in the dispute concerning the creation of the Koran.

¹¹⁰ The office of vizir was superseded by the emir al Omra, Imperator Imperatorum, a title first instituted by Rahdi, and which emerged at length in the Bowides and Seljukides: vectigalibus et tributis et curiis per omnes regiones præfecit, jussitque in omnibus suggestis no-

minis ejus in concionibus mentionem fieri (Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 199.). It is likewise mentioned by Elmacin (p. 254, 255.).

¹¹¹ Liutprand, whose choleric temper was embittered by his uneasy situation, suggests the names of reproach and contempt more applicable to Nicephorus than the vain titles of the Greeks, *Ecce venit stella matutina, surgit Eous, reverberat obtutū solis radios, pallida Saracenorum mors, Nicephorus μεδων.*

¹¹² Notwithstanding the insinuation of Zonaras, *καὶ ἐν μὴ*, etc. (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 197.), it is an undoubted fact, that Crete was completely and finally subdued by Nicephorus Phocas (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 873—875. Meursius, Creta, l. iii. c. 7. tom. iii. p. 464. 465.).

¹¹³ A Greek life of St. Nicon the Armenian was found in the Sforza library, and translated into Latin by the Jesuit Sirmond for the use of cardinal Baronius. This contemporary legend casts a ray of light on Crete and Peloponnesus in the xth century. He found the newly recovered island, *foedis detestandæ Agarenorum superstitionis vestigiis adhuc plenam ac refertam* but the victorious missionary, perhaps with some carnal aid, *ad baptismum omnes veræque fidei disciplinam pepulit. Ecclesiis per totam insulam ædificatis, etc.* (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 961.).

¹¹⁴ Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 278, 279. Liutprand was disposed to depreciate the Greek power, yet he owns that Nicephorus led against Assyria an army of eighty thousand men.

¹¹⁵ Ducenta fere millia hominum numerabat urbs (Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 231.) of Mopsuestia, or Masifa, Mampsysta, Mansista, Mamista, as it is corruptly, or perhaps more correctly, styled in the middle ages (Wesseling, Itinerar. p. 580.). Yet I cannot credit this extreme populousness a few years after the testimony of the emperor Leo, *ὁ γὰρ πολυπληθὴς στρατὸς τοῖς Κιλιξί βαρβαροῖς ἐστὶν* (Tactica, c. xviii. in Meursii Oper. tom. vi. p. 817.).

¹¹⁶ The text of Leo the deacon, in the corrupt names of Emeta and Myctarsim, reveals the cities of Amida and Martyropolis (Miafarkin. See Abulfeda Geograph. p. 245. vers. Reiske). Of the former, Leo observes, *urbs munita et illustris*; of the latter, *clara atque conspicua opibusque et pecore, reliquis ejus provinciæ urbibus atque oppidis longe præstans.*

¹¹⁷ *Ut et Ecbatana pergeret Agarenorumque regiam everteret aiunt enim urbium quæ usquam sunt ac toto orbe existunt felicissimam esse auroque ditissimam* (Leo Diacon. apud Pagium, tom. iv. p. 34.). This splendid description suits only with Bagdad, and cannot possibly apply either to Hamadan, the true Echatana (d'Anville, Géographie

Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 237.), or Tauris, which has been commonly mistaken for that city. The name of Ectabana, in the same indefinite sense, is transferred by a more classic authority (Cicero pro Lege Maniliâ, c. 4.) to the royal seat of Mithridates king of Pontus.

¹¹⁸ See the Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, from A. H. 351, to A. H. 361; and the reigns of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces, in the Chronicles of Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 199—l. xvii. 215.) and Cedrenus (Compend. p. 649—684.). Their manifold defects are partly supplied by the MS. history of Leo the deacon, which Pagi obtained from the Benedictines, and has inserted almost entire, in a Latin version (Critica, tom. iii. p. 873. tom. iv. p. 37.).

NOTES

TO THE

TENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LIII.

¹ The epithet of Πορφυρογεννῆτος, Porphyrogenitus, born in the purple, is elegantly defined by Claudian:

Ardua privatos nescit fortuna Penates;

Et regnum cum luce dedit. Cognata potestas

Excepit Tyrio venerabile pignus in ostro.

And Ducange, in his Greek and Latin Glossaries, produces many passages expressive of the same idea.

² A splendid MS. of Constantine, de Cæremoniis Aulæ et Ecclesiæ Byzantinæ, wandered from Constantinople to Buda, Frankfort and Leipzig, where it was published in a splendid edition by Leich and Reiske (A. D. 1751, in folio), with such lavish praise as editors never fail to bestow on the worthy or worthless object of their toil.

³ See, in the first volume of Banduri's Imperium Orientale, Constantinus de Thematibus, p. 1—24. de Administrando Imperio, p. 45—127. edit. Venet. The text of the old edition of Meursius is corrected from a MS. of the royal library of Paris, which Isaac Casaubon had formerly seen (Epist. ad Polybium, p. 10.), and the sense is illustrated by two maps of William Delisle, the prince of geographers, till the appearance of the greater d'Anville.

⁴ The Tactics of Leo and Constantine are published with the aid of some new MSS. in the great edition of the works of Meursius, by the learned John Lami (tom. vi. p. 531—920. 1211—1417. Florent. 1745), yet the text is still corrupt and mutilated, the version is still obscure and faulty. The imperial library of Vienna would afford some valuable materials to a new editor (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 369, 370.).

⁵ On the subject of the *Basilics*, Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii. p. 425—514.), and Heineccius (Hist. Juris Romani, p. 396—399.), and Giannone (Istoria civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 450—458.) as historical civilians may be usefully consulted. XLI books of this Greek code have been published, with a Latin version, by Charles Annibal

Fabrottus (Paris, 1647), in seven tomes in folio; IV other books have been since discovered, and are inserted in Gerard Meerman's *Novus Thesaurus Juris Civ. et Canon.* tom. v. Of the whole work, the sixty books, John Leunclavius has printed (Basil, 1575) an *eclogue*, or synopsis. The CXIII novels, or new laws, of Leo, may be found in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

⁶ I have used the last and best edition of the *Geoponics* (by Nicolas Niclas, Lipsiæ, 1781, 2 vols. in octavo). I read in the preface, that the same emperor restored the long-forgotten systems of rhetoric and philosophy: and his two books of *Hippiatrica*, or Horse-physic, were published at Paris, 1530, in folio (Fabric. *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 493—500.).

⁷ Of these LIII books, or titles, only two have been preserved and printed, *de Legationibus* (by Fulvius Ursinus, Antwerp, 1582, and Daniel Hæschelius, August. Vindel. 1603), and *de Virtutibus et Vitiis* (by Henry Valefius or de Valois, Paris, 1634).

⁸ The life and writings of Simeon Metaphrastes are described by Hankius (*de Scriptoribus Byzant.* p. 418—460.). This biographer of the saints indulged himself in a loose paraphrase of the sense or nonsense of more ancient acts. His Greek rhetoric is again paraphrased in the Latin version of Surius, and scarcely a thread can be now visible of the original texture.

⁹ According to the first book of the *Cyropædia*, professors of tactics, a small part of the science of war, were already instituted in Persia, by which Greece must be understood. A good edition of all the *Scriptores Tactici* would be a task not unworthy of a Scholar. His industry might discover some new MSS. and his learning might illustrate the military history of the ancients. But this scholar should be likewise a soldier; and, alas! Quintus Icilius is no more.

¹⁰ After observing that the demerit of the Cappadocians rose in proportion to their rank and riches, he inserts a more pointed epigram, which is ascribed to Demodocus:

Καππαδοκην ποτ' ἐχιδνα κακη δακνεν, αλλα και αυτη
Κατθανε, γευσαμενη αιματος ιοβολς.

The sting is precisely the same with the French epigram against Freron: Un serpent mordit Jean Freron—Eh bien? Le serpent en mourut. But as the Paris wits are seldom read in the *Anthology*, I should be curious to learn through what channel it was conveyed for their imitation (*Constantin. Porphyrogen. de Themat.* c. ii. Brunk. *Analect.* Græc. tom. ii. p. 56. Brodæi *Anthologia*, l. ii. p. 244.).

¹¹ The *Legatio Liutprandi Episcopi Cremonensis ad Nicephorum*

Phocam, is inserted in Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. ii. pars i.

¹² See *Constantine de Thematibus*, in Banduri, tom. i. p. 1—30. who owns, that the word is *παλαια*. *Θεμα* is used by Maurice (*Stratagem.* l. ii. c. 2.) for a legion, from whence the name was easily transferred to its post or province (Ducange, *Gloss. Græc.* tom. i. p. 487, 488.). Some etymologies are attempted for the Opfician, Optimatian, Thracian, themes.

¹³ *Αγιος πελαγος*, as it is styled by the modern Greeks, from which the corrupt names of Archipelago, l'Archipel, and the Arches, have been transformed by geographers and seamen (d'Anville, *Geographie Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 281. *Analyse de la Carte de la Grèce* p. 60.). The numbers of monks or caloyers, in all the islands and the adjacent mountain of Athos (*Observations de Belon*, fol. 32. verso), monte santo, might justify the epithet of holy, *αγιος*, a slight alteration from the original *αιγαιος*, imposed by the Dorians, who, in their dialect, gave the figurative name of *αιγες*, or goats, to the bounding waves (Vossius, apud Cellarium, *Geograph. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 829.).

¹⁴ According to the Jewish traveller who had visited Europe and Asia, Constantinople was equalled only by Bagdad, the great city of the Ismaelites (*Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele*, par Baratier, tom. i. c. 5. p. 46.).

¹⁵ *Εσκληβωθη δε πασα η χωρα και γεγωνε βαρβαρος*, says Constantine (*Thematibus*, l. ii. c. 6. p. 25.), in a style as barbarous as the idea, which he confirms, as usual, by a foolish epigram. The epitomizer of Strabo likewise observes, *και νυν δε πασαν Ηπειρον, και Ελλαδα σχεδον και Μακεδονιαν, και Πελοποννησον σκυθαι σκληβοι νεμονται* (l. vii. p. 98. edit. Hudson): a passage which leads Dodwell a weary dance (*Geograph. Minor.* tom. ii. dissert. vi. p. 170—191.), to enumerate the inroads of the Sclavi, and to fix the date (A. D. 980) of this petty geographer.

¹⁶ Strabo *Geograph.* l. viii. p. 562. Pausanias, *Græc. Descriptio*, l. iii. c. 21. p. 264, 265. Plin. *Hist. Natur.* l. iv. c. 8.

¹⁷ *Constantin. de Administrando Imperio*, l. ii. c. 50, 51, 52.

¹⁸ The rock of Leucate, was the southern promontory of his island and diocese. Had he been the exclusive guardian of the Lover's Leap, so well known to the readers of Ovid (*Epist. Sappho*) and the Spectator, he might have been the richest prelate of the Greek church.

¹⁹ *Leucatenfis mihi juravit episcopus, quotannis ecclesiam suam debere Nicephoro aureos centum persolvere, similiter et ceteras plus minusve secundum vires suas* (Liutprand in *Legat.* p. 489.).

²⁰ See Constantine (in Vit. Basil, c. 74, 75, 76. p. 195. 197. in Script. post Theophanem) who allows himself to use many technical or barbarous words: barbarous, says he, *τη των πολλων αμαθια καλον γαρ επι τουτοις κοινολεκτειν*. Ducange labours on some: but he was not a weaver.

²¹ The manufactures of Palermo, as they are described by Hugo Falcandus (Hist. Sicula in proem. in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. v. p. 256.) is a copy of those of Greece. Without transcribing his declamatory sentences, which I have softened in the text, I shall observe, that in this passage, the strange word *exarentasmata* is very properly changed for *exanthemata* by Carifius, the first editor. Falcandus lived about the year 1190.

²² Inde ad interiora Græciæ progressi Corinthum, Thebas, Athenas, antiquâ nobilitate celebres expugnant; et maximâ ibidem prædâ direptâ, opifices etiam qui Sericos pannos texere solent, ob ignominiam Imperatoris illius, sui que principis gloriam, captivos deducunt. Quos Rogerius, in Palermo Siciliae metropoli collocans, artem texendi suos edocere præcepit; et exhinc prædicta ars illa, prius à Græcis tantum inter Christianos habita, Romanis patere cœpit ingeniis (Otho Frisingen. de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 33. in Muratori Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 668.). This exception allows the bishop to celebrate Lisbon and Almeria in sericorum pannorum opificio prænobilissimæ (in Chron. apud Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 415.).

²³ Nicetas in Manuel, l. ii. c. 8. p. 65. He describes these Greeks as skilled *ευητριες οθνας υφαινειν*, as *ισω προσανεχοντας των εξαιμιτων και χρυσοπασων σολων*.

²⁴ Hugo Falcandus styles them nobiles officinas. The Arabs had not introduced silk, though they had planted canes and made sugar in the plain of Palermo.

²⁵ See the Life of Castruccio Castigani, not by Machiavel, but by his more authentic biographer Nicholas Tegrin. Muratori, who has inserted it in the xith volume of his Scriptorum, quotes this curious passage in his Italian Antiquities (tom. i. dissert. xxv. p. 378.).

²⁶ From the Ms. statutes, as they are quoted by Muratori in his Italian Antiquities (tom. ii. dissert. xxx. p. 46—48.).

²⁷ The broad silk manufacture was established in England in the year 1620 (Anderson's Chronological Deduction, vol. ii. p. 4.): but it is to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, that we owe the Spitalfields colony.

²⁸ Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele, tom. i. c. 5. p. 44—52. The Hebrew text has been translated into French by that marvellous child

Baratier, who has added a volume of crude learning. The errors and fictions of the Jewish rabbi, are not a sufficient ground to deny the reality of his travels.

²⁹ See the continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. p. 107.), Cedrenus (p. 544.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 157.).

³⁰ Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 225), instead of pounds, uses the more classic appellation of talents, which, in a literal sense and strict computation, would multiply sixty fold the treasure of Basil.

³¹ For a copious and minute description of the Imperial palace, see the Constantinop. Christiana (l. ii. c. 4. p. 113—123.) of Ducange, the Tillemont of the middle ages. Never has laborious Germany produced two antiquarians more laborious and accurate, than these two natives of lively France.

³² The Byzantine palace surpasses the Capitol, the palace of Pergamus, the Rufinian wood (Φαιδρον αγαλμα), the temple of Adrian at Cyzicus, the pyramids, the Pharos, etc. according to an epigram (Antholog. Græc. l. iv. p. 488, 489. Brodæi, apud Wechel) ascribed to Julian, ex-præfect of Egypt. Seventy-one of his epigrams, some lively, are collected in Brunck (Analect. Græc. tom. ii. p. 493—510.); but this is wanting.

³³ Constantinopolitanum Palatium non pulchritudine solum, verum etiam fortitudine, omnibus quas unquam videram munitionibus præstat (Liutprand, Hist. l. v. c. 9. p. 465.).

³⁴ See the anonymus continuator of Theophanes (p. 59. 61. 86.), whom I have followed in the neat and concise abstract of Le Beau (Hist. du Bas-Empire, tom. xiv. p. 436. 438.).

³⁵ In aureo triclinio quæ præstantior est pars potentissimus (*the usurper Romanus*) degens cæteras partes (*filiis*) distribuerat (Liutprand. Hist. l. v. c. 9. p. 469.). For this lax signification of Triclinium (ædificium tria vel plura κλινη scilicet σευη complectens), see Ducange (Gloss. Græc. et Observations sur Joinville, p. 240.) and Reiske (ad Constantinum de Cæremoniis, p. 7.).

³⁶ In equis vecti (says Benjamin of Tudela) regum filiis videntur persimiles. I prefer the Latin version of Constantine l'Empereur (p. 46.), to the French of Baratier (tom. i. p. 49.).

³⁷ See the account of her journey, munificence, and testament, in the Life of Basil, by his grandson Constantine (c. 74, 75, 76. p. 195—197.).

³⁸ *Carfamatium* (καρζιμαδες, Ducange, Gloss.) Græci vocant, amputatis virilibus et virgâ puerum eunuchum, quos Verdunenses mercatores ob immensum lucrum facere solent et in Hispaniam ducere (Liutprand, l. vi. c. 3. p. 470.).—The last abomination of the abominable slave-

trade! Yet I am surprised to find in the xth century, such active speculations of commerce in Lorraine.

³⁹ See the *Alexiad* (l. iii. p. 78, 79.) of Anna Comnena, who except in filial piety, may be compared to mademoiselle de Montpensier. In her awful reverence for titles and forms, she styles her father *Επισημοναρχης*, inventor of this royal art, the *τεχνη τεχνων*, and *επισημη επισημων*.

⁴⁰ *Στεμμα*, *σεφανος*, *διαδημα*, see Reiske, ad *Cæremoniale*, 14, 15. Ducange has given a learned dissertation on the crowns of Constantinople, Rome, France, etc. (sur Joinville xxv. p. 289—303.): but of his thirty-four models, none exactly tally with Anne's description.

⁴¹ *Par exstans curis, solo diademate dispar*

Ordine pro rerum vocitatus Cura-Palati;

says the African Corippus (*de Laudibus Justinii*, l. i. 136.); and in the same century (the vith), Cassiodorus represents him, who, *virgâ aureâ decoratus, inter numerosa obsequia primus ante pedes regis incederet* (*Variar.* vii. 5.). But this great officer, unknown, *ανεπιγνωστος*, exercising no function, *νυν δε εδεμειαν*, was cast down by the modern Greeks to the xvth rank (*Codin.* c. 5. p. 65.).

⁴² Nicetas (in Manuel, l. vii. c. 1.) defines him *ὡς ἡ Λατινων Φωνη Κογκελαριον*, *ὡς δ' Ἕλληνες ειποιεν Λογοθετην*. Yet the epithet of *μεγας* was added by the elder Andronicus (Ducange, tom. i. p. 822, 823.).

⁴³ From Leo I. (A. D. 470) the Imperial ink, which is still visible on some original acts, was a mixture of vermilion and cinnabar, or purple. The emperor's guardians, who shared in this prerogative, always marked in green ink the indiction, and the month. See the *Dictionnaire Diplomatique* (tom. i. p. 511—513.), a valuable abridgment.

⁴⁴ The sultan sent a *Σιαχς* to Alexius (Anna Comnena, l. vi. p. 170. Ducange ad loc.); and Pachymer often speaks of the *μεγας τζαχς* (l. vii. c. 1. l. xii. c. 30. l. xiii. c. 22.). The Chiaoush basha is now at the head of 700 officers (Rycaut's Ottoman Empire, p. 349. octavo edition).

⁴⁵ *Tagerman* is the Arabic name of an interpreter (d'Herbelot, p. 854, 855.), *πρωτος των ερμηνεων ες κοινως ονομαζεσι δραγομανης*, says Codinus (c. 5. N° 70. p. 67.). See Villehardouin (N° 96.), Busbequius (Epist. iv. p. 338.), and Ducange (*Observations sur Villehardouin*, and *Gloss. Græc. et Latin.*).

⁴⁶ *Κονοσαυλος*, or *κοντοσαυλος*, a corruption from the Latin *Comes stabuli*, or the French *Connetable*. In a military sense, it was used by the Greeks in the xith century, at least as early as in France.

⁴⁷ It was directly borrowed from the Normans. In the xiith century, Giannone reckons the admiral of Sicily among the great officers.

⁴⁸ This sketch of honours and offices is drawn from George Codinus Curopalata, who survived the taking of Constantinople by the Turks: his elaborate though trifling work (*de Officiis Ecclesiæ et Aulæ. C. P.*) has been illustrated by the notes of Goar, and the three books of Gretser, a learned Jesuit.

⁴⁹ The respectful salutation of carrying the hand to the mouth, *ad os*, is the root of the Latin word, *adoro adorare*. See our learned Selden (vol. iii. p. 143—145. 942.), in his *Titles of Honour*. It seems, from the 1st book of Herodotus, to be of Persian origin.

⁵⁰ The two embassies of Liutprand to Constantinople, all that he saw or suffered in the Greek capital, are pleasantly described by himself (*Hist. l. vi. c. 1—4. p. 469—471. Legatio a Nicephorum Phocam, p. 479—489.*).

⁵¹ Among the amusements of the feast, a boy balanced, on his forehead, a pike, or pole, twenty-four feet long, with a cross bar of two cubits a little below the top. Two boys, naked, though cinctured (*campestrati*) together, and singly, climbed, stood, played, descended, etc. *ita me stupidum reddidit: utrum mirabilius nescio* (p. 470.). At another repast an homily of Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles was read *elata voce non Latine* (p. 483.).

⁵² *Gala* is not improbably derived from *Cala*, or *Caloat*, in Arabic, a robe of honour (Reiske, *Not. in Cæremon. p. 84.*).

⁵³ Πολυχρονίζειν is explained by ευφημιζειν (Codin. c. 7. Ducange, *Gloss. Græc. tom. i. p. 1199.*).

⁵⁴ Κωνσερβετ Δεξς ημπεριεμ βετρεμ—βικτορ σις σεμπερ—βηβητε Δομινι Ημπερατορες ην μεγαλος αννης (Cæremon. c. 75. p. 215.). The want of the Latin V, obliged the Greeks to employ their β; nor do they regard quantity, Till he recollected the true language, these strange sentences might puzzle a professor.

⁵⁵ Βαραγγοι κατα την πατριαν γλωσσαν και ετοι, ηγην Ινκλινισι πολυχρονιζεσι (Codin. p. 90.). I wish he had preserved the words, however corrupt, of their English acclamation.

⁵⁶ For all these ceremonies, see the professed work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with the notes, or rather dissertations, of his German editors, Leich and Reiske. For the rank of the *standing* courtiers, p. 80. not. 23. 62.; for the adoration, except on Sundays, p. 95. 240. not. 131.; the processions, p. 2, ecc. not. p. 3, etc. the acclamations, *passim*, not. 25, etc.; the factions and Hippodrome, p. 177—214. not.

9. 93, etc.; the Gothic games, p. 221. not. III.; vintage, p. 217. not. 109, : much more information is scattered over the work.

⁵⁷ Et privato Othoni et nuper eadem dicenti nota adulatio (Tacit. Hist. i. 85.).

⁵⁸ The xiiiith chapter, de Administratione Imperii, may be explained and rectified by the Familiæ Byzantinæ of Ducange.

⁵⁹ Sequiturque nefas Ægyptia conjux (Virgil. Æneid viii. 688.). Yet this Egyptian wife was the daughter of a long line of kings. Quid te mutavit (says Antony in a private letter to Augustus) an quod reginam in eo? Uxor mea est (Sueton. in August. c. 69.). Yet I much question (for I cannot stay to enquire), whether the triumvir ever dared to celebrate his marriage either with Roman or Egyptian rites.

⁶⁰ Berenicem invitus invitam dimisit (Suetonius in Tito, c. 7.). Have I observed elsewhere, that this Jewish beauty was at this time above fifty years of age? The judicious Racine has most discreetly suppressed both her age and her country.

⁶¹ Constantine was made to praise the ευγενεια and περιΦανεια of the Franks, with whom he claimed a private and public alliance. The French writers (Isaac Casaubon in Dedicat. Polybii) are highly delighted with these compliments.

⁶² Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administrat. Imp. c. 26.) exhibits a pedigree and life of the illustrious king Hugo περιβλεπτες ῥηγος Ουγγωνος). A more correct idea may be formed from the Criticism of Pagi, the Annals of Muratori, and the Abridgement of St. Marc, A. D. 925—946.

⁶³ After the mention of the three goddesses, Liutprand very naturally adds, et quoniam non rex solus iis abutebatur, earum nati ex incertis patribus originem ducunt (Hist. l. iv. c. 6.): for the marriage of the younger Bertha, see Hist. l. v. c. 5.; for the incontinence of the elder, dulcis exercitio Hymenæi, l. ii. c. 15.; for the virtues and vices of Hugo, l. iii. c. 5. Yet it must not be forgot, that the bishop of Cremona was a lover of scandal.

⁶⁴ Licet illa Imperatrix Græca sibi et aliis fuisset satis utilis et optima, etc. is the preamble of an inimical writer, apud Pagi, tom. iv. A. D. 989, N° 3. Her marriage and principal actions may be found in Muratori, Pagi, and St. Marc, under the proper years.

⁶⁵ Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 699. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 221. Elmacin, Hist. Saracenica, l. iii. c. 6. Nestor apud Levesque, tom. ii. p. 112. Pagi, Critica, A. D. 987, N° 6. a singular concurrence! Wolodomir and Anne are ranked among the saints of the Russian church. Yet we know his vices, and are ignorant of her virtues.

⁶⁶ Henricus primus duxit uxorem Scythicam, Ruffam, filiam regis Jerolai. An embassy of bishops was sent into Russia, and the father gratanter filiam cum multis donis misit. This event happened in the year 1051. See the passages of the original chronicles in Bouquet's *Historians of France* (tom. xi. p. 29. 159. 161. 319. 384. 481.). Voltaire might wonder at this alliance; but he should not have owned his ignorance of the country, religion, etc. of Jerolai—a name so conspicuous in the Russian annals.

⁶⁷ A constitution of Leo the Philosopher (lxxviii.) ne senatusconsulta amplius fiant, speaks the language of naked despotism, ἐξ ὧν τὸ μοναρχικὸν κράτος τὴν τῶν ἀνῆπτων διοίκησιν, καὶ ἀκαίρῳ καὶ μάταιον τὸ ἀχρηστὸν μετὰ τῶν χρείων παρεχομένων συναπτεσθαι.

⁶⁸ Codinus (de Officiis, c. xvii. p. 120, 121.) gives an idea of this oath so strong to the church πιστός καὶ γνήσιος δόλος καὶ υἱὸς τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας, so weak to the people καὶ ἀπεχεσθαι φονῶν καὶ ἀκρωτηριασμῶν καὶ ὁμοίων τῶτοις κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.

⁶⁹ If we listen to the threats of Nicephorus, to the ambassador of Otho, Nec est in mari domino tuo classium numerus. Navigantium fortitudo mihi soli inest, qui eum classibus aggrediar, bello maritimas ejus civitates demoliar; et quæ fluminibus sunt vicina redigam in favillam. (Liutprand in Legat. ad Nicephorum Phocam, in Muratori *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, tom. ii. pars i. p. 481.). He observes in another place, qui cæteris præstant Venetici sunt et Amalphitani.

⁷⁰ Nec ipsa capiet eum (the emperor Otho) in quâ ortus est pauper et pellicea Saxonia: pecuniâ quâ pollemus omnes nationes super eum invitabimus; et quasi Keramicum confringemus (Liutprand in Legat. p. 487.). The two books, de administrando Imperio, perpetually inculcate the same policy.

⁷¹ The sixth chapter of the *Tactics of Leo* (Meurs. Opera, tom. vi. p. 825—848.), which is given more correct from a manuscript of Guidus, by the laborious Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 372—379.), relates to the *Naumachia* or naval war.

⁷² Even of fifteen and sixteen rows of oars, in the navy of Demetrius Poliorcetes. These were for real use: the forty rows of Ptolemy Philadelphus were applied to a floating palace, whose tonnage, according to Dr. Arbuthnot (*Tables of ancient Coins*, etc. p. 231—236.), is compared as $4\frac{1}{2}$ to one, with an English 100 gun ship.

⁷³ The *Dromones* of Leo, etc. are so clearly described with two tire of oars, that I must censure the version of Meursius and Fabricius, who pervert the sense by a blind attachment to the classic appellation

of *Triremes*. The Byzantine historians are sometimes guilty of the same inaccuracy.

⁷⁴ Constantin. Porphyrogen. in Vit. Basil. c. lxi. p. 185. He calmly praises the stratagem as a βελαν συνετην και σοφην; but the sailing round Peloponesus is described by his terrified fancy as a circumnavigation of a thousand miles.

⁷⁵ The continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. p. 122, 123.) names the successive stations, the castle of Lulum near Tarsus, mount Argæus, Ifamus, Ægilus, the hill of Mamas, Cyrisus, Mocilus, the hill of Auxentius, the sun-dial of the Pharos of the great palace. He affirms, that the news were transmitted εν ακραι in an indivisible moment of time. Miserable amplification, which, by saying too much, says nothing. How much more forcible and instructive would have been the definition of three, or six, or twelve hours.

⁷⁶ See the Cæremoniale of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, l. ii. c. 44. p. 176—192. A critical reader will discern some inconsistencies in different parts of this account; but they are not more obscure or more stubborn than the establishment and effectives, the present and fit for duty, the rank and file and the private, of a modern return, which retain in proper hands the knowledge of these profitable mysteries.

⁷⁷ See the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, περι οπλων, περι οπλισεως, and περι γυμνασιας in the Tactics of Leo, with the corresponding passages in those of Constantine.

⁷⁸ They observe της γαρ τοξειας παντελως αμεληθεισης . . . εν τοις Ρωμαιοις τα πολλα νυν ειωθε σφαλματα γινεσθαι (Leo, Tactic, p. 581, Constantin. p. 1216.). Yet such were not the maxims of the Greeks and Romans, who despised the loose and distant practice of archery.

⁷⁹ Compare the passages of the Tactics, p. 669, and 721, and the xiiith with the xviiiith chapter.

⁸⁰ In the preface to his Tactics, Leo very freely deplores the loss of discipline and the calamities of the times, and repeats, without scruple (proem. p. 537.), the reproaches of αμελεια, αταξια, αγυμνασια, δειλια, etc. nor does it appear that the same censures were less deserved in the next generation by the disciples of Constantine.

⁸¹ See in the Ceremonial (l. ii. c. 19. p. 353.) the form of the emperor's trampling on the necks of the captive Saracens, while the singers chanted, "thou hast made my enemies my footstool!" and the people shouted forty times the kyrie eleison.

⁸² Leo observes (Tactic. p. 668.) that a fair open battle against any nation whatsoever, is επισφαλές and επικινδυνόν; the words are strong, and the remark is true; yet if such had been the opinion of the

old Romans, Leo had never reigned on the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus.

⁸³ Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 202, 203.) and Cedrenus (Compend. p. 668.), who relate the design of Nicephorus, must unfortunately apply the epithet of γενναίως to the opposition of the patriarch.

⁸⁴ The xviiiith chapter of the tactics of the different nations, is the most historical and useful of the whole Collection of Leo. The manners and arms of the Saracens (Tactic. p. 809—817. and a fragment from the Medicean MS. in the preface of the vith volume of Meursius), the Roman emperor was too frequently called upon to study.

⁸⁵ Πάντος δὲ καὶ κακῶς ἐργε τὸν Θεὸν αἰτίον ὑποτιθένται, καὶ πολέμοις χαίρειν λέγουσι τὸν Θεὸν τὸν διασκορπιζόντα ἔθνη τὰ τῆς πόλεως θέλοντα, Leon. Tactic. p. 809.

⁸⁶ Liutprand (p. 484, 485.) relates and interprets the oracles of the Greeks and Saracens, in which, after the fashion of prophecy, the past is clear and historical, the future is dark, ænigmatical, and erroneous. From this boundary of light and shade, an impartial critic may commonly determine the date of the composition.

⁸⁷ The sense of this distinction is expressed by Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 2. 62. 101.), but I cannot recollect the passage in which it is conveyed by this lively apophthegm.

⁸⁸ Ex Francis, quo nomine tam Latinos quam Teutones comprehendit, ludum habuit (Liutprand. in Legat. and Imp. Nicephorum, p. 483, 484.). This extension of the name may be confirmed from Constantine (de administrando Imperio, l. ii. c. 27, 28.) and Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 55, 56.), who both lived before the crusades. The testimonies of Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 69.) and Abulfeda (Præfat. ad Geograph.) are more recent.

⁸⁹ On this subject of ecclesiastical and beneficiary discipline, father Thomassin (tom. iii. l. i. c. 40. 45, 46, 47.) may be usefully consulted. A general law of Charlemagne exempted the bishops from personal service, but the opposite practice, which prevailed from the ixth to the xvth century, is countenanced by the example or silence of saints and doctors You justify your cowardice by the holy canons, says Ratherius of Verona; the canons likewise forbid you to whore, and yet —

⁹⁰ In the xviiiith chapter of his Tactics, the emperor Leo has fairly stated the military vices and virtues of the Franks (whom Meursius ridiculously translates by *Galli*), and the Lombards, or Langobards. See likewise the xxvith Dissertation of Muratori de Antiquitatibus Italiæ medii Ævi.

⁹¹ Domini tui milites (says the proud Nicephorus) equitandi ignari pedestris pugnae sunt infcii: scutorum magnitudo, loricarum gravitudo, ensium longitudo, galearumque pondus neutra parte pugnare eos finit; ac subridens, impedit, inquit, et eos gastrimargia hoc est ventris ingluvies, etc. Liutprand. in Legat. p. 480, 481.

⁹² In Saxonia certe scio decentius ensibus pugnare quam calamis et prius mortem obire quam hostibus terga dare (Liutprand, p. 482.).

⁹³ Φραγδοί τοιῦν καὶ Λογιβαρδοί λόγον ἐλευθερίας περὶ πολλὰ ποιεῖνται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Λογιβαρδοὶ τὸ πλεον τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς νῦν ἀπώλεσαν. Leonis Tactica, c. 18. p. 805. The emperor Leo died A. D. 911: an historical poem, which ends in 916, and appears to have been composed in 940, by a native of Venetia, discriminates in these verses the manners of Italy and France:

— Quid inertia bello

Pectora (Ubertus ait) duris prætenditis armis
O Itali? Potius vobis sacra pocula cordi;
Sæpius et stomachum nitidis laxare faginis
Elatasque domos rutilo fulcire metallo.
Non eadem Gallos similis vel cura remordet;
Vicinas quibus est studium devincere terras
Depressumque larem spoliis hinc inde coactis
Sustentare. —

(Anonym. Carmen Panegyricum de Laudibus Berengarii Augusti, l. ii. in Muratori Script. Rerum Italic. tom. ii. pars i. p. 393.)

⁹⁴ Justinian, says the historian Agathias (l. v. p. 157.), πρῶτος Ρωμαίων αυτοκράτωρ ὀνομαστικαὶ πραγματι. Yet the specific title of emperor of the Romans was not used at Constantinople, till it had been claimed by the French and German emperors of old Rome.

⁹⁵ Constantine Manasses reprobates this design in his barbarous verse:

Τὴν πόλιν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκοσμησαὶ θέλων,
Καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν χαρισασθαι τριπεμπέλῳ Ρωμῇ,
Ὡς εἰτις ἀβροδολίζον ἀποκοσμησεὶ νυμφὸν,
Καὶ γράων τινα τρεῖς ὄρωνον ὥς κορὴν ὠραῖσαι.

and it is confirmed by Theophanes, Zonaras, Cedrenus, and the Historia Miscella. voluit in urbem Romam Imperium transferre (l. xix. p. 157. in tom. i. pars i. of the Scriptorum Rer. Ital. of Muratori).

⁹⁶ Paul Diacon. l. v. c. 11. p. 480. Anastasius in Vitis Pontificum, in Muratori's Collection, tom. iii. pars i. p. 141.

⁹⁷ Consult the preface of Ducange (ad Gloss. Græc. medii Ævi),

and the novels of Justinian (vii. lxvi.). The Greek language was κοινός the Latin was πατριός to himself, κυριωτάτος to the πολιτείας σχήμα, the system of government.

⁹⁸ Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Λατινικῇ λέξις καὶ Φράσις εἰσέτι τῆς νομῆς κρυπτοῦσα τῆς συνειναι ταύτην μὴ δύναμεν ἰχυρῶς ἀπετειχίζει (Matth. Blastares, Hist. Juris, apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii. p. 369.). The Code and Pandects (the latter by Thalelaus) were translated in the time of Justinian (p. 358. 366.). Theophilus, one of the original triumvirs, has left an elegant, though diffuse, paraphrase of the Institutes. On the other hand, Julian, antecessor of Constantinople (A. D. 570) cxx. Novellas Græcas eleganti Latinitate donavit (Heineccius, Hist. J. R. p. 396. for the use of Italy and Africa.

⁹⁹ Abulpharagius assigns the viith Dynasty to the Franks or Romans, the viiith to the Greeks, the ixth to the Arabs. A tempore Augusti Cæsaris donec imperaret Tiberius Cæsar spatio circiter annorum 600 fuerunt Imperatores C. P. Patricii, et præcipua pars exercitûs Romani: extra quod, consiliarii, scribæ et populus, omnes Græci fuerunt: deinde regnum etiam Græcicum factum est (p. 96. vers. Pocock). The Christian and ecclesiastical studies of Abulpharagius gave him some advantage over the more ignorant *Moslems*.

¹⁰⁰ Primus ex Græcorum genere in Imperio confirmatus est; or, according to another MS. of Paulus Diaconus (l. iii. c. 15. p. 443.), in Græcorum Imperio.

¹⁰¹ Quia linguam, mores, vestesque mutâstis, putavit Sanctissimus Papa (an audacious irony), ita vos (vobis) displicere Romanorum nomen. His nuncios, rogabant Nicephorum Imperatorem Græcorum, ut cum Othone Imperatore Romanorum amicitiam faceret (Liutprand in Legatione, p. 486.).

¹⁰² By Laonicus Chalcocondyles, who survived the last siege of Constantinople, the account is thus stated (l. i. p. 3.). Constantine transplanted his Latins of Italy to a Greek city of Thrace; they adopted the language and manners of the natives, who were confounded with them under the name of Romans. The kings of Constantinople, says the historian, ἐπὶ τὸ σφῶς αὐτῆς σεμνυνεσθαι Ρωμαίων βασιλεῖς τε καὶ αυτοκρατορῶς ἀποκαλεῖν Ἑλλήνων δὲ βασιλεῖς ἔκτετι ἑδάμῃ αἰῶνι.

¹⁰³ See Ducange (C. P. Christiana, l. ii. p. 150, 151.), who collects the testimonies, not of Theophanes, but at least of Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xv. p. 104.), Cedrenus (p. 454.), Michael Glycas (p. 281.) Constantine Manasses (p. 87.). After refuting the absurd charge against the emperor, Spanheim (Hist. Imaginum, p. 99—III.), like a true advocate, proceeds to doubt or deny the reality of the fire, and almost of the library.

¹⁰⁴ According to Malchus (apud Zonar. l. xiv. p. 53.), this Homer was burnt in the time of Basiliscus. The MS. might be renewed—But on a serpent's skin? Most strange and incredible!

¹⁰⁵ The *αλογια* of Zonaras, the *αγρια και αμαθια* of Cedrenus, are strong words, perhaps not ill-suited to these reigns.

¹⁰⁶ See Zonaras (l. xvi. p. 160, 161.) and Cedrenus p. 549, 550.). Like friar Bacon, the philosopher Leo has been transformed by ignorance into a conjurer: yet not so undeservedly, if he be the author of the oracles more commonly ascribed to the emperor of the same name. The physics of Leo in MS. are in the library of Vienna (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 366. tom. xii. p. 781.). Quiescant!

¹⁰⁷ The ecclesiastical and literary character of Photius, is copiously discussed by Hanckius (de Scriptoribus Byzant. p. 269—396.) and Fabricius.

¹⁰⁸ *Εἰς Ασσυριαν* can only mean Bagdad, the seat of the caliph; and the relation of his embassy might have been curious and instructive. But how did he procure his books? A library so numerous could neither be found at Bagdad, nor transported with his baggage, nor preserved in his memory. Yet the last, however incredible, seems to be affirmed by Photius/himself, *ὅσας αὐτῶν ἡ μνημὴ διεσωξεν*. Camusat (Hist. Critique des Journaux, p. 87—94.) gives a good account of the Myriobiblon.

¹⁰⁹ Of these modern Greeks, see the respective articles in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius; a laborious work, yet susceptible of a better method and many improvements: of Eustathius (tom. i. p. 289—292. 306—329.), of the Pselli (a diatribe of Leo Allatius, ad calcem, tom. v.), of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (tom. vi. p. 486—509.), of John Stobæus (tom. viii. 665—728.), of Suidas (tom. ix. p. 622—827.), John Tzetzes (tom. xii. p. 245—273.). Mr. Harris, in his Philological Arrangements, opus senile, has given a sketch of this Byzantine learning (p. 287—300.).

¹¹⁰ From obscure and hearsay evidence, Gerard Vossius (de Poetis Græcis, c. 6.) and le Clerc (Bibliothèque Choisie, tom. xix. p. 285.) mention a commentary of Michael Psellus on twenty-four plays of Menander, still extant in MS. at Constantinople. Yet such classic studies seem incompatible with the gravity or dulness of a schoolman, who pored over the categories (de Psellis, p. 42.): and Michael has probably been confounded with Homerus Sellius, who wrote arguments to the comedies of Menander. In the xth century, Suidas quotes fifty plays, but he often transcribes the old scholiast of Aristophanes.

¹¹¹ Anna Comnena may boast of her Greek style (το Ελληνίζειν ἐς ἀκρον ἐσπεδοκκυσία), and Zonaras, her contemporary, but not her flatterer, may add with truth, γλωτταν εἶχεν ἀκριβῶς Ἀττικίζουσαν. The princess was conversant with the artful dialogues of Plato; and had studied the τετρακτυς, or *quadrivium* of astrology, geometry, arithmetic, and music (see her preface to the Alexiad, with Ducange's notes).

¹¹² To censure the Byzantine taste, Ducange (Præfat. Gloss. Græc. p. 17.) strings the authorities of Aulus Gellius, Jerom Petronius, George Hamartolus, Longinus; who give at once the precept and the example.

¹¹³ The *versus politici*, those common prostitutes, as, from their easiness, they are styled by Leo Allatius, usually consist of fifteen syllables. They are used by Constantine Manasses, John Tzetzes, etc. (Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. iii. p. i. p. 345, 346. edit. Basil, 1762.).

¹¹⁴ As St. Bernard of the Latin, so St. John Damascenus in the viiith century, is revered as the last father of the Greek church.

¹¹⁵ Hume's Essays, vol. i. p. 125.

CHAP. LIV.

¹ The errors and virtues of the Paulicians are weighed, with his usual judgment and candour, by the learned Mosheim (Hist. Ecclesiast. seculum ix. p. 311, etc.). He draws his original intelligence from Photius (contra Manichæos, l. i.) and Peter Siculus (Hist. Manichæorum). The first of these accounts has not fallen into my hands; the second, which Mosheim prefers, I have read in a Latin version inserted in the Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum (tom. xvi. p. 754—764.), from the edition of the Jesuit Raderus (Ingolstadii, 1604, in 4to).

² In the time of Theodoret, the diocese of Cyrrhus, in Syria, contained eight hundred villages. Of these, two were inhabited by Arians and Eunomians, and eight by *Marcionites*, whom the laborious bishop reconciled to the Catholic church (Dupin, Bibliot. Ecclésiastique, tom. iv. p. 81, 82.).

³ Nobis profanis ista (*sacra Evangelia*) legere non licet sed sacerdotibus duntaxat, was the first scruple of a Catholic when he was advised to read the Bible (Petr. Sicul. p. 761.).

⁴ In rejecting the *second* epistle of St. Peter, the Paulicians are justified by some of the most respectable of the ancients and moderns (see Wetstein ad loc. Simon, Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, c. 17.). They likewise overlooked the Apocalypse (Petr. Sicul. p. 756.);

but as such neglect is not imputed as a crime, the Greeks of the ixth century must have been careless of the credit and honour of the Revelations.

⁵ This contention, which has not escaped the malice of Porphyry, supposes some error and passion in one or both of the apostles. By Chrysostom, Jerom, and Erasmus, it is represented as a sham quarrel, a pious fraud, for the benefit of the Gentiles and the correction of the Jews (Middleton's Works, vol. ii. p. 1—20.).

⁶ Those who are curious of this heterodox library, may consult the researches of Beaufobre (Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 305—437.). Even in Africa, St. Austin could describe the Manichæan books, tam multi, tam grandes, tam pretiosi codices (contra Faust. xiii. 14.); but he adds, without pity, Incendite omnes illas membranas: and his advice has been rigorously followed.

⁷ The six capital errors of the Paulicians are defined by Peter Siculus p. 756.) with much prejudice and passion.

⁸ Primum illorum axioma est, duo rerum esse principia; Deum malum et Deum bonum aliumque hujus mundi conditorem et principem, et alium futuri ævi (Petr. Sicul. p. 756.).

⁹ Two learned critics, Beaufobre (Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, l. i. iv, v, vi.) and Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. and de Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum, sec. i, ii, iii.), have laboured to explore and discriminate the various systems of the Gnostics on the subject of the two principles.

¹⁰ The countries between the Euphrates and the Halys, were possessed above 350 years by the Medes (Herodot. l. i. c. 103.) and Persians; and the kings of Pontus were of the royal race of the Achæmenides (Sallust. Fragment. l. iii. with the French supplement and notes of the president de Broffes).

¹¹ Most probably founded by Pompey after the conquest of Pontus. This Colonia, on the Lycus above Neo-Cæsarea, is named by the Turks Coulei-hisar, or Chonac, a populous town in a strong country (d'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 34. Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xxi. p. 293.).

¹² The temple of Bellona at Comana in Pontus, was a powerful and wealthy foundation, and the high priest was respected as the second person in the kingdom. As the sacerdotal office had been occupied by his mother's family, Strabo (l. xii. p. 809. 835, 836, 837.) dwells with peculiar complacency on the temple, the worship, and festival, which was twice celebrated every year. But the Bellona of Pontus had the features and character of the goddess, not of war, but of love.

¹³ Gregory

¹³ Gregory, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea (A. D. 240—265), surnamed Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker. An hundred years afterwards, the history or romance of his life was composed by Gregory of Nyssa, his namesake and countryman, the brother of the great St. Basil.

¹⁴ Hoc cæterum ad sua egregia facinora, divini atque orthodoxi Imperatores addiderunt, ut Manichæos Montanosque capitali puniri sententiâ juberent, eorumque libros, quocunque in loco inventi essent, flammis tradi; quod si quis uspiam eosdem occultasse deprehenderetur, hunc eundem mortis pœnæ addici, ejusque bona in fiscum inferri (Petr. Sicul. p. 759.). What more could bigotry and persecution desire?

¹⁵ It should seem, that the Paulicians allowed themselves some latitude of equivocation and mental reservation: till the Catholics discovered the pressing questions, which reduced them to the alternative of apostacy or martyrdom (Petr. Sicul. p. 760.).

¹⁶ The persecution is told by Petrus Siculus (p. 579—763.) with satisfaction and pleasantry. Justus *justa* persolvit. Simeon was not *τίτος* but *κητος* (the pronunciation of the two vowels must have been nearly the same), a great whale that drowned the mariners who mistook him for an island. See likewise Cedrenus (p. 432—435.).

¹⁷ Petrus Siculus (p. 763, 764.), the continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. c. 4. p. 103, 104.), Cedrenus (p. 541, 542. 545.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 156.), describe the revolt and exploits of Carbeas and his Paulicians.

¹⁸ Otter (Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. ii.) is probably the only Frank who has visited the independent Barbarians of Tephric, now Divrigni, from whom he fortunately escaped in the train of a Turkish officer.

¹⁹ In the history of Chrysocheir, Genesius (Chron. p. 67—70 edit. Venet.) has exposed the nakedness of the empire. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Basil. c. 37—43. p. 166—171.) has displayed the glory of his grandfather. Cedrenus (p. 570—573.) is without their passions or their knowledge.

²⁰ *Συναπεμαρανθη πατα ἡ ἀνθεσσα της Τεφρικης ευανδρια.* How elegant is the Greek tongue, even in the mouth of Cedrenus!

²¹ Copronymus transported his *συγγενεις*, heretics; and thus *ἐπλάτυνθη ἡ αἵρεσις Παυλικιανων*, says Cedrenus (p. 463.), who has copied the annals of Theophanes.

²² Petrus Siculus, who resided nine months at Tephric (A. D. 870) for the ransom of captives (p. 764.), was informed of their intended mission, and addressed his preservative, the *Historia Manichæorum*, to the new archbishop of the Bulgarians (p. 754.).

²³ The colony of Paulicians and Jacobites, transplanted by John Zimisces (A. D. 970.) from Armenia to Thrace, is mentioned by Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 209.) and Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. xiv. p. 450, etc.).

²⁴ The Alexiad of Anna Comnena (l. v. p. 131. l. vi. p. 154, 155. l. xiv. p. 450—457. with the annotations of Ducange) records the transactions of her apostolic father with the Manichæans, whose abominable heresy she was desirous of refuting.

²⁵ Basil, a monk, and the author of the Bogomiles, a sect of Gnostics who soon vanished (Anna Comnena, Alexiad, l. xv. p. 486—494. Mosheim, Hist. Ecclesiastica, p. 420.).

²⁶ Matt. Paris, Hist. Major. p. 267. This passage of our English historian is alleged by Ducange in an excellent note on Villehardouin (N° 208.), who found the Paulicians at Philippopolis the friends of the Bulgarians.

²⁷ See Marfigli, Stato Militare dell' Impero Ottomano, p. 24.

²⁸ The introduction of the Paulicians into Italy and France, is amply discussed by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiae medii Ævi, tom. v. dissert. lx. p. 81—152.), and Mosheim (p. 379—382. 419—422.). Yet both have overlooked a curious passage of William the Appulian, who clearly describes them in a battle between the Greeks and Normans, A. D. 1040 (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. v. p. 256.).

Cum Græcis aderant, quidam quos pessimus error

Fecerat amentes, et ab ipso nomen habebant.

But he is so ignorant of their doctrine as to make them a kind of Sabelians or Patripassians.

²⁹ *Bulgari*, *Boulgres*, *Bougres*, a national appellation, has been applied by the French as a term of reproach to usurers and unnatural sinners. The *Paterini*, or *Patelini*, has been made to signify a smooth and flattering hypocrite, such as *l'Avocat Patelin* of that original and pleasant farce (Ducange, Gloss. Latinitat. medii et infimi Ævi). The Manichæans were likewise named *Cathari*, or the pure, by corruption, *Gazari*, etc.

³⁰ Of the laws, crusade, and persecution against the Albigeois, a just, though general idea, is expressed by Mosheim (p. 477—481.). The detail may be found in the ecclesiastical historians, ancient and modern, Catholics and Protestants; and among these Fleury is the most impartial and moderate.

³¹ The Acts (Liber Sententiarum) of the Inquisition of Tholouse (A. D. 1307—1323) have been published by Limborch (Amstelodami, 1692), with a previous History of the Inquisition in General. They deserved a more learned and critical editor. As we must not calumniate

even Satan, or the Holy Office, I will observe, that of a list of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only fifteen men and four women were delivered to the secular arm.

³² The opinions and proceedings of the reformers are exposed in the second part of the general history of Mosheim: but the balance, which he has held with so clear an eye, and so steady an hand, begins to incline in favour of his Lutheran brethren.

³³ Under Edward VI. our reformation was more bold and perfect: but in the fundamental articles of the church of England, a strong and explicit declaration against the real presence was obliterated in the original copy, to please the people, or the Lutherans, or Queen Elizabeth (Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 82. 128. 302.).

³⁴ "Had it not been for such men as Luther and myself," said the fanatic Whiston to Halley the philosopher, "you would now be kneeling before an image of St. Winifred."

³⁵ The article of *Servet* in the Dictionnaire Critique of Chauffepié, is the best account which I have seen of this shameful transaction. See likewise the Abbé d'Artigny, Nouveaux Mémoires d'Histoire, etc. tom. ii. p. 55—154.

³⁶ I am more deeply scandalized at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which have blazed in the Autos da Fè of Spain and Portugal. 1. The zeal of Calvin seems to have been envenomed by personal malice, and perhaps envy. He accused his adversary before their common enemies, the judges of Vienna, and betrayed, for his destruction, the sacred trust of a private correspondence. 2. The deed of cruelty was not varnished by the pretence of danger to the church or state. In his passage through Geneva, Servetus was an harmless stranger, who neither preached, nor printed, nor made proselytes. 3. A Catholic inquisitor yields the same obedience which he requires, but Calvin violated the golden rule of doing as he would be done by; a rule which I read in a moral treatise of Isocrates (in Nicocle, tom. i. p. 93. edit. Battie), four hundred years before the publication of the gospel. 'Α πασχοντες ὑπὸ ἑτέρων οργιζεσθε, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ ποιεῖτε.

³⁷ See Burnet, vol. ii. p. 84—86. The sense and humanity of the young king were oppressed by the authority of the primate.

³⁸ Erasmus may be considered as the father of rational theology. After a slumber of an hundred years, it was revived by the Arminians of Holland, Grotius, Limborch, and Le Clerc: in England by Chillingworth, the latitudinarians of Cambridge (Burnet, Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 261—268. octavo edition), Tillotson, Clarke, Hoadley, etc.

³⁹ I am sorry to observe, that the three writers of the last age, by whom the rights of toleration have been so nobly defended, Bayle, Leibnitz, and Locke, are all laymen and philosophers.

⁴⁰ See the excellent chapter of Sir William Temple on the religion of the United Provinces. I am not satisfied with Grotius (*de Rebus Belgicis*, *Annal.* l. i. p. 13, 14. edit. in 12mo), who approves the Imperial laws of persecution, and only condemns the bloody tribunal of the inquisition.

⁴¹ Sir William Blackstone (*Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 53, 54.) explains the law of England as it was fixed at the Revolution. The exceptions of Papists, and of those who deny the Trinity, would still leave a tolerable scope for persecution, if the national spirit were not more effectual than an hundred statutes.

⁴² I shall recommend to public animadversion two passages in Dr. Priestley, which betray the ultimate tendency of his opinions. At the first of these (*Hist. of the Corruptions of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 275, 276.), the priest; at the second (vol. ii. p. 484.), the magistrate, may tremble!

CHAP. LV.

¹ *All* the passages of the Byzantine history which relate to the Barbarians, are compiled, methodised, and transcribed in a Latin version, by the laborious John Gotthelf Stritter, in his *Memoriæ Populorum, ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, Paludem Mæotidem, Caucasum, Mare Caspium, et inde magis ad Septemtriones incolentium, Petropoli*, 1771—1779, in four tomes, or six volumes, in 4to. But the fashion has not enhanced the price of these raw materials.

² *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 11.

³ Theophanes, p. 296—299. Anastasius, p. 113. Nicephorus, C. P. p. 22, 23. Theophanes places the old Bulgaria on the banks of the Atell or Volga; but he deprives himself of all geographical credit, by discharging that river into the Euxine Sea.

⁴ Paul. Diacon. *de Gestis Langobard.* l. v. c. 29. p. 881, 882. The apparent difference between the Lombard historian and the above mentioned Greeks, is easily reconciled by Camillo Pellegrino (*de Ducatû Beneventano*, *differt.* vii. in the *Scriptores Rerum Ital.* tom. v. p. 186, 187.) and Beretti (*Chorograph. Italiæ medii Ævi*, p. 273, etc.). This Bulgarian colony was planted in a vacant district of Samnium, and learned the Latin, without forgetting their native language.

⁵ These provinces of the Greek idiom and empire, are assigned to the Bulgarian kingdom in the dispute of ecclesiastical jurisdiction between

the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople (Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 869. N° 75.).

⁶ The situation and royalty of Lychnidus, or Achrida, are clearly expressed in Cedrenus (p. 713.). The removal of an archbishop or patriarch from Justiniana prima, to Lychnidus, and at length to Ternovo, has produced some perplexity in the ideas or language of the Greeks (Nicephorus Gregoras, l. ii. c. 2. p. 14, 15. Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. l. i. c. 19. 23.); and a Frenchman (d'Anville) is more accurately skilled in the geography of their own country (*Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxi.).

⁷ Chalcocondyles, a competent judge, affirms the identity of the language of the Dalmatians, Bosnians, Servians, *Bulgarians*, Poles (*de Rebus Turcicis*, l. x. p. 283.), and elsewhere of the Bohemians (l. ii. p. 38.). The same author has marked the separate idiom of the Hungarians.

⁸ See the work of John Christopher de Jordan, *de Originibus Sclavicis*, Vindobonæ, 1745, in four parts, or two volumes in folio. His collections and researches are useful to elucidate the antiquities of Bohemia and the adjacent countries: but his plan is narrow, his style barbarous, his criticism shallow, and the Aulic counsellor is not free from the prejudices of a Bohemian.

⁹ Jordan subscribes to the well-known and probable derivation from *Slava*, *laus*, *gloria*, a word of familiar use in the different dialects and parts of speech, and which forms the termination of the most illustrious names (*de Originibus Sclavicis*, pars i. p. 40. pars iv. p. 101, 102.).

¹⁰ This conversion of a national into an appellative name, appears to have arisen in the viiith century, in the Oriental France, where the princes and bishops were rich in Sclavonian captives, not of the Bohemian (exclaims Jordan), but of Sorabian race. From thence the word was extended to general use, to the modern languages, and even to the style of the last Byzantines (see the Greek and Latin Glossaries of Ducange). The confusion of the Σερβλοι, or Serviars, with the Latin *Servi*, was still more fortunate and familiar (Constant. Porphyri *de administrando Imperio*, c. 32. p. 99.).

¹¹ The emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, most accurate for his own times, most fabulous for preceding ages, describes the Sclavonians of Dalmatia (c. 29—36.).

¹² See the anonymous Chronicle of the xith century, ascribed to John Sagorninus (p. 94—102.), and that composed in the xivth by the Doge Andrew Dandolo (*Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. xii. p. 227—230.); the two oldest monuments of the history of Venice.

¹³ The first kingdom of the Bulgarians may be found under the proper dates in the Annals of Cedrenus and Zonaras. The Byzantine materials are collected by Stritter (*Memoriæ Populorum*, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 441—647.); and the series of their kings is disposed and settled by Ducange (*Fam. Byzant.* p. 305—318).

¹⁴ Simeonem semi-Græcum esse aiebant, eo quod a pueritiâ Byzantii Demosthenis rhetoricam et Aristotelis syllogismos didicerat. Liutprand, l. iii. c. 8. He says in another place, Simeon, fortis bellator, Bulgariæ præerat; Christianus sed vicinis Græcis valde inimicus (l. i. c. 2.).

¹⁵

— Rigidum fera dextera cornu

Dum tenet infregit, truncâque a fronte revellit.

Ovid (*Metamorph.* ix. 1—100.) has boldly painted the combat of the river-god and the hero; the native and the stranger.

¹⁶ The ambassador of Otho was provoked by the Greek excuses, cum Christophori filiam Petrus Bulgarorum *Vasileus* conjugem duceret, *Symphona*, id est consonantia, scripto juramento firmata sunt ut omnium gentium *Apostolis* id est nunciis penes nos Bulgarorum Apostoli præponantur, honorentur, diligantur (Liutprand in *Legatione*, p. 482.). See the *Cæremoniale* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, tom. i. p. 82. tom. ii. p. 429, 430. 434, 435. 443, 444. 446, 447. with the annotations of Reiske.

¹⁷ A bishop of Wurtzburgh submitted this opinion to a reverend abbot; but he more gravely decided, that Gog and Magog were the spiritual persecutors of the church; since Gog signifies the roof, the pride of the Heresiarchs, and Magog what comes from the roof, the propagation of their sects. Yet these men once commanded the respect of mankind (Fleury, *hist. Eccles.* tom. xi. p. 594, etc.).

¹⁸ The two national authors, from whom I have derived the most assistance, are George Pray (*Dissertationes ad Annales veterum Hungarorum*, etc. Vindobonæ, 1775, in folio), and Stephen Katona (*Hist. Critica Ducum et Regum Hungariæ stirpis Arpadianæ*, Pæstini, 1778—1781, 5 vols. in octavo). The first embraces a large and often conjectural space: the latter, by his learning, judgment, and perspicuity, deserves the name of a critical historian.

¹⁹ The author of this Chronicle is styled the notary of king Bela. Kantona has assigned him to the xiith century, and defends his character against the hypercriticism of Pray. This rude annalist must have transcribed some historical records, since he could affirm with dignity, rejectis falsis fabulis rusticorum, et garrulo cantû jocularum. In the xvth century, these fables were collected by Thurotzius, and embellished by the Italian Bonfinius. See the Preliminary Discourse in the *Hist. Critica Ducum*, p. 7—33.

²⁰ See Constantine de Administrando Imperio, c. 3, 4. 13. 38—42. Katona has nicely fixed the composition of this work to the years 949, 950, 951. (p. 4—7.). The critical historian (p. 34—107.) endeavours to prove the existence, and to relate the actions, of a first duke *Almus*, the father of Arpad, who is tacitly rejected by Constantine.

²¹ Pray (Dissert. p. 37—39, etc.) produces and illustrates the original passages of the Hungarian missionaries, Bonfinius and Æneas Sylvius.

²² Fischer, in the *Quæstiones Petropolitanæ, de Origine Ungrorum*, and Pray, *Dissertat. i, ii, iii. etc.* have drawn up several comparative tables of the Hungarian with the Fennic dialects. The affinity is indeed striking, but the lists are short, the words are purposely chosen; and I read in the learned Bayer (*Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. x. p. 374.*), that although the Hungarian has adopted many Fennic words (*innumeras voces*), it essentially differs *toto genio et natura*.

²³ In the religion of Turfan, which is clearly and minutely described by the Chinese geographers (Gaubil, *Hist. du grand Gengiscan*, p. 13. de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 32, etc.).

²⁴ *Hist. Généalogique des Tartares*, par Abulghazi Bahadur Khan, partie ii. p. 90—98.

²⁵ In their journey to Pekin, both Isbrand Ives (*Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii. p. 920, 921.) and Bell (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 174.) found the Vogulitz in the neighbourhood of Tobolsky. By the tortures of the etymological art, *Ugur* and *Vogul* are reduced to the same name; the circumjacent mountains really bear the appellation of *Ugrian*; and of all the Fennic dialects, the Vogulian is the nearest to the Hungarian (Fischer, *Dissert. i. p. 20—30. Pray, Dissert. ii. p. 31—34.*).

²⁶ The eight tribes of the Fennic race, are described in the curious work of M. Levêque (*Hist. des Peuples soumis à la Domination de la Russie*, tom. i. p. 361—561.).

²⁷ This picture of the Hungarians and Bulgarians is chiefly drawn from the *Tactics of Leo*, p. 796—801. and the *Latin Annals* which are alleged by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori, A. D. 889, etc.

²⁸ Buffon, *Hist. Naturelle*, tom. v. p. 6. in 12mo. Gustavus Adolphus attempted, without success, to form a regiment of Laplanders. Grotius says of these Arctic tribes, *arma arcus et pharetra sed adversus feras* (*Annal. l. iv. p. 236.*), and attempts, after the manner of Tacitus, to varnish with philosophy their brutal ignorance.

²⁹ Leo has observed, that the government of the Turks was monarchical, and that their punishments were rigorous (*Tactic. p. 896. αὐτοκρατορὶς καὶ βαρβαρὶς*). Rhegino (in *Chron*, A. D. 889) mentions theft

as a capital crime, and his jurisprudence is confirmed by the original code of St. Stephen (A. D. 1016.). If a slave were guilty, he was chastised, for the first time, with the loss of his nose, or a fine of five heifers; for the second, with the loss of his ears, or a similar fine; for the third, with death; which the freeman did not incur till the fourth offence, as his first penalty was the loss of liberty (Katona, Hist. Regum Hungar. tom. i. p. 231, 232.).

³⁰ See Katona, Hist. Ducum Hungar. p. 321—352.

³¹ Hungarorum gens, cujus omnes fere nationes expertæ sævitiam, etc. is the preface of Liutprand (l. i. c. 2.), who frequently expatiates on the calamities of his own times. See l. i. c. 5. l. ii. c. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 l. iii. c. 1, etc. l. v. c. 8. 15. in Legat. p. 485. His colours are glaring, but his chronology must be rectified by Pagi and Muratori.

³² The three bloody reigns of Arpad, Zoltan, and Toxus, are critically illustrated by Katona (Hist. Ducum, etc. p. 107—499.). His diligence has searched both natives and foreigners, yet to the deeds of mischief or glory, I have been able to add the destruction of Bremen (Adam Bremenfis, i. 43.).

³³ Muratori has considered with patriotic care the danger and resources of Modena. The citizens besought St. Geminianus, their patron, to avert, by his intercession, the *rabies*, *flagellum*, etc.

Nunc te rogamus licet servi pessimi

Ab Ungerorum nos defendas jaculis.

The bishop erected walls for the public defence, not contra dominos ferenos (Antiquitat. Ital. med. Ævi, tom. i. dissert. i. p. 21, 22.), and the song of the nightly watch is not without elegance or use (tom. iii. diss. xl. p. 709.). The Italian annalist has accurately traced the series of their inroads (Annali d'Italia, tom. vii. p. 365. 367. 393. 401. 437. 440. tom. viii. p. 19. 41. 52, etc.).

³⁴ Both the Hungarian and Russian annals suppose, that they besieged, or attacked, or insulted Constantinople (Pray, dissertat. x. p. 239. Katona, Hist. Ducum, p. 354—360.): and the fact is *almost* confessed by the Byzantine historians (Leo Grammaticus, p. 506. Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 629.): yet, however glorious to the nation, it is denied or doubted by the critical historian, and even by the notary of Bela. Their scepticism is meritorious; they could not safely transcribe or believe the rusticorum fabulas; but Katona might have given due attention to the evidence of Liutprand, Bulgarorum gentem atque Græcorum tributariam fecerant (Hist. l. ii. c. 4. p. 435.).

³⁵

— λεοντ' ὡς θηριώτην

Ὡτ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι περὶ κταμένης εὐλαφοῖο

Ἀμφω πεινῶντε μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον.

³⁶ They are amply and critically discussed by Katona (*Hist. Ducum*, p. 360—368. 427—470.). Liutprand (l. ii. c. 8, 9.) is the best evidence for the former, and Witichind (*Annal Saxon.* l. iii.) of the latter: but the critical historian will not even overlook the horn of a warrior, which is said to be preserved at Jaz-berin.

³⁷ Hunc vero triumphum tam laude quam memoriâ dignum, ad Meresburgum rex in superiori cœnaculo domûs per ζωγραφίαν, id est, picturam notari, præcepit, adeo ut rem veram potius quam verisimilem videas: an high encomium (Liutprand, l. ii. c. 9.). Another palace in Germany had been painted with holy subjects, by the order of Charlemagne; and Muratori may justly affirm, nulla sæcula fuere in quibus pictores desiderati fuerint (*Antiquitat. Ital. medii Ævi*, tom. ii. dissert. xxiv. p. 360, 361.). Our domestic claims to antiquity of ignorance and original imperfection (M. Walpole's lively words), are of a much more recent date (*Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. p. 2, etc.).

³⁸ See Baronius, *Annal. Eccles. A. D.* 929. N° 2—5. The lance of Christ is taken from the best evidence, Liutprand (l. iv. c. 12.), Sigébert, and the acts of St. Gerard: but the other military relics depend on the faith of the *Gesta Anglorum post Bedam*, l. ii. c. 8.

³⁹ Katona, *Hist. Ducum Hungariæ*, p. 500, etc.

⁴⁰ Among these colonies we may distinguish, 1. The Chazars, or Cabari, who joined the Hungarians on their march (*Constant. de admin. Imp.* c. 39, 40. p. 108, 109.). 2. The Jazuges, Moravians, and Siculi, whom they found in the land; the last were *perhaps* a remnant of the Huns of Attila, and were entrusted with the guard of the borders. 3. The Russians, who, like the Swiss in France, imparted a general name to the royal porters. 4. The Bulgarians, whose chiefs (A. D. 956) were invited, cum magnâ multitudine *Hismahelitarum*. Had any of these Slavonians embraced the Mahometan religion? 5. The Bisseni and Cumans, a mixed multitude of Patzinacites, Uzi, Chazars, etc. who had spread to the lower Danube. The last colony of 40,000 Cumans, A. D. 1239, was received and converted by the kings of Hungary, who derived from that tribe a new regal appellation (*Pray, Dissert.* vi, vii. p. 109—173. Katona, *Hist. Ducum*, p. 95—99. 259—264. 476. 479—483, etc.).

⁴¹ Christiani autem, quorum pars major populi est, qui ex omni parte mundi illuc tracti sunt captivi, etc. Such was the language of Piligrinus, the first missionary who entered Hungary, A. D. 973. Pars major is strong. *Hist. Ducum*, p. 517.

⁴² The fideles Teutonici of Geisla are authenticated in old charters; and Katona, with his usual industry, has made a fair estimate of

these colonies, which had been so loosely magnified by the Italian Ranzanus (*Hist. Critic. Ducum*, p. 667—681.).

⁴³ Among the Greeks, this national appellation has a singular form, *Ῥως*, as an undeclinable word, of which many fanciful etymologies have been suggested. I have perused, with pleasure and profit, a dissertation de Origine Russorum (*Comment. Academ. Petropolitanae*, tom. viii. p. 388—436.), by Theophilus Sigefrid Bayer, a learned German, who spent his life and labours in the service of Russia. A geographical tract of d'Anville, de l'Empire de Russie, son Origine, et ses Accroissemens (Paris, 1772, in 12mo), has likewise been of use.

⁴⁴ See the entire passage (*dignum, says Bayer, ut aureis in tabulis figatur*) in the *Annales Bertiniani Francorum* (in *Script. Ital. Muratori*, tom. ii. pars i. p. 525.), A. D. 839, twenty-two years before the Æra of Ruric. In the xth century, Liutprand (*Hist. l. v. c. 6.*) speaks of the Russians and Normans as the same *Aquilonares homines* of a red complexion.

⁴⁵ My knowledge of these annals is drawn from M. Leveque, *Histoire de Russie*. Nestor, the first and best of these ancient annalists, was a monk of Kiow, who died in the beginning of the xiith century; but his Chronicle was obscure, till it was published at Petersburg, 1767, in 4to. *Leveque, Hist. de Russie*, tom. i. p. xvi. *Coxe's Travels*, vol. ii. p. 184.

⁴⁶ Theophil. Sig. Bayer de Varagis (for the name is differently spelt), in *Comment. Academ. Petropolitanae*, tom. iv. p. 275—311.

⁴⁷ Yet, as late as the year 1018, Kiow and Russia were still guarded, *ex fugitivorum servorum robore, confluentium et maxime Danorum*. Bayer, who quotes (p. 292.) the Chronicle of Dithmar of Merseburgh, observes, that it was unusual for the Germans to enlist in a foreign service.

⁴⁸ Ducange has collected from the original authors the state and history of the Varangi at Constantinople (*Glossar. Med. et Infimæ Græcitatæ*, sub voce *Βαραγγοι*. *Med. et Infimæ Latinitatis*, sub voce *Vagri*. *Not. ad Alexiad, Annæ Comnenæ*, p. 256, 257, 258. *Notes sur Villehardouin*, p. 296—299.). See likewise the Annotations of Reiske to the *Cæremoniale Aulæ Byzant. of Constantine*, tom. ii. p. 149, 150. Saxo Grammaticus affirms, that they spoke Danish; but Codinus maintains them till the fifteenth century in the use of their native English: *Πολυχρονίζουσι οἱ Βαραγγοι κατὰ τὴν πατριὸν γλῶσσαν αὐτῶν ἢ τοῖς Ἰγκληνισί.*

⁴⁹ The original record of the geography and trade of Russia is produced by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Administrat.*

Imperii, c. 2. p. 55, 56. c. 9. p. 59—61. c. 13. p. 63—67. c. 37. p. 106. c. 42. p. 112, 113.), and illustrated by the diligence of Bayer (de Geographiâ Ruffiæ vicinarumque Regionum circiter A. C. 948, in Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. ix. p. 367—422. tom. x. p. 371—421.), with the aid of the chronicles and traditions of Russia, Scandinavia, etc.

⁵⁰ The haughty proverb, "Who can resist God and the great "Novogorod?" is applied by M. Levêque (Hist. de Russie, tom. i. p. 60.) even to the times that preceded the reign of Ruric. In the course of his history he frequently celebrates this republic, which was suppressed A. D. 1475, (tom. ii. p. 252—266.). That accurate traveller, Adam Olearius, describes (in 1635) the remains of Novogorod, and the route by sea and land of the Holstein ambassadors (tom. i. p. 123—129.).

⁵¹ In hac magnâ civitate, quæ est caput regni, plus trecentæ ecclesiæ habentur et nundinæ octo, populi etiam ignota manus (Eggehardus ad A. D. 1018, apud Bayer, tom. ix. p. 412.). He likewise quotes (tom. x. p. 397.) the words of the Saxon annalist, Cujus (*Ruffiæ*) metropolis est Chive, æmula sceptri Constantinopolitani quæ est clarissimum decus Græciæ. The fame of Kiow, especially in the xith century, had reached the German and the Arabian geographers.

⁵² In Odoræ ostio quâ Scythicas alluit paludes, nobilissima civitas Julinum, celeberrimam, Barbaris et Græcis qui sunt in circuitû præstans stationem; est sane maxima omnium quas Europa claudit civitatum (Adam Bremenensis, Hist. Eccles. p. 19.). A strange exaggeration even in the xith century. The trade of the Baltic, and the Hanseatic league, are carefully treated in Anderson's Historical Deduction of Commerce; at least, in *our* languages, I am not acquainted with any book so satisfactory.

⁵³ According to Adam of Bremen (de Sitû Daniæ, p. 58), the old Curland extended eight days journey along the coast; and by Peter Teutoburgicus (p. 68. A. D. 1326), Memel is defined as the common frontier of Russia, Curland, and Prussia. Aurum ibi plurimum (says Adam) divinis, auguribus atque necromanticis omnes domus sunt plenæ a toto orbe ibi responsa petuntur maxime ab Hispanis (forſan *Zupanis*, id est regulis Lettoviæ) et Græcis. The name of Greeks was applied to the Russians even before their conversion; an imperfect conversion, if they still consulted the wizards of Curland (Bayer, tom. x. p. 378. 402, etc. Grotius, Prolegomen. ad Hist. Goth. p. 99.).

⁵⁴ Constantine only reckons seven cataracts, of which he gives the Russian and Slavonic names; but thirteen are enumerated by the Sieur de Beauplan, a French engineer, who had surveyed the course

and navigation of the Dnieper or Borysthenes (Description d'Ukraine, Rouen, 1660, a thin quarto); but the map is unluckily wanting in my copy.

⁵⁵ Nestor, apud Levêque, Hist. de Russie, tom. i. p. 78—80. From the Dnieper or Borysthenes, the Russians went to Black Bulgaria, Chazaria, and Syria. To Syria, how, where, when? May we not, instead of Συρία, read Σουανία (de Administrat. Imp. c. 42. p. 113)? The alteration is slight; the position of Suania, between Chazaria and Lazica, is perfectly suitable; and the name was still used in the xith century (Cedren. tom. ii. p. 770.).

⁵⁶ The wars of the Russians and Greeks in the ixth, xth, and xith centuries, are related in the Byzantine Annals, especially those of Zonaras and Cedrenus; and all their testimonies are collected in the *Russica* of Stritter, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 939—1044.

⁵⁷ Προσεταίρισσάμενος δὲ καὶ συμμαχικὸν ἔκ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικησάντων ἐν ταῖς προσαρктиαῖς τῆς Ὠκεανὸς νησοῖς ἐλόντων. Cedrenus, in Compend. p. 758.

⁵⁸ See Beauplan (Description de l'Ukraine, p. 54—61.): his descriptions are lively, his plans accurate, and, except the circumstance of fire-arms, we may read old Russians, for modern Cossacks.

⁵⁹ It is to be lamented, that Bayer has only given a Dissertation de *Russorum primâ Expeditione Constantinopolitanâ* (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. vi. p. 365—391.). After disentangling some chronological intricacies, he fixes it in the years 864 or 865, a date which might have smoothed some doubts and difficulties in the beginning of M. Levêque's history.

⁶⁰ When Photius wrote his encyclic epistle on the conversion of the Russians, the miracle was not yet sufficiently ripe; he reproaches the nation as εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ μισαιφροσίνην πάντα; δευτέρως ταπεινόμενον.

⁶¹ Leo Grammaticus, p. 463, 464. Constantini Continuator, in Script. post Theophanem, p. 121, 122. Symeon Logothet. p. 445, 446. Georg. Monach. p. 535, 536. Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 551. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 162.

⁶² See Nestor and Nikon, in Levêque's Hist. de Russie, tom. i. p. 74—80. Katona (Hist. Ducum, p. 75—79.) uses his advantage to disprove this Russian victory, which would cloud the siege of Kiow by the Hungarians.

⁶³ Leo Grammaticus, p. 506, 507. Incert. Contin. p. 263, 264. Symeon Logothet. p. 490, 491. George Monach. p. 588, 589. Cedren. tom. ii. p. 629. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 190, 191. and Liutprand, l. v. c. 6, who writes from the narratives of his father-in-law, then

ambassador at Constantinople, and corrects the vain exaggeration of the Greeks.

⁶⁴ I can only appeal to Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 758, 759.) and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 253, 254.); but they grow more weighty and credible as they draw near to their own times.

⁶⁵ Nestor, apud Levèque, Hist. de Russie, tom. i. p. 87.

⁶⁶ This brazen statue, which had been brought from Antioch, and was melted down by the Latins, was supposed to represent either Joshua or Bellerophon, an odd dilemma. See Nicetas Choniates (p. 413, 414), Codinus (de Originibus C. P. p. 24.) and the anonymous writer de Antiquitat. C. P. (Banduri, Imp. Orient. tom. i. p. 17, 18.), who lived about the year 1100. They witness the belief of the prophecy; the rest is immaterial.

⁶⁷ The life of Swatoflaus, or Sviatoflaf, or Sphendosthlabus, is extracted from the Russian Chronicles by M. Levèque (Hist. de Russie, tom. i. p. 94—107.).

⁶⁸ This resemblance may be clearly seen in the ninth book of the Iliad (205—221.), in the minute detail of the cookery of Achilles. By such a picture, a modern epic poet would disgrace his work and disgust his reader; but the Greek verses are harmonious, a dead language can seldom appear low or familiar; and at the distance of two thousand seven hundred years, we are amused with the primitive manners of antiquity.

⁶⁹ This singular epithet is derived from the Armenian language, and Τζιμισκης is interpreted in Greek by μεζακιζης, or μοιρακιζης. As I profess myself equally ignorant of these words, I may be indulged in the question in the play, "Pray which of you is the interpreter?" From the context, they seem to signify *Adolescentulus* (Leo Diacon, l. iv. MS. apud Ducange, Glossar. Græc. p. 1570.).

⁷⁰ In the Slavonic tongue, the name of Peristhlaba implied the great or illustrious city, μεγάλη και εσα και λεγομενη, says Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. vii. p. 194.) From its position between Mount Hæmus and the Lower Danube, it appears to fill the ground, or at least the station, of Marcianopolis. The situation of Durostolus, or Driftra, is well known and conspicuous (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. ix. p. 415, 416. d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 307. 311.).

⁷¹ The political management of the Greeks, more especially with the Patziniacites, is explained in the seven first chapters, de Administratione Imperii.

⁷² In the narrative of this war, Leo the Deacon (apud Pagi, Critica, tom. iv. A. D. 968—973) is more authentic and circumstantial

than Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 660—683.) and Zonaras tom. ii. p. 205—214.). These declaimers have multiplied to 308,000 and 330,000 men, those Russian forces, of which the contemporary had given a moderate and consistent account.

⁷³ Phot. Epistol. ii. N^o 35. p. 58. edit. Montacut. It was unworthy of the learning of the editor to mistake the Russian nation, το Ῥως, for a war-cry of the Bulgarians; nor did it become the enlightened patriarch to accuse the Sclavonian idolaters της Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ἀθεῖς δοξῆς. They were neither Greeks nor Atheists.

⁷⁴ M. Levèque has extracted, from old chronicles and modern researches, the most satisfactory account of the religion of the *Slavi*, and the conversion of Russia (Hist. de Russie tom. i. p. 35—54. 59. 92, 93. 113 — 121. 124—129. 148, 149, etc.).

⁷⁵ See the Cæremoniale Aulæ Byzant. tom. ii. c. 15. p. 343—345.: the style of Olga, or Elga, is Ἀρχόντισσα Ῥωσσίας. For the chief of Barbarians the Greeks whimsically borrowed the title of an Athenian magistrate, with a female termination, which would have astonished the ear of Demosthenes.

⁷⁶ See an anonymous fragment published by Banduri (Imperium Orientale, tom. ii. p. 112, 113.), de Conversione Russorum.

⁷⁷ Cherson, or Corfun, is mentioned by Herberstein (apud Pagi, tom. iv. p. 56.) as the place of Wolodomir's baptism and marriage; and both the tradition and the gates are still preserved at Novogorod. Yet an observing traveller transports the brazen gates from Magdeburgh in Germany (Coxe's Travels into Russia, etc. vol. i. p. 452.); and quotes an inscription, which seems to justify his opinion. The modern reader must not confound this old Cherson of the Tauric or Crimæan peninsula with a new city of the same name, which has arisen near the mouth of the Borysthenes, and was lately honoured by the memorable interview of the empress of Russia with the emperor of the West.

⁷⁸ Consult the Latin text, or English version, of Mosheim's excellent History of the Church, under the first head or section of each of these centuries.

⁷⁹ In the year 1000, the ambassadors of St. Stephen received from pope Silvester the title of king of Hungary, with a diadem of Greek workmanship. It had been designed for the duke of Poland; but the Poles, by their own confession, were yet too barbarous to deserve an *angelical* and *apostolical* crown (Katona, Hist. Critic. Regum Stirpis Arpadianæ, tom. i. p. 1—20).

⁸⁰ Listen to the exultations of Adam of Bremen (A. D. 1080.), of which the substance is agreeable to truth: Ecce illa ferocissima

Danorum, etc. natio jam ludum novit in Dei laudibus Alleluia resonare. Ecce populus ille piraticus suis nunc finibus contentus est. Ecce patria horribilis semper inaccessa propter cultum idolorum prædicatores veritatis ubique certatim admittit, etc. etc. (de Situ Daniæ, etc. p. 40, 41. edit. Elzevir: a curious and original prospect of the north of Europe, and the introduction of Christianity).

⁸¹ The great princes removed in 1156 from Kiow, which was ruined by the Tartars in 1240. Moscow became the seat of empire in the xivth century. See the ist and iid volumes of Leveque's History, and Mr. Coxe's Travels into the North, tom. i. p. 241, etc.

⁸² The ambassadors of St. Stephen had used the reverential expressions of *regnum oblatum*, *debitam obedientiam*, etc. which were most rigorously interpreted by Gregory VII.; and the Hungarian Catholics are distressed between the sanctity of the pope and the independence of the crown (Katona, Hist. Critica, tom. i. p. 20—25. tom. ii. p. 304. 346. 360, etc.).

CHAP. LVI.

¹ For the general history of Italy in the ixth and xth centuries, I may properly refer to the vth, viith, and viiith books of Sigonius de Regno Italiæ (in the second volume of his works, Milan, 1732.); the Annals of Baronius, with the Criticism of Pagi; the viiith and viiith books of the Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli of Giannone; the viiith and viiith volumes (the octavo edition) of the Annali d'Italia of Muratori, and the iid volume of the Abrégé Chronologique of M. de Saint Marc, a work which, under a superficial title, contains much genuine learning and industry. But my long-accustomed reader will give me credit for saying, that I myself have ascended to the fountain-head, as often as such ascent could be either profitable or possible; and that I have diligently turned over the originals in the first volumes of Muratori's great collection of the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*.

² Camillo Pellegrino, a learned Capuan of the last century, has illustrated the history of the dutchy of Beneventum, in his two books, *Historia Principum Longobardorum*, in the *Scriptores* of Muratori, tom. ii. pars i. p. 221—345. and tom. v. p. 159—245.

³ See Constantine Porphyrogen. de Thematibus, l. ii. c. xi. in Vit. Basil. c. 55. p. 181.

⁴ The original epistle of the emperor Lewis II. to the emperor Basil, a curious record of the age, was first published by Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 871, N° 51—71.), from the Vatican MS. of Erchempert, or rather of the anonymous historian of Salerno.

⁵ See an excellent dissertation de Republicâ Amalphitanâ, in the Appendix (p. 1—42.) of Henry Brenemann's *Historia Pandectarum* (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1722, in 4to).

⁶ Your master, says Nicephorus, has given aid and protection principibus Capuano et Beneventano, fervis meis, quos oppugnare dispono. . . . Nova (potius *nota*) res est quod eorum patres et avi nostro Imperio tributa dederunt (Liutprand, in Legat. p. 484.). Salerno is not mentioned, yet the prince changed his party about the same time, and Camillo Pellegrino (Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 285.) has nicely discerned this change in the style of the anonymous Chronicle. On the rational ground of history and language, Liutprand (p. 480.) had asserted the Latin claim to Apulia and Calabria.

⁷ See the Greek and Latin Glossaries of Ducange (Κατεπανω, *catapanus*), and his notes on the Alexias (p. 275.). Against the contemporary notion, which derives it from Κατα παν, *juxta omne*, he treats it as a corruption of the Latin *capitaneus*. Yet M. de St. Marc has accurately observed (Abrégé Chronologique, tom. ii. p. 924.), that in this age the capitanei were not *captains*, but only nobles of the first rank, the great valvassors of Italy.

⁸ Ου μονον δια πολεμων ακριβως τεταγμενων το τριστην υπηγαγε το εθνος (the Lombards), αλλα και αγχινοια χρησαμενες, και δικαιοσυνη και χρηστοτητι, επιεικως τε τοις προσερχομενοις προσφερομενος και την ελευθεριαν αυτοις πασης τε δουλειας, και των αλλων φορολογικων χαριζομενος (Leon. Tactic. c. xv. p. 741.). The little Chronicle of Beneventum tom. ii. pars i. p. 280.) gives a far different character of the Greeks during the five years (A. D. 891—896) that Leo was master of the city.

⁹ Calabriam adeunt, eamque inter se divisam reperientes funditus depopulati sunt (or depopularunt), ita ut deserta sit velut in diluvio. Such is the text of Herempert, or Erchempert, according to the two editions of Caraccioli (Rer. Italic. Script. tom. v. p. 23.) and of Camillo Pellegrino (tom. ii. pars i. p. 246.). Both were extremely scarce, when they were reprinted by Muratori.

¹⁰ Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 874. N°. 2.) has drawn this story from a MS. of Erchempert, who died at Capua only fifteen years after the event. But the cardinal was deceived by a false title, and we can only quote the anonymous Chronicle of Salerno (Paralipomena, c. 110.), composed towards the end of the xth century, and published in the second volume of Muratori's Collection. See the Dissertations of Camillo Pellegrino (tom. ii. pars. i. p. 231—281, etc.).

¹¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Basil. c. 58. p. 183.) is the original

original author of this story. He places it under the reigns of Basil and Lewis II.; yet the reduction of Beneventum by the Greeks is dated A. D. 891, after the decease of both of those princes.

¹² In the year 663, the same tragedy is described by Paul the Deacon (*de Gestis Langobard.* l. v. c. 7, 8. p. 870, 871. édit. Grot.), under the walls of the same city of Beneventum. But the actors are different, and the guilt is imputed to the Greeks themselves, which in the Byzantine edition is applied to the Saracens. In the late war in Germany; M. d'Affas, a French officer of the regiment of Auvergne, is said to have devoted himself in a similar manner. His behaviour is the more heroic, as mere silence was required by the enemy who had made him prisoner (*Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.* c. 33. tom. ix. p. 172.).

¹³ Theobald, who is styled *Heros* by Liutprand, was properly duke of Spoleto and marquis of Camerino, from the year 926 to 935. The title and office of marquis (commander of the march or frontier) was introduced into Italy by the French emperors (*Abrégé Chronologique*, tom. ii. p. 645—732, etc.).

¹⁴ Liutprand, *Hist.* l. iv. c. 4. in the *Rerum Italic. Script.* tom. i. pars i. p. 453, 454. Should the licentiousness of the tale be questioned, I may exclaim, with poor Sterne, that it is hard if I may not transcribe with caution, what a bishop could write without scruple. What if I had translated, *ut viris certetis testiculos amputare, in quibus nostri corporis refocillatio, etc.*?

¹⁵ The original monuments of the Normans in Italy are collected in the vth volume of Muratori, and among these we may distinguish the poem of William Appulus (p. 245—278.) and the history of Galfridus (*Jeffrey*) Malaterra (p. 537—607.). Both were natives of France, but they wrote on the spot, in the age of the first conquerors (before A. D. 1100), and with the spirit of freemen. It is needless to recapitulate the compilers and critics of Italian history, Sigonius, Baronius, Pagi, Giannone, Muratori, St. Marc, etc. whom I have always consulted, and never copied.

¹⁶ Some of the first converts were baptised ten or twelve times, for the sake of the white garment usually given at this ceremony. At the funeral of Rollo, the gifts to monasteries for the repose of his soul, were accompanied by a sacrifice of one hundred captives. But in a generation or two, the national change was pure and general.

¹⁷ The Danish language was still spoken by the Normans of Bayeux on the sea-coast, at a time (A. D. 940) when it was already forgotten at Rouen, in the court and capital. Quem (Richard I.) confestim pater Baiocas mittens Botoni militiæ suæ principi nutriendum tradidit, ut ibi

linguâ eruditus *Danicâ* suis exterisque hominibus sciret aperte dare responsa (Wilhelm. Gemeticensis de Ducibus Normannis, l. iii. c. 8.) p. 63. edit. Cambden). Of the vernacular and favourite idiom of William the conqueror (A. D. 1035.), Selden (Opera, tom. ii. p. 1640—1656.) has given a specimen, obsolete and obscure even to antiquarians and lawyers.

¹⁸ See Leandro Alberti (Descrizione d'Italia, p. 250.) and Baronius (A. D. 493, N° 43.). If the archangel inherited the temple and oracle, perhaps the cavern, of old Calchas the soothsayer (Strab. Geograph. l. vi. p. 435, 436.), the Catholics (on this occasion) have surpassed the Greeks in the elegance of their superstition.

¹⁹ See the 1st book of William Appulus. His words are applicable to every swarm of Barbarians and freebooters:

Si vicinorum quis *perniciosus* ad illos
Confugiebat, eum gratanter suscipiebant
Moribus et linguâ quoscunque venire videbant
Informant propriâ; gens efficiatur ut una.

And elsewhere, of the native adventurers of Normandy:

Pars parat, exiguæ vel opes aderant quia nullæ;
Pars quia de magnis majora subire volebant.

²⁰ Liutprand in Legatione, p. 485. Pagi has illustrated this event from the MS history of the deacon Leo (tom. iv. A. D. 965, N° 17—19.).

²¹ See the Arabian Chronicle of Sicily, apud Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. tom. i. p. 253.

²² Jeffrey Malaterra, who relates the Sicilian war, and the conquest of Apulia (l. i. c. 7, 8, 9. 19.). The same events are described by Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 741—743. 755, 756.) and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 237, 238.); and the Greeks are so hardened to disgrace, that their narratives are impartial enough.

²³ Cedrenus specifies the *ταγμα* of the Obsequium (Phrygia), and the *μερος* of the Thracians (Lydia; consult Constantine de Thematibus, l. 3, 4. with Delisle's map); and afterwards names the Pisidians and Lycaonians, with the *foederati*.

²⁴ Omnes conveniunt et bis sex nobiliores
Quos genus et gravitas morum decorabat et ætas,
Elegere duces. Provectis ad comitatum
His alii parent. Comitatus nomen honoris
Quo donantur erat. Hi totas undique terras
Divisere sibi, ni fors inimica repugnet,
Singula proponunt loca quæ contingere forte
Cuique duci debent, et quæque tributa locorum.

And after speaking of Melphi, William Appulus adds,

Pro numero comitum bis sex statuere plateas

Atque domus comitum totidem fabricantur in urbe.

Leo Ostiensis (l. ii. c. 67.) enumerates the divisions of the Apulian cities, which it is needless to repeat.

²⁵ Gulielm. Appulus, l. ii. c. 12. according to the reference of Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 31.), which I cannot verify in the original. The Apulian praises indeed his *validas vires*, *probitas animi*, and *vivida virtus*; and declares, that had he lived, no poet could have equalled his merits (l. i. p. 258. l. ii. p. 259.). He was bewailed by the Normans, quippe qui tanti consilii virum (says Malaterra, l. i. c. 12. p. 552.) tam armis strenuum, tam sibi munificum, affabilem, morigeratum ulterius se habere diffidebant.

²⁶ The gens astutissima, injuriarum ultrix.... adulari sciens.... eloquentiis inferviens, of Malaterra (l. i. c. 3. p. 550.), are expressive of the popular and proverbial character of the Normans.

²⁷ The hunting and hawking more properly belong to the *descendants* of the Norwegian sailors; though they might import from Norway and Iceland the finest casts of falcons.

²⁸ We may compare this portrait with that of William of Malmesbury (de Gestis Anglorum, l. iii. p. 101, 102.), who appreciates, like a philosophic historian, the vices and virtues of the Saxons and Normans. England was assuredly a gainer by the conquest.

²⁹ The biographer of St. Leo IX. pours his holy venom on the Normans. Vident indisciplinatam et alienam gentem Normannorum, crudeli et inaudita rabie et plusquam Paganâ impietate adversus ecclesias Dei insurgere, passim Christianos trucidare, etc. (Wibert, c. 6.) The honest Apulian (l. ii. p. 259.) says calmly of their accuser, Veris commiscens fallacia.

³⁰ The policy of the Greeks, revolt of Maniaces, etc. must be collected from Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 757, 758.), William Appulus (l. i. p. 257, 258. l. ii. p. 259.), and the two Chronicles of Bari, by Lupus Protospata (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 42, 43, 44.), and an anonymous writer (Antiquitat. Italiae medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 31—35.). This last is a fragment of some value.

³¹ Argyrus received, says the anonymous Chronicle of Bari, imperial letters, Fœderatûs et patriciatûs, et Catapani et Vestatûs. In his annals, Muratori (tom. viii. p. 426.) very properly reads, or interprets, *Sevestatus*, the title of Sebastos or Augustus. But in his Antiquities, he was taught by Ducange to make it a palatine office, master of the wardrobe.

³² A Life of St. Leo IX. deeply tinged with the passions and prejudices of the age, has been composed by Wibert, printed at Paris, 1615,

in octavo, and since inserted in the Collections of the Bollandists, of Mabillon, and of Muratori. The public and private history of that pope is diligently treated by M. de St. Marc (Abrégé, tom. ii. p. 140—210. and p. 25—95. 2d column).

³³ See the expedition of Leo IX. against the Normans. See William Appulus (l. ii. p. 259—261.) and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 13, 14, 15. p. 253.). They are impartial, as the national, is counterbalanced by the clerical, prejudice.

³⁴ Teutonici quia cæsaries et forma decorqs
Fecerat egregie præceri corporis illos
Corpora derident Normannica quæ breviora
Esse videbantur.

The verses of the Apulian are commonly in this strain, though he heats himself a little in the battle. Two of his families from hawking and forcery are descriptive of manners.

³⁵ Several respectable censures or complaints are produced by M. de St. Marc (tom. ii. p. 200—204.). As Peter Damianus, the oracle of the times, had denied the popes the right of making war, the hermit (lugens eremi incola) is arraigned by the cardinal, and Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1053. N° 10—17.) most strenuously asserts the two swords of St. Peter.

³⁶ The origin and nature of the papal investitures are ably discussed by Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 37—49. 57—66.) as a lawyer and antiquarian. Yet he vainly strives to reconcile the duties of patriot and catholic, adopts an empty distinction of “Ecclesia Romana non dedit sed accepit,” and shrinks from an honest but dangerous confession of the truth.

³⁷ The birth, character, and first actions of Robert Guiscard, may be found in Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 3, 4. II. 16, 17, 18. 38, 39, 40.), William Appulus (l. ii. p. 260—262.), William Gemeticensis or of Jumieges (l. xi. c. 30. p. 663, 664. edit. Cambden), and Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. i. p. 23—27. l. vi. p. 165, 166), with the annotations of Ducange (Not. in Alexiad. p. 230—232. 320.), who has swept all the French and Latin chronicles for supplemental intelligence.

³⁸ Ο δε Πομπέρτος (a Greek corruption) ἔτος τῆς Νορμαννικῆς το γένος, τὴν τύχην ἀσχημὸς. . . . again, ἐξ ἀθανάτης πατρὸς τύχης περιθάνης, and elsewhere (l. iv. p. 84.), ἀπο εσχάτης πενίας καὶ τύχης ἀθανάτης. Anna Comnena was born in the purple; yet her father was no more than a private though illustrious subject, who raised himself to the empire.

³⁹ Giannone (tom. ii. p. 2.) forgets all his original authors, and rests this princely descent on the credit of Inveges, an Augustine monk of

Palermo in the last century. They continue the succession of dukes from Rollo to William II. the Bastard or Conqueror, whom they hold (*communemente si tiene*) to be the father of Tancred of Hauteville: a most strange and stupendous blunder! The sons of Tancred fought in Appulia, before William II. was three years old (A. D. 1037.).

⁴⁰ The judgment of Ducange is just and moderate: *Certe humilis fuit ac tenuis Roberti familia, si ducalem et regium spectemus apicem, ad quem postea pervenit; quæ honesta tamen et præter nobilium vulgarium statum et conditionem illustris habita est, "quæ nec humi reperet nec altum quid tumeret"* (Wilhelm Malmsbur. de Gestis Anglorum, l. iii. p. 107. Not. ad Alexiad. p. 230.).

⁴¹ I shall quote with pleasure some of the best lines of the Apulian (l. ii. p. 270.):

Pugnat utrâque manû, nec lancea cassa, nec ensis
Cassus erat, quocunque manû deducere vellet.
Ter dejectus equo, ter viribus ipse resumptis
Major in arma redit: stimulos furor ipse ministrat.
Ut Leo cum frendens, etc.

Nullus in hoc bello, sicuti post bella probatum est,
Victor vel victus, tam magnos edidit ictus.

⁴² The Norman writers and editors most conversant with their own idiom, interpret *Guiscard* or *Wiscard*, by *Callidus*, a cunning man. The root (*wife*) is familiar to our ear; and in the old word *Wiseacre*, I can discern something of a similar sense and termination. *Τὴν ψυχὴν πανουργοτάτος*, is no bad translation of the surname and character of Robert.

⁴³ The acquisition of the ducal title by Robert Guiscard is a nice and obscure business. With the good advice of Giannone, Muratori, and St. Marc, I have endeavoured to form a consistent and probable narrative.

⁴⁴ Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1059. N° 69.) has published the original act. He professes to have copied it from the *Liber Censuum*, a Vatican MS. Yet a *Liber Censuum* of the xiiith century has been printed by Muratori (Antiquit. medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 851—908.): and the names of Vatican and Cardinal awaken the suspicions of a protestant, and even of a philosopher.

⁴⁵ Read the life of Guiscard in the second and third books of the Apulian, the first and second books of Malaterra.

⁴⁶ The conquests of Robert Guiscard and Roger I. the exemption of Benevento and the xii provinces of the kingdom, are fairly exposed by Giannone in the second volume of his *Istoria Civile*, l. ix, x, xi.

and l. xvii. p. 460—470. This modern division was not established before the time of Frederic II.

⁴⁷ Giannone (tom. ii. p. 119—127.), Muratori (*Antiquitat. mediæ ævi*, tom. iii. dissert. xlv. p. 935, 936.), and Tiraboschi (*Istoria della Letteratura Italiana*), have given an historical account of these physicians; their medical knowledge and practice must be left to our physicians.

⁴⁸ At the end of the *Historia Pandectarum* of Henry Brencman (*Trajecti ad Rhenum*, 1722, in 4to), the indefatigable author has inserted two dissertations, *de Republicâ Amalphitanâ*, and *de Amalphi a Pisanis direptâ*, which are built on the testimonies of one hundred and forty writers. Yet he has forgotten two most important passages of the embassy of Liutprand (A. D. 969.), which compare the trade and navigation of Amalphi with that of Venice.

⁴⁹ Urbs Latii non est hæc deliciosior urbe,
Frugibus arboribus vinoque redundat; et unde
Non tibi poma, nuces, non pulchra palatia defunt,
Non species muliebris abest probitasque virorum.

(Gulielmus Appulus, l. iii. p. 267.)

⁵⁰ Muratori carries their antiquity above the year (1066) of the death of Edward the Confessor, the *rex Anglorum* to whom they are addressed. Nor is this date affected by the opinion, or rather mistake, of Pasquier (*Recherches de la France*, l. vii. c. 2.) and Ducange (*Glossar. Latin.*). The practice of rhyming, as early as the viith century, was borrowed from the languages of the North and East (Muratori, *Antiquitat.* tom. iii. dissert. xl. p. 686—708.).

⁵¹ The description of Amalphi, by William the Apulian (l. iii. p. 267.), contains much truth and some poetry; and the third line may be applied to the sailor's compass:

Nulla magis locuples argento, vestibus, auro
Partibus innumeris; hæc plurimus urbe moratur
Nauta maris cælique vias aperire peritus.
Huc et Alexandri diversa feruntur ab urbe
Regis, et Antiochi. Gens hæc freta plurima transit.
Hic Arabes, Indi, Siculi nascuntur et Afri.
Hæc gens est totum prope nobilitata per orbem,
Et mercando ferens, et amans mercata referre.

⁵² Latrocinio armigerorum suorum in multis sustentabatur, quod quidem ad ejus ignominiam non dicimus; sed ipso ita præcipiente adhuc viliora et reprehensibilia dicturi sumus ut pluribus patefeat, quàm laboriose et cum quantâ angustia a profundâ paupertate ad summum culmen divitiarum vel honoris attigerit. Such is the preface of Malaterra (l. i. c. 25.) to the horse-stealing. From the moment (l. i. c. 19.)

that he has mentioned his patron Roger, the elder brother sinks into the second character. Something similar in Velleius Paterculus may be observed of Augustus and Tiberius.

⁵³ *Duo sibi proficua reputans animæ scilicet et corpori si terram Idolis deditam ad cultum divinum revocaret* (Galfrid Malaterra, l. ii. c. 1.). The conquest of Sicily is related in the three last books, and he himself has given an accurate summary of the chapters (p. 544—546.).

⁵⁴ See the word *militēs*, in the Latin Glossary of Ducange.

⁵⁵ Of odd particulars, I learn from Malaterra, that the Arabs had introduced into Sicily the use of camels (l. i. c. 33.) and of carrier-pigeons (c. 42.); and that the bite of the tarantula provokes a windy disposition, *quæ per anum inhoneste crepitando emergit*: a symptom most ridiculously felt by the whole Norman army in their camp near Palermo (c. 36.). I shall add an etymology not unworthy of the xith century: *Messana* derived from *Messis*, the place from whence the harvests of the isle were sent in tribute to Rome (l. ii. c. 1.).

⁵⁶ See the capitulation of Palermo in Malaterra, l. ii. c. 45. and Giannone, who remarks the general toleration of the Saracens (tom. ii. p. 72.).

⁵⁷ John Leo Afer, de Medicis et Philosophis Arabibus, c. 14. apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 278, 279. This philosopher is named Efferiph Effachalli, and he died in Africa, A. H. 516. A. D. 1122. Yet this story bears a strange resemblance to the Sherif al Edrissi, who presented his book (*Geographia Nubienfis*, see preface, p. 88. 90. 170.) to Roger king of Sicily, A. H. 548. A. D. 1153 (d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 786. Prideaux Life of Mahomet, p. 188. Petit de la Croix, Hist. de Gengiscan, p. 535, 536. Casiri, Bibliot. Arab. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 9—13.); and I am afraid of some mistake.

⁵⁸ Malaterra remarks the foundation of the bishoprics (l. iv. c. 7.), and produces the original of the bull (l. iv. c. 29.). Giannone gives a national idea of this privilege, and the tribunal of the monarchy of Sicily (tom. ii. p. 95—102.); and St. Marc (Abrégé, tom. iii. p. 217—301. 1st column) labours the case with the diligence of a Sicilian lawyer.

⁵⁹ In the first expedition of Robert against the Greeks, I follow Anna Comnena (the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and 5th books of the Alexiad), William Appulus (l. 4th and 5th, p. 270—275.), and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. iii. c. 13, 14. 24—29. 39.). Their information is contemporary and authentic, but none of them were eye-witnesses of the war.

⁶⁰ One of them was married to Hugh, the son of Azzo, or Azo, a marquis of Lombardy, rich, powerful, and *noble* (Guilielm. Appul. l. iii. p. 267.), in the xith century, and whose ancestors in the xth and ixth are explored by the critical industry of Leibnitz and Muratori. From the two elder sons of the marquis Azzo, are derived the illustrious lines of Brunswic and Este. See Muratori, *Antichità Estensi*.

⁶¹ Anna Comnena, somewhat too wantonly, praises and bewails that handsome boy, who, after the rupture of his barbaric nuptials (l. i. p. 23.), was betrothed as her husband; he was *αγαλμα Φυσεως* *Θερ χειρων Φιλοτιμημα* *χρυσος γενος απορροη*, etc. (p. 27.). Elsewhere, she describes the red and white of his skin, his hawk's eyes, etc. l. iii. p. 71.

⁶² Anna Comnena, l. i. p. 28, 29. Guilielm. Appul. l. iv. p. 271. Galfrid Malaterra, l. iii. c. 13. p. 579, 580. Malaterra is more cautious in his style: but the Apulian is bold and positive.

— Mentitus se Michaelem

Venerat a Danaïs quidam seductor ad illum.

As Gregory VII. had believed, Baronius, almost alone, recognizes the emperor Michael (A. D. 1080, N° 44.).

⁶³ Ipse armatae militiae non plusquam MCCC milites secum habuisse, ab eis qui eidem negotio interfuerunt attestatur (Malaterra, l. iii. c. 24. p. 583.). These are the same whom the Apulian (l. iv. p. 273.) styles the equestris gens ducis, equites de gente ducis.

⁶⁴ *Εἰς τριακοντα χιλιαδας*, says Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. i. p. 37.); and her account tallies with the number and lading of the ships. *Ivit in Dyrrachium cum xv millibus hominum*, says the *Chronicum Breve Normannicum* (Muratori, *Scriptores*, tom. v. p. 278). I have endeavoured to reconcile these reckonings.

⁶⁵ The Itinerary of Jerusalem (p. 609. edit. Weffeling) gives a true and reasonable space of a thousand stadia, or one hundred miles, which is strangely doubled by Strabo (l. vi. p. 433.) and Pliny (Hist. Natur. iii. 26.).

⁶⁶ Pliny (Hist. Nat. iii. 6. 16.) allows *quingenta* millia for this brevissimus cursus, and agrees with real distance from Otranto to La Vallona, or Aulon (d'Anville, *Analyse de la Carte des Côtes de la Grèce*, etc. p. 3—6.). Herimolaus Barbarus, who substitutes *centum* (Harduin, Not. lxvi. in Plin. l. iii.), might have been corrected by every Venetian pilot who had sailed out of the gulph.

⁶⁷ Infames scopulos Acroceraunia, Horat. *carm.* i. 3. The præcipitem Africum decertantem Aquilonibus et rabiem Noti, and the monstra natantia of the Adriatic, are somewhat enlarged; but Horace trembling

for the life of Virgil, is an interesting moment in the history of poetry and friendship.

⁶⁸ Τῶν δὲ εἰς τὸν πῶγωνα αὐτὸς ἐβυβρισάντων (Alexias, l. iv. p. 106.). Yet the Normans shaved, and the Venetians wore, their beards; they must have derived the *no*-beard of Bohemond; an harsh interpretation! (Ducange, Not. ad Alexiad. p. 283.).

⁶⁹ Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 136, 137.) observes, that some authors (Petrus Diacon. Chron. Casinen. l. iii. c. 49.) compose the Greek army of 170,000 men, but that the *hundred* may be struck off, and that Malaterra reckons only 70,000: a slight inattention. The passage to which he alludes, is in the Chronicle of Lupus Protospata (Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 45.). Malaterra (l. iv. c. 27.) speaks in high, but indefinite, terms of the emperor, cum copiis innumerabilibus: like the Apulian poet (l. iv. p. 272.):

More locustarum montes et plana teguntur.

⁷⁰ See William of Malmesbury de Gestis Anglorum, l. ii. p. 92. Alexis fidem Anglorum suscipiens præcipuis familiaritatibus suis eos applicabat, amorem eorum filio transcribens. Ordericus Vitalis (Hist. Eccles. l. iv. p. 508. l. vii. p. 641.) relates their emigration from England, and their service in Greece.

⁷¹ See the Apulian (l. i. p. 256.). The character and story of these Manichæans has been the subject of the livth chapter.

⁷² See the simple and masterly narrative of Cæsar himself (Comment. de Bell. Civil. iii. 41—75.). It is pity that Quintus Icilius (M. Guischard) did not live to analyse these operations, as he has done the campaigns of Africa and Spain.

⁷³ Πάλλας ἄλλη καὶ μὴ Ἀθηνῆ, which is very properly translated by the president Cousin (Hist. de Constantinople, tom. iv. p. 131, in 12mo), qui combattoit comme une Pallas, quoiqu'elle ne fût pas aussi favante que celle d'Athènes. The Grecian goddess was composed of two discordant characters, of Neith, the workwoman of Sais in Egypt, and of a virgin Amazon of the Tritonian lake in Libya (Banier, Mythologie, tom. iv. p. 1—31. in 12mo).

⁷⁴ Anna Comnena (l. iv. p. 116.) admires, with some degree of terror, her masculine virtues. They were more familiar to the Latins; and though the Apulian (l. iv. p. 273.) mentions her presence and her wound, he represents her as far less intrepid.

Uxor in hoc bello Roberti forte sagittâ

Quâdam læsa fuit: quo vulnere *terrâ* nullam

Dum sperabat opem se pœne *subegerat* hosti.

The last is an unlucky word for a female prisoner.

⁷⁵ Ἀπο τῆς τῆς Ρομπερτε προηγησάμενης μάχης, γινώσκων τὴν

πρωτην κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιῶν ἱππατικὴν τῶν Κελτῶν ἀνυποῖστον (Annal. l. v. p. 133.); and elsewhere καὶ γὰρ Κελτὸς ἀνὴρ πᾶς ἐποχόμενος μὲν ἀνυποῖστος τὴν ὁρμὴν, καὶ τὴν θῆραν ἐστὶν (p. 140.). The pedantry of the princes in the choice of classic appellations, encouraged Ducange to apply to his countrymen the characters of the ancient Gauls.

⁷⁶ Lupus Protospata (tom. iii. p. 45.) says 6000; William the Apulian more than 5000 (l. iv. p. 273.). Their modesty is singular and laudable: they might with so little trouble have slain two or three myriads of schismatics and infidels!

⁷⁷ The Romans had changed the inauspicious name of *Epi-damnus* to Dyrrachium (Plin. iii. 26.); and the vulgar corruption of Duracium (see Malaterra) bore some affinity to *hardness*. One of Robert's names was Durand, a *durando*: poor wit! (Alberic. Monarch. in Chron. apud Muratori Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 137.).

⁷⁸ Βραχὺς καὶ ακριδᾶς εἶπεν ἀντὶς αὐτῆς πτερὰ καὶ υἱόν (Anna, l. i. p. 35.). By these similes, so different from those of Homer, she wishes to inspire contempt as well as horror for the little, noxious animal, a conqueror. Most unfortunately, the common sense, or common nonsense, of mankind resists her laudable design.

⁷⁹ Prodiit hâc auctor Trojanæ cladis Achilles. The supposition of the Apulian (l. v. p. 275.) may be excused by the more classic poetry of Virgil (Æneid II. 197.). Larissæus Achilles, but it is not justified by the geography of Homer.

⁸⁰ The τῶν πεδῖλων προαλματα, which incumbered the knights on foot, have been ignorantly translated spurs (Anna Comnena, Alexias, l. v. p. 140.). Ducange has explained the true sense by a ridiculous and inconvenient fashion, which lasted from the xith to the xvth century. These peaks, in the form of a scorpion, were sometimes two foot long, and fastened to the knee with a silver chain.

⁸¹ The epistle itself (Alexias, l. iii. p. 93, 94, 95.) well deserves to be read. There is one expression, ἀστροπέλεκυν δεδεμένον μετὰ χρυσᾶφει, which Ducange does not understand. I have endeavoured to grope out a tolerable meaning: χρυσᾶφειον, is a golden crown; ἀστροπέλεκυς, is explained by Simon Portius (in Lexico Græco-Barbar.), by κερκυνος, πρηστῆρ, a flash of lightning.

⁸² For these general events I must refer to the general historians Sigonius, Baronius, Muratori, Mosheim, St. Marc, etc.

⁸³ The lives of Gregory VII. are either legends or invectives (St. Marc, Abrégé, tom. iii. p. 235, etc.): and his miraculous or magical performances are alike incredible to a modern reader. He will, as usual, find some instruction in Le Clerc (Vie de Hildebrand, Bibliot. ancienne et moderne, tom. viii.), and much amusement in Bayle

(Dictionnaire Critique, *Gregoire VII.*). That pope was undoubtedly a great man, a second Athanasius, in a more fortunate age of the church. May I presume to add, that the portrait of Athanasius is one of the passages of my history (vol. iii. p. 280, etc.) with which I am the least dissatisfied?

⁸⁴ Anna, with the rancour of a Greek schismatic, calls him *καταπνυστος εὐτος Παπας* (l. i. p. 32.), a pope, or priest, worthy to be spit upon; and accuses him of scourging, shaving, perhaps of castrating, the ambassadors of Henry (p. 31, 33.). But this outrage is improbable and doubtful (see the sensible preface of Cousin).

⁸⁵

Sic uno tempore victi

Sunt terræ Domini duo: rex Alemannicus iste,
Imperii rector Romani maximus ille.

Alter ad arma ruens armis superatur; et alter

Nominis auditi solâ formidine cessit.

It is singular enough, that the Apulian, a Latin, should distinguish the Greek as the ruler of the Roman empire (l. iv. p. 274.).

⁸⁶ The narrative of Malaterra (l. iii. c. 37. p. 587, 588.) is authentic, circumstantial, and fair. Dux ignem exclamans urbe incensâ, etc. The Apulian softens the mischief (inde *quibusdam ædibus exustis*), which is again exaggerated in some partial Chronicles (Muratori Annali, tom. ix. p. 147.).

⁸⁷ After mentioning this devastation, the Jesuit Donatus (de Roma veteri et novâ, l. iv. c. 8. p. 489.) prettily adds, Duraret hodieque in Cœlio monte interque ipsum et capitolum miserabilis facies prostratæ urbis, nisi in hortorum vinetorumque amœnitatem Roma resurrexisset ut perpetuâ viriditate contegeret vulnera et ruinas suas.

⁸⁸ The royalty of Robert, either promised or bestowed by the pope (Anna, l. i. p. 32.), is sufficiently confirmed by the Apulian (l. iv. p. 270.).

Romani regni sibi promississe coronam

Papa ferebatur.

Nor can I understand why Gretser, and the other papal advocates, should be displeased with this new instance of apostolic jurisdiction.

⁸⁹ See Homer Iliad B. (I hate this pedantic mode of quotation by the letters of the Greek alphabet) 87, etc. His bees are the image of a disorderly crowd: their discipline and public works seem to be the ideas of a later age (Virgil. *Æneid*, l. i.)

⁹⁰ Guilielm. Appulus, l. v. p. 276. The admirable port of Brundisium was double; the outward harbour was a gulph covered by an island, and narrowing by degrees, till it communicated by a small gullet with the inner harbour, which embraced the city on both

fides. Cæsar and Nature have laboured for its ruin; and against such agents, what are the feeble efforts of the Neapolitan government? (Swinburne's Travels in the two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 384—390.).

⁹¹ William of Apulia (l. v. p. 276.) describes the victory of the Normans, and forgets the two previous defeats, which are diligently recorded by Anna Comnena (l. vi. p. 159, 160, 161.). In her turn, she invents or magnifies a fourth action, to give the Venetians revenge and rewards. Their own feelings were far different, since they deposed their doge, propter excidium stoli (Dandulus in Chron. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 249.).

⁹² The most authentic writers, William of Apulia (l. v. 277.), Jeffrey Malaterra (l. iii. c. 41. p. 589.), and Romuald of Salerno (Chron. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. vii.), are ignorant of this crime so apparent to our countrymen William of Malmsbury (l. iii. p. 107.) and Roger de Hoveden (p. 710. in Script. post Bedam): and the latter can tell, how the just Alexius married, crowned, and burnt alive, his female accomplice. The English historian is indeed so blind, that he ranks Robert Guiscard, or Wiscard, among the knights of Henry I. who ascended the throne fifteen years after the duke of Apulia's death.

⁹³ The joyful Anna Comnena scatters some flowers over the grave of an enemy (Alexiad, l. v. p. 162—166.): and his best praise is the esteem and envy of William the Conqueror, the sovereign of his family. Græcia (says Malaterra) hostibus recedentibus libera læta quievit: Apulia tota sive Calabria turbatur.

⁹⁴ Urbs Venusina nitet tantis decorata sepulchris, is one of the last lines of the Apulian's poem (l. v. p. 278.). William of Malmsbury (l. iii. p. 107.) inserts an epitaph on Guiscard, which is not worth transcribing.

⁹⁵ Yet Horace had few obligations to Venusia: he was carried to Rome in his childhood (Sermon. i. 6.); and his repeated allusions to the doubtful limit of Apulia and Lucania (Carm. iii. 4. Serm. ii. 1.) are unworthy of his age and genius.

⁹⁶ See Giannone (tom. ii. p. 88—93.), and the historians of the first crusade.

⁹⁷ The reign of Roger, and the Norman kings of Sicily, fills four books of the Istoria Civile of Giannone (tom. ii. l. xi—xiv. p. 136—340.), and is spread over the ixth and xth volumes of the Italian Annals of Muratori. In the Bibliothèque Italique (tom. i. p. 175—222.) I find an useful abstract of Capecelatro, a modern Neapolitan, who has composed, in two volumes, the history of his country from Roger I. to Frederic II. inclusive.

⁹⁸ According to the testimony of Philistus and Diodorus, the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse could maintain a standing force of 10,000 horse, 100,000 foot, and 400 galleys. Compare Hume (*Essays*, vol. i. pag. 268. 435.) and his adversary Wallace (*Numbers of Mankind*, p. 306, 307.). The ruins of Agrigentum are the theme of every traveller, d'Orville, Reidesel, Swinburne, etc.

⁹⁹ A contemporary historian of the Acts of Roger from the year 1127 to 1135, founds his title on merit and power, the consent of the barons, and the ancient royalty of Sicily and Palermo, without introducing pope Anacletus (*Alexand. Cœnobii Telefini Abbatis de Rebus gestis Regis Rogerii*, lib. iv. in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. v. p. 607—645.).

¹⁰⁰ The kings of France, England, Scotland, Castille, Arragon, Navarre, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary. The three first were more ancient than Charlemagne: the three next were created by their sword, the three last by their baptism; and of these the king of Hungary alone was honoured or debased by a papal crown.

¹⁰¹ Fazellus, and a crowd of Sicilians, had imagined a more early and independent coronation (A. D. 1130, May 1.), which Giannone unwillingly rejects (tom. ii. p. 137—144.). This fiction is disproved by the silence of contemporaries; nor can it be restored by a spurious charter of Messina (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 340. Pagi, *Critica*, tom. iv. p. 467, 468.).

¹⁰² Roger corrupted the second person of Lothaire's army, who founded, or rather cried, a retreat: for the Germans (says Cinnamus, l. iii. c. 1. p. 51.) are ignorant of the use of trumpets. Most ignorant himself!

¹⁰³ See de Guignes, *Hist. Générale des Huns*, tom. i. p. 369—373. and Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique*, etc. sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. p. 70—140. Their common original appears to be Novairi.

¹⁰⁴ Tripoli (says the Nubian geographer, or more properly the Sherif al Edrisi) *urbs fortis, saxeo muro vallata, sita prope litus maris. Hanc expugnavit Rogerius, qui mulieribus captivis ductis, viros peremit.*

¹⁰⁵ See the geography of Leo Africanus (in Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 74. verso, fol. 75. recto), and Shaw's *Travels* (p. 110.), the viith book of Thuanus, and the xith of the Abbé de Vertot. The possession and defence of the place was offered by Charles V. and wisely declined by the knights of Malta.

¹⁰⁶ Pagi has accurately marked the African conquests of Roger; and his criticism was supplied by his friend the Abbé de Longuerue.

with some Arabic memorials (A. D. 1147, N°. 26, 27. A. D. 1148, N°. 16. A. D. 1153. N°. 16.).

¹⁰⁷ Appulus et Calaber, Siculus mihi fervit et Afer.

A proud inscription, which denotes, that the Norman conquerors were still discriminated from their Christian and Moslem subjects.

¹⁰⁸ Hugo Falcandus (Hist. Sicula, in Muratori Script. tom. vii. p. 270, 271.) ascribes these losses to the neglect or treachery of the admiral Majo.

¹⁰⁹ The silence of the Sicilian historians, who end too soon or begin too late, must be supplied by Otho of Frisingen, a German (de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 33. in Muratori Script. tom. vi. p. 668.), the Venetian Andrew Dandulus (Id. tom. xii. p. 282, 283.), and the Greek writers Cinnamus (l. iii. c. 2—5.) and Nicetas (in Manuel. l. ii. c. 1—6.).

¹¹⁰ To this imperfect capture and speedy rescue, I apply the *παρ' ὀλίγον ηλθε τὸ ἄλωναί*, of Cinnamus, l. ii. c. 19. p. 49. Muratori, on tolerable evidence (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 420, 421.), laughs at the delicacy of the French, who maintain, *marisque nullo impediēte periculo ad regnum proprium reversum esse*; yet I observe that their advocate, Ducange, is less positive as the commentator on Cinnamus, than as the editor of Joinville.

¹¹¹ In palatium regium fagittas igneas iniecit, says Dandulus; but Nicetas, l. ii. c. 8. p. 66. transforms them into *Βελὴ ἀργεντεῖς ἔχοντα ἀτρακτεῖς*, and adds, that Manuel styled this insult *παιγνιον*, and *γελῶτα ληγευοντα*. These arrows, by the compiler, Vincent de Beauvais, are again transmuted into gold.

¹¹² For the invasion of Italy, which is almost overlooked by Nicetas, see the more polite history of Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 1—15. p. 78—101.), who introduces a diffuse narrative by a lofty profession, *περὶ τῆς Σικελίας τε, καὶ τῆς Ἰταλῶν ἐσκαπτετο γῆς, ὥς καὶ ταύτας Ρωμαίους ἀνασώσαιοτο*.

¹¹³ The Latin, Otho (de Gestis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 30. p. 734.), attests the forgery: the Greek, Cinnamus (l. i. c. 4. p. 78.), claims a promise of restitution from Conrad and Frederic. An act of fraud is always credible when it is told of the Greeks.

¹¹⁴ Quod Anconitani Græcum imperium nimis diligenter Veneti speciali odio Anconam oderunt. The cause of love, perhaps of envy, were the beneficia, flumen aureum of the emperor; and the Latin narrative is confirmed by Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 14. p. 98.).

¹¹⁵ Muratori mentions the two sieges of Ancona; the first in 1167, against Frederic I. in person (Annali, tom. x. p. 39, etc.); the

second, in 1173, against his lieutenant Christian, archbishop of Mentz, a man unworthy of his name and office (p. 76, etc.). It is of the second siege, that we possess an original narrative, which he has published in his great collection (tom. vi. p. 921—946.).

¹¹⁶ We derive this anecdote from an anonymous chronicle of Fossa Nova, published by Muratori (Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 874.).

¹¹⁷ The Βασιλειον σημειον of Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 14. p. 99.), is susceptible of this double sense. A standard is more Latin, an image more Greek.

¹¹⁸ Nihilominus quoque petebat, ut quia occasio justa et tempus opportunum et acceptabile se obtulerant, Romani corona imperii a sancto apostolo sibi redderetur; quoniam non ad Frederici Alemanni, sed ad suum jus asseruit pertinere (Vit. Alexandri III. a Cardinal. Arragoniæ, in Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. par. i. p. 458.). His second embassy was accompanied cum immensâ multitudine pecuniarum.

¹¹⁹ Nimis alta et perplexa sunt (Vit. Alexandri III. p. 460, 461.), says the cautious pope.

¹²⁰ Μηδεν μεσον ειναι λεγων Ρωμη τη νεωτερα προς την πρεσβυτεραν παλαι απορραγεισαν (Cinnamus, l. iv. c. 14. p. 99.).

¹²¹ In his sixth book, Cinnamus describes the Venetian war, which Nicetas has not thought worthy of his attention. The Italian accounts, which do not satisfy our curiosity, are reported by the annalist Muratori, under the years 1171, etc.

¹²² This victory is mentioned by Romuald of Salerno (in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 198.). It is whimsical enough, that in the praise of the king of Sicily, Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 13. p. 97, 98.) is much warmer and copious than Falcandus p. 268. 270.). But the Greek is fond of description, and the Latin historian is not fond of William the Bad.

¹²³ For the Epistle of William I. see Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 15. p. 101, 102.), and Nicetas (l. ii. c. 8.). It is difficult to affirm, whether these Greeks deceived themselves, or the public, in these flattering portraits of the grandeur of the empire.

¹²⁴ I can only quote of original evidence, the poor chronicles of Sicard of Cremona (p. 603.), and of Fossa Nova (p. 875.), as they are published in the sixth tome of Muratori's historians. The king of Sicily sent his troops contra nequitiam Andronici ad acquirendum imperium C. P. They were capti aut confossi decepti captique, by Isaac.

¹²⁵ By the failure of Cinnamus, we are now reduced to Nicetas (in Andronico, l. i. c. 7, 8, 9. l. ii. c. 1. in Isaac Angelo, l. i. c. 1—4.), who now becomes a respectable contemporary. As he survived the

emperor and the empire, he is above flattery: but the fall of Constantinople exasperated his prejudices against the Latins. For the honour of learning I shall observe that Homer's great commentator, Eustachius archbishop of Thessalonica, refused to desert his flock.

¹²⁶ The *Historia Sicula* of Hugo Falcandus, which properly extends from 1154 to 1169, is inserted in the viith volume of Muratori's Collection (tom. vii. p. 259—344.), and preceded by an eloquent preface or epistle (p. 251—258.), de Calamitatibus Siciliæ. Falcandus has been styled the Tacitus of Sicily; and, after a just, but immense, abatement, from the ist to the xiith century, from a senator to a monk, I would not strip him of his title: his narrative is rapid and perspicuous, his style bold and elegant, his observation keen; he had studied mankind, and feels like a man. I can only regret the narrow and barren field on which his labours have been cast.

¹²⁷ The laborious Benedictines (*l'Art de vérifier les Dates*, p. 896) are of opinion, that the true name of Falcandus, is Fulcandus, or Foucault. According to them, Hugues Foucault, a Frenchman by birth, and at length abbot of St. Denys, had followed into Sicily his patron Stephen de la Perche, uncle to the mother of William II. archbishop of Palermo, and great chancellor of the kingdom. Yet Falcandus has all the feelings of a Sicilian: and the title of *Alumnus* (which he bestows on himself), appears to indicate, that he was born, or at least educated, in the island.

¹²⁸ Falcand. p. 303. Richard de St. Germano begins his history from the death and praises of William II. After some unmeaning epithets, he thus continues: legis et justitiæ cultus tempore suo vigeat in regno; suâ erat quilibet sorte contentus; (were they mortals?) ubique pax, ubique securitas, nec latronum metuebat viator insidias, nec maris nauta offendicula piratarum (*Scrip. Rerum Ital.* tom. vii. p. 969.).

¹²⁹ Constantia, primis a cunabulis in deliciarum tuarum affluentia diutius educata, tuisque institutis, doctrinis et moribus informata, tandem opibus tuis Barbaros delatura discessit: et nunc cum ingentibus copiis revertitur, ut pulcherrima nutricis ornamenta barbaricâ fœditate contamine. Intueri mihi jam videor turbulenta barbarorum acies civitates opulentas et loca diuturnâ pace florentia, metu concutere, cæde vastare, rapinis atterere, et fœdare luxuriâ: hinc cives aut gladiis intercepti, aut servitute depressi, virgines constupratæ, matronæ, etc.

¹³⁰ Certe si regem non dubiæ virtutis elegerint, nec a Saracenis Christiani dissentiant, poterit rex creatus rebus licet quasi desperatis et perditis subvenire, et incursum hostium, si prudenter egerit, propulsare.

¹³¹ In

¹³¹ In Appulis, qui, semper novitate gaudentes, novarum rerum studiis aguntur, nihil arbitror spei aut fiducia reponendum.

¹³² Si civium tuorum virtutem et audaciam attendas, murorum etiam ambitum densis turribus circumseptum.

¹³³ Cum crudelitate piraticâ Theutonum configat atrocitas, et inter ambustos lapides, et Aetnæ flagrantis incendia, etc.

¹³⁴ Eam partem, quam nobilissimarum civitatum fulgor illustrat, quæ et toti regno singulari meruit privilegio præminere, nefarium esset vel barbarorum ingressu pollui. I wish to transcribe his florid, but curious, description of the palace, city, and luxuriant plain of Palermo.

¹³⁵ Vires non suppetunt, et conatus tuos tam inopia civium, quam paucitas bellatorum elidunt.

¹³⁶ At vero, quia difficile est Christianos in tanto rerum turbine, sublato regis timore Saracenos non opprimere, si Saraceni injuriis fatigati ab eis cœperint diffidere, et castella forte maritima vel montanas munitiones occupaverint; ut hinc cum Theutonicis summâ virtute pugnandum, illinc Saracenis crebris insultibus occurrendum, quid putas acturi sunt Siculi inter has depressi angustias, et velut inter malleum et incudem multo cum discrimine constituti? hoc utique agent quod poterunt, ut se Barbaris miserabili conditione dedentes, in eorum se conferant potestatem. O utinam plebis et procerum, Christianorum et Saracenorum vota conveniant, ut regem sibi concorditer eligentes, barbaros totis viribus, toto conamine, totisque desideriis proturbare contendant. The Normans and Sicilians appear to be confounded.

¹³⁷ The testimony of an Englishman, of Roger de Hoveden (p. 689.), will lightly weigh against the silence of German and Italian history (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. x. p. 156.) The priests and pilgrims, who returned from Rome, exalted, by every tale, the omnipotence of the holy father.

¹³⁸ Ego enim in eo cum Teutonicis manere non debeo (Cassari, *Annales Genuenses*, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. vi. p. 367, 368.).

¹³⁹ For the Saracens of Sicily and Nocera, see the Annals of Muratori (tom. x. p. 149. and A. D. 1223, 1247), Giannone, (tom. ii p. 385.), and of the originals, in Muratori's Collection, Richard de St. Germano (tom. vii. p. 996.), Matteo Spinelli di Giovenazzo (tom. vii. p. 1064.), Nicholas de Jamsilla (tom. x. p. 494.), and Matteo Villani (tom. xiv. l. vii. p. 103.). The last of these insinuates, that in reducing the Saracens of Nocera, Charles II. of Anjou employed rather artifice than violence.

¹⁴⁰ Muratori quotes a passage from Arnold of Lubec (l. iv. c. 20.):

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Reperit thesauros absconditos, et omnem lapidum pretioforum et gemmarum gloriam, ita ut oneratis 160 fomeriis, gloriose ad terram suam redierit. Roger de Hoveden, who mentions the violation of the royal tombs and corpses, computes the spoil of Salerno at 200,000 ounces of gold (p. 746.) On these occasions, I am almost tempted to exclaim with the listening maid in *La Fontaine*, “*Je voudrois bien avoir ce qui manque.*”

CHAP. LVII.

¹ I am indebted for his character and history to d’Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale, Mahmud*, p. 533—537.), M. de Guignes (*Histoire des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 155—173.), and our countryman Colonel Alexander Dow (vol. i. p. 23—83.). In the two first volumes of his *History of Hindostan*, he styles himself the translator of the Persian *Ferishta*; but in his florid text, it is not easy to distinguish the version and the original.

² The dynasty of the Samanides, continued 125 years, A. D. 874—999, under ten princes. See their succession and ruin, in the *Tables* of M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 404—406.). They were followed by the Gaznevites, A. D. 999—1183 (see tom. i. p. 239, 240.). His division of nations often disturbs the series of time and place.

³ *Gaznah hortos non habet: est emporium et domicilium mercaturæ Indicæ.* Abulfedæ *Geograph.* Reiske, tab. xxiii. p. 349. d’Herbelot, p. 364. It has not been visited by any modern traveller.

⁴ By the ambassador of the caliph of Bagdad, who employed an Arabian or Chaldaic word that signifies *lord* and *master* (d’Herbelot, p. 825.). It is interpreted *Αυτοκρατωρ, Βασιλεως Βασιλεων*, by the Byzantine writers of the xith century; and the name (*Σελτζανος*, *Soldanus*) is familiarly employed in the Greek and Latin languages, after it had passed from the Gaznevites to the Seljukides, and other emirs of Asia and Egypt. Ducange (*Dissertation xvi. sur Joinville*, p. 238—240. *Gloss. Græc. et Latin.*) labours to find the title of sultan in the ancient kingdom of Persia; but his proofs are mere shadows: a proper name in the *Themes* of Constantine (ii. 11.), an anticipation of Zonaras, etc. and a medal of Kai Khosrou, not (as he believes) the Sassanide of the viith, but the Seljukide of Iconium of the xiiith, century (de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 246.).

⁵ *Ferishta* (apud. Dow, *Hist. of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 49.) mentions the report of a *gun* in the Indian army. But as I am slow in believing this premature (A. D. 1008) use of artillery, I must desire to

scrutinize first the text, and then the authority of Ferishta, who lived in the Mogul court in the last century.

⁶ Kinnouge, or Canouge (the old Palimbothra) is marked in latitude $27^{\circ} 3'$, longitude $80^{\circ} 13'$. See d'Anville (*Antiquité de l'Inde*, p. 60—62.), corrected by the local knowledge of Major Rennel (in his excellent Memoir on his map of Hindostan, p. 37—43.): 300 jewellers, 30,000 shops for the arrega nut, 60,000 bands of musicians, etc. (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. xv. p. 274. Dow, vol. i. p. 16.), will allow an ample deduction.

⁷ The idolaters of Europe, says Ferishta (Dow, vol. i. p. 66.). Consult Abulfeda (p. 272.) and Rennel's map of Hindostan.

⁸ D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 527. Yet these letters, apophthegms, etc. are rarely the language of the heart, or the motives of public action.

⁹ For instance, a ruby of four hundred and fifty miskals (Dow, vol. i. p. 53.), or six pounds three ounces: the largest in the treasury of Dehli weighed seventeen miskals (*Voyages de Tavernier*, partie ii. p. 280.). It is true, that in the East all coloured stones are called rubies (p. 355.), and that Tavernier saw three larger and more precious among the jewels de notre grand roi, le plus puissant et plus magnifique de tous les rois de la terre (p. 376.).

¹⁰ Dow, vol. i. p. 65. The sovereign of Kinoge is said to have possessed 2500 elephants (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. xv. p. 274.). From these Indian stories, the reader may correct a note in my first volume (p. 278.); or from that note he may correct these stories.

¹¹ See a just and natural picture of these pastoral manners, in the history of William archbishop of Tyre (l. i. c. vii. in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 633, 634.), and a valuable note by the editor of the *Histoire Généalogique des Tatars*, p. 535—538.

¹² The first emigrations of the Turkmans, and doubtful origin of the Seljukians, may be traced in the laborious History of the Huns, by M. de Guignes (tom. i. *Tables Chronologiques*, l. v. tom. iii. l. vii. ix. x.), and the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of d'Herbelot, (p. 799—802. 897—901.), Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen* p. 331—333.), and Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 221, 222.).

¹³ Dow, *Hist. of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 89. 95—98. I have copied this passage as a specimen of the Persian manner; but I suspect, that by some odd fatality, the style of Ferishta has been improved by that of Ossian.

¹⁴ The Zendekan of d'Herbelot (p. 1028.), the Dindaka of Dow (vol. i. p. 97.), is probably the Dandanekan of Abulfeda (*Geograph.* p. 345. Reiske), a small town of Chorasan, two days journey from

Marû, and renowned through the East for the production and manufacture of cotton.

¹⁵ The Byzantine historians (Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 766, 767. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 255. Nicephorus Bryennius, p. 21.) have confounded, in this revolution, the truth of time and place, of names and persons, of causes and events. The ignorance and errors of these Greeks (which I shall not stop to unravel) may inspire some distrust of the story of Cyaxares and Cyrus, as it is told by their most eloquent predecessors.

¹⁶ Willerm. Tyr. l. i. c. 7. p. 633. The divination by arrows is ancient and famous in the East.

¹⁷ D'Herbelot, p. 801. Yet after the fortune of his posterity, Seljuk became the thirty-fourth in lineal descent from the great Afrasiab, emperor of Touran (p. 800.). The Tartar pedigree of the house of Zingis gave a different cast to flattery and fable; and the historian Mirkhond derives the Seljukides from Alankavah, the virgin mother (p. 801. col. 2.). If they be the same as the *Zalxuts* of Abulghazi Bahadur Khan (Hist. Généalogique, p. 148.), we quote in their favour the most weighty evidence of a Tartar prince himself, the descendant of Zingis, Alankavah, or Alancu, and Oguz Khan.

¹⁸ By a slight corruption, Togrul Beg is the Tangroli-pix of the Greeks. His reign and character are faithfully exhibited by d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 1027, 1028.) and de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 189—201.).

¹⁹ Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 774, 775. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 257. With their usual knowledge of Oriental affairs, they describe the ambassador as a *sherif*, who, like the syncellus of the patriarch, was the vicar and successor of the caliph.

²⁰ From William of Tyre, I have borrowed this distinction of Turks and Turkmen, which at least is popular and convenient. The names are the same, and the addition of *man*, is of the same import in the Persian and Teutonic idioms. Few critics will adopt the etymology of James de Vitry (Hist. Hierosol. l. i c. 11. p. 1061.), of Turcomani, quasi *Turci* et *Comani*, a mixed people.

²¹ Hist. Générale des Huns, tom. iii. p. 165, 166, 167. M. de Guignes quotes Abulmahasen, an historian of Egypt.

²² Consult the Bibliothèque Orientale, in the articles of the *Abbasides*, *Caher*, and *Caiem*, and the Annals of Elmacin and Abulpharagius.

²³ For this curious ceremony I am indebted to M. de Guignes (tom. iii. p. 197, 198.), and that learned author is obliged to Bondari,

who composed in Arabic the history of the Seljukides (tom. v. p. 365.). I am ignorant of his age, country, and character.

²⁴ Eodem anno (A. H. 455.) obiit princeps Togrulbecus rex fuit clemens, prudens, et peritus regnandi, cujus terror corda mortalium invaserat, ita ut obedirent ei reges atque ad ipsum scriberent Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 342. vers. Erpenii.

²⁵ For these wars of the Turks and Romans, see in general the Byzantine histories of Zonaras and Cedrenus, Scylitzes the continuator of Cedrenus, and Nicephorus Bryennius Cæsar. The two first of these were monks, the two latter statesmen; yet such were the Greeks, that the difference of style and character is scarcely discernible. For the Orientals, I draw as usual on the wealth of d'Herbelot (see titles of the first Seljukides) and the accuracy of de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. l. x.).

²⁶ ΕΦερετο γὰρ ἐν Τερκοῖς λόγος, ὥς εἴη πεπρωμένον καταστροφῆναι το Τερκων γένος ἀπο τῆς τοιαύτης δυναμεως, ὅποιαν ὁ Μακεδων Αλεξανδρος εχων κατεσρεψατο Περσας. Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 791. The credulity of the vulgar is always probable; and the Turks had learned from the Arabs the history or legend of Escander Dulcarnein (d'Herbelot, p. 317, etc.).

²⁷ Οἱ καὶ Ἰβηρικὴν καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν, καὶ Ἀρμενίαν οἰκοῦσι καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἰσθμικὴν τῆς Νεστορίας καὶ τῶν Ἀκεθαλῶν θρησκευτικῶν αἵρεσιν (Scylitzes, ad calcem Cedreni, tom. ii. p. 834. whose ambiguous construction shall not tempt me to suspect that he confounded the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies). He familiarly talks of the μῆνις, χολος, ὀργή, Θες, qualities, as I should apprehend, very foreign to the perfect Being; but his bigotry is forced to confess, that they were soon afterwards discharged on the orthodox Romans.

²⁸ Had the name of Georgians been known to the Greeks (Stritter, *Memoriæ Byzant.* tom. iv. *Iberica*), I should derive it from their agriculture, as the *Σκυθαὶ γεωργοί* of Herodotus (l. iv. c. 18. p. 289. edit. Wesseling). But it appears only since the crusades, among the Latins (Jac. a Vitriaco, Hist. Hierosol. c. 79. p. 1095.) and Orientals (d'Herbelot, p. 407.), and was devoutly borrowed from St. George of Cappadocia.

²⁹ Mosheim, *Institut. Hist. Eccles.* p. 632. See in Chardin's *Travels* (tom. i. p. 171—174.) the manners and religion of this handsome but worthless nation. See the pedigree of their princes from Adam to the present century, in the *Tables* of M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 433—438.).

³⁰ This city is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de

Administrat. Imperii, l. ii. c. 44. p. 119.), and the Byzantines of the xith century, under the name of Mantzikierte, and by some is confounded with Theodosiopolis; but Deslile, in his notes and maps has very properly fixed the situation. Abulfeda (Geograph. tab. xviii. p. 310.) describes Malasgerd as a small town, built with black stone, supplied with water, without trees, etc.

³¹ The Uzi of the Greeks (Stritter, Memor. Byzant. tom. iii. p. 923—948.) are the Gozz of the Orientals (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 522. tom. iii. p. 133, etc.). They appear on the Danube and the Volga, in Armenia, Syria, and Chorasán, and the name seems to have been extended to the whole Turkman race.

³² Urfelius (the Ruffelius of Zonaras) is distinguished by Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 33.) among the Norman conquerors of Sicily, and with the surname of *Baliol*: and our own historians will tell how the Baliols came from Normandy to Durham, built Bernard's-castle on the Tees, married an heiress of Scotland, etc. Ducange (Not. ad Nicephor. Bryennium, l. ii. N° 4.) has laboured the subject in honour of the president de Bailleul, whose father had exchanged the sword for the gown.

³³ Elmacin (p. 343, 344.) assigns this probable number, which is reduced by Abulpharagius to 15,000 (p. 227.), and by d'Herbelot (p. 102.) to 12,000 horse. But the same Elmacin gives 300,000 men to the emperor, of whom Abulpharagius says, cum centum hominum millibus, multisque equis et magnâ pompâ instructus. The Greeks abstain from any definition of numbers.

³⁴ The Byzantine writers do not speak so distinctly of the presence of the sultan; he committed his forces to an eunuch, and retired to a distance, etc. Is it ignorance, or jealousy, or truth?

³⁵ He was the son of the Cæsar John Ducas, brother of the emperor Constantine (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 165.). Nicephorus Bryennius applauds his virtues and extenuates his faults (l. i. p. 30. 38. l. ii. p. 53.). Yet he owns his enmity to Romanus, *ἔπῃν δὲ Φιλίας ἔχων πρὸς βασιλέα*. Scylitzes speaks more explicitly of his treason.

³⁶ This circumstance, which we read and doubt in Scylitzes and Constantine Manassès, is more prudently omitted by Nicephorus and Zonaras.

³⁷ The ransom and tribute are attested by reason and the Orientals. The other Greeks are modestly silent; but Nicephorus Bryennius dares to affirm, that the terms were *ἐκ ἀναξίας Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς*, and that the emperor would have preferred death to a shameful treaty.

³⁸ The defeat and captivity of Romanus Diogenes may be found in

John Scylitzes *ad calcem Cedreni*, tom. ii. p. 835—843. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 281—284. Nicephorus Bryennius, l. i. p. 25—32. Glycas, p. 325—327. Constantine Manasses, p. 134. Elmacin, *Hist. Saracen.* p. 343, 344. Abulpharag. *Dynast.* p. 227. d'Herbelot, p. 102, 103. de Guignes, tom. iii. p. 207—211. Besides my old acquaintance Elmacin and Abulpharagius, the historian of the Huns has consulted Abulfeda, and his epitomizer Benschounah, a *Chronicle of the Caliphs*, by Soyouthi, Abulmahafen of Egypt, and Novairi of Africa.

³⁹ This interesting death is told by d'Herbelot (p. 103, 104.), and M. de Guignes (tom. iii. p. 212, 213.), from their oriental writers; but neither of them have transfused the spirit of Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 344, 345.).

⁴⁰ A critic of high renown (the late Dr. Johnson), who has severely scrutinized the epitaphs of Pope, might cavil in this sublime inscription at the words "repair to Maru," since the reader must already be at Maru before he could peruse the inscription.

⁴¹ The *Bibliothèque Orientale* has given the text of the reign of Malek (p. 542, 543, 544. 654, 655.); and the *Histoire Générale des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 214—224. has added the usual measure of repetition emendation, and supplement. Without those two learned Frenchmen, I should be blind indeed in the Eastern world.

⁴² See an excellent discourse at the end of Sir William Jones's *History of Nadir Shah*, and the articles of the poets, Amak, Anvari, Raschidi, etc. in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

⁴³ His name was Kheder Khan. Four bags were placed round his sofa, and as he listened to the song, he cast handfuls of gold and silver to the poets (d'Herbelot, p. 107.). All this may be true; but I do not understand how he could reign in Transoxiana in the time of Malek Shah, and much less how Kheder could surpass him in power and pomp. I suspect that the beginning, not the end, of the xith century, is the true æra of his reign.

⁴⁴ See Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 235.

⁴⁵ The Gelalæan æra (Gelaledin, Glory of the Faith, was one of the names or titles of Malek Shah) is fixed to the 15th of March, A. H. 471, A. D. 1079. Dr. Hyde has produced the original testimonies of the Persians and Arabians (*de Religione veterum Persarum*, c. 16. p. 200—211.).

⁴⁶ She speaks of this Persian royalty as ἀπασης κακοδαιμονεσέγου πεινίας. Anna Comnena was only nine years old at the end of the reign of Malek Shah (A. D. 1092.), and when she speaks of his assassination, she confounds the sultan with the vizir (Alexias, l. vi. p. 177, 178.).

⁴⁷ So obscure, that the industry of M. de Guignes could only copy (tom. i. p. 244. tom. iii. part. i. p. 269, etc.) the history, or rather list, of the Seljukides of Kerman, in *Bibliothèque Orientale*. They were extinguished before the end of the xiiith century.

⁴⁸ Tavernier, perhaps the only traveller who has visited Kerman, describes the capital as a great ruinous village, twenty-five days journey from Ispahan, and twenty-seven from Ormus, in the midst of a fertile country (*Voyages en Turquie et en Perse*, p. 107, 110.).

⁴⁹ It appears from Anna Comnena, that the Turks of Asia Minor obeyed the signet and chiaus of the great sultan (Alexias, l. vi. p. 170.); and that the two sons of Soliman were detained in his court (p. 180).

⁵⁰ This expression is quoted by Petit de la Croix (*Vie de Gengiscan*, p. 161.), from some poet, most probably a Persian.

⁵¹ On the conquest of Asia Minor, M. de Guignes has derived no assistance from the Turkish or Arabian writers, who produce a naked list of the Seljukides of Roum. The Greeks are unwilling to expose their shame, and we must extort some hints from Scylitzes (p. 860, 863.), Nicephorus Bryennius (p. 88. 91, 92, etc. 103, 104.), and Anna Comnena (Alexias, p. 91, 92, etc. 168, etc.).

⁵² Such is the description of Roum by Haiton the Armenian, whose Tartar history may be found in the collections of Ramusio and Bergeron. (See Abulfeda, *Geograph. climat.* xvii. p. 301—305.).

⁵³ Dicit eos quendam abusione Sodomitica intervertisse episcopum (Guibert, *Abbat. Hist. Hierosol.* l. i. p. 468.). It is odd enough, that we should find a parallel passage of the same people in the present age. "Il n'est point d'horreur que ces Turcs n'ayent commis, et
" semblables aux soldats effrénés, qui dans le sac d'une ville non
" contents de disposer de tout à leur gré prétendent encore aux
" succès les moins désirables. Quelques Sipahis ont porté leurs atten-
" tats sur la personne du vieux rabbi de la synagogue, et celle de
" l'Archevêque Grec." (*Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, tom. ii. p. 193.)

⁵⁴ The emperor, or abbot, describe the scenes of a Turkish camp as if they had been present. *Matres correptæ in conspectu filiarum multipliciter repetitis diversorum coitibus vexabantur* (is that the true reading?); *cum filia assistentes carmina præcinere saltando cogerentur.* *Mox eadem passio ad filias, etc.*

⁵⁵ See Antioch, and the death of Soliman, in Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. vi. p. 168, 169.), with the notes of Ducange.

⁵⁶ William of Tyre (l. i. c. 9, 10. p. 635. gives the most authentic and deplorable account of these Turkish conquests.

⁵⁷ In his epistle to the count of Flanders, Alexius seems to fall too low beneath his character and dignity : yet it is approved by Ducange (*Not. ad Alexiad*, p. 335, etc.), and paraphrased by the abbot Guibert, a contemporary historian. The Greek text no longer exists ; and each translator and scribe might say with Guibert (p. 475.), *verbis vestita meis*, a privilege of most indefinite latitude.

⁵⁸ Our best fund for the history of Jerusalem from Heraclius to the crusades, is contained in two large and original passages of William Archbishop of Tyre (l. i. c. 1—10. l. xviii. c. 5, 6.), the principal author of the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. M. de Guignes has composed a very learned *Mémoire sur le Commerce des Français dans le Levant avant les Croisades*, etc. (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxvii. p. 467—500.).

⁵⁹ *Secundum Dominorum dispositionem plerumque nubila recepit intervalla, et ægotantium more temporum præsentium gravabatur aut respirabat qualitate* (l. i. c. iii. p. 630.). The latinity of William of Tyre is by no means contemptible : but in his account of 490 years, from the loss to the recovery of Jerusalem, he exceeds the true account by thirty years.

⁶⁰ For the transactions of Charlemagne with the Holy Land, see Eginhard (*de Vitâ Caroli Magni*, c. 16. p. 79—82.), Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Administratione Imperii*, l. ii. c. 26. p. 80.), and Pagi (*Critica*, tom. iii. A. D. 800. N° 13, 14, 15.).

⁶¹ The caliph granted his privileges, *Amalphitanis viris amicis et utilium introductoribus* (*Gesta Dei*, p. 934.). The trade of Venice to Egypt and Palestine cannot produce so old a title, unless we adopt the laughable translation of a Frenchman who mistook the two factions of the circus (*Veneti et Prafini*) for the Venetians and Parisians.

⁶² An Arabic chronicle of Jerusalem (*apud Asseman. Bibliot. Orient.* tom. i. p. 628. tom. iv. p. 368.) attests the unbelief of the caliph and the historian ; yet Cantacuzene presumes to appeal to the Mahometans themselves for the truth of this perpetual miracle.

⁶³ In his *Dissertations on Ecclesiastical History*, the learned Mosheim has separately discussed this pretended miracle (tom. ii. p. 214—306.). *de lumine sancti sepulchri*.

⁶⁴ William of Malmesbury (l. iv. c. 2. p. 209.) quotes the Itinerary of the monk Bernard, an eye-witness, who visited Jerusalem A. D. 870. The miracle is confirmed by another pilgrim some years older ; and Mosheim ascribes the invention to the Franks, soon after the decease of Charlemagne.

⁶⁵ Our travellers, Sandys (p. 134.), Thevenot (p. 621—627.),

Maundrell (p. 94, 95.), etc. describe this extravagant farce. The Catholics are puzzled to decide, *when* the miracle ended, and the trick began.

⁶⁶ The Orientals themselves confess the fraud, and plead necessity and edification (*Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, tom. ii. p. 140. Joseph. Abudacni, *Hist. Copt.* c. 20.): but I will not attempt, with Mosheim, to explain the mode. Our travellers have failed with the blood of St. Januarius at Naples.

⁶⁷ See d'Herbelot (*Bibliot. Orientale*, p. 411.), Renaudot (*Hist. Patriarch Alex.* p. 390. 397. 400, 401.), Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 321—323.), and Marei (p. 384—386.), an historian of Egypt, translated by Reiske from Arabic into German, and verbally interpreted to me by a friend.

⁶⁸ The religion of the Druses is concealed by their ignorance and hypocrisy. Their secret doctrines are confined to the elect who profess a contemplative life; and the vulgar Druses, the most indifferent of men, occasionally conform to the worship of the Mahometans and Christians of their neighbourhood. The little that is, or deserves to be, known, may be seen in the industrious Niebuhr (*Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 354—357.), and the second volume of the recent and instructive Travels of M. de Volney.

⁶⁹ See Glaber, l. iii. c. 7. and the Annals of Baronius and Pagi, A. D. 1009.

⁷⁰ Per idem tempus ex universo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo coepit confluere ad sepulchrum salvatoris Hierosolimis, quantum nullus hominum prius sperare poterat. Ordo inferioris plebis mediocres reges et comites præfules mulieres multæ nobiles cum pauperioribus Pluribus enim erat mentis desiderium mori priusquam ad propria reverterentur (*Glaber. l. iv. c. 6.* Bouquet, *Historians of France*, tom. x. p. 50.).

⁷¹ Glaber. l. iii. c. 1. Katona (*Hist. Critic. Regum Hungariæ*, tom. i. p. 304—311.), examines whether St. Stephen founded a monastery at Jerusalem.

⁷² Baronius (A. D. 1064, N°. 43—56.) has transcribed the greater part of the original narratives of Ingulphus, Marianus, and Lambertus.

⁷³ See Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 349, 350.), and Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 237. vers. Pocock.), M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iii. part. i. p. 215, 216.) adds the testimonies, or rather the names, of Abulfeda and Novairi.

⁷⁴ From the expedition of Isar Atsiz (A. D. 469, A. D. 1076.), to

the expulsion of the Ortokides (A. D. 1096.). Yet William of Tyre (l. i. c. 6. p. 633.) asserts, that Jerusalem was thirty-eight years in the hands of the Turks; and an Arabic chronicle, quoted by Pagi (tom. iv. p. 202.), supposes, that the city was reduced by a Carizmian general to the obedience of the caliph of Bagdad, A. H. 463, A. D. 1070. These early dates are not very compatible with the general history of Asia; and I am sure, that as late as A. D. 1064, the regnum Babylonicum (of Cairo) still prevailed in Palestine (Baronius, A. D. 1064, N°. 56.).

⁷⁵ De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 249—252.

⁷⁶ Willerm. Tyr. l. i. c. 8. p. 634. who strives hard to magnify the Christian grievances. The Turks exacted an *aureus* from each pilgrim! The *capfar* of the Franks is now fourteen dollars: and Europe does not complain of this voluntary tax.

CHAP. LVIII.

¹ Whimsical enough is the origin of the name of *Picards*, and from thence of *Picardie*, which does not date earlier than A. D. 1200. It was an academical joke, an epithet first applied to the quarrelsome humour of those students, in the university of Paris, who came from the frontier of France and Flanders (Valesii Notitia Galliarum, p. 447. Longuerue, Description de la France, p. 54.).

² William of Tyre (l. i. c. 11. p. 637, 638.) thus describes the hermit: *pufillus, personâ contemptibilis, vivacis ingenii, et oculum habens perspicacem gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium.* See Albert Aquensis, p. 185. Guibert, p. 482. Anna Comnena in Alexiad. l. x. p. 284, etc. with Ducange's notes, p. 349.

³ *Ultra quinquaginta millia, si me possunt in expeditione pro duce et pontifice habere, armatâ manû volunt in inimicos Dei insurgere et ad sepulchrum Domini ipso ducente pervenire* (Gregor. vii. epist. ii. 31. in tom. xii. p. 322. concil.).

⁴ See the original lives of Urban II. by Pandulphus Pisanus and Bernardus Guida, in Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. iii. pars i. p. 352, 353.

⁵ She is known by the different names of Praxes, Eupræcia, Eufrafia, and Adalais; and was the daughter of a Russian prince, and the widow of a margrave of Brandenburg. Struv. Corpus Hist. Germanicæ, p. 340.

⁶ *Henricus odio eam cœpit habere: ideo incarcerationavit eam, et concessit ut plerique vim ei inferrent; immo filium hortans ut eam subagitaret* (Dodechin, Continuat. Marian. Scot. apud Baron. A. D.

1093, N° 4.). In the synod of Constance, she is described by Bertholdus, rerum inspector: quæ se tantas et tam inauditas fornicationum spurcitas, et a tantis passam fuisse conquesta est, etc. and again at Placentia: satis misericorditer suscepit, eo quod ipsam tantas spurcitas non tam commisisse quam invitam pertulisse pro certo cognoverit papa cum sanctâ synodo. Apud Baron. A. D. 1093, N° 4. 1094, N° 3. A rare subject for the infallible decision of a pope and council. These abominations are repugnant to every principle of human nature, which is not altered by a dispute about rings and crofiers. Yet it should seem, that the wretched woman was tempted by the priests to relate or subscribe some infamous stories of herself and her husband.

⁷ See the narrative and acts of the synod of Placentia, Concil. tom. xii. p. 821, etc.

⁸ Guibert himself, a Frenchman, praises the piety and valour of the French nation, the author and example of the crusades: Gens nobilis, prudens, bellicosa, dapilis et nitida . . . Quos enim Britones, *Anglos*, Ligures, si bonis eos moribus videamus, non illico *Francos homines* appellemus? (p. 478.). He owns, however, that the vivacity of the French degenerates into petulance among foreigners (p. 483.), and vain loquaciousness (p. 502.).

⁹ Per viam quam jamdudum Carolus Magnus mirificus rex Francorum aptari fecit usque C. P. (Gesta Francorum, p. 1. Robert. Monarch. Hist. Hieros. l. i. p. 33, etc.).

¹⁰ John Tilpinus, or Torpinus, was archbishop of Rheims, A. D. 773. After the year 1000, this romance was composed in his name, by a monk of the borders of France and Spain: and such was the idea of ecclesiastical merit, that he describes himself as a fighting and drinking priest! Yet the book of lies was pronounced authentic by pope Calixtus II. (A. D. 1122.), and is respectfully quoted by the abbot Suger, in the great Chronicles of St. Denys (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi, edit. Mansi, tom. iv. p. 161.).

¹¹ See Etat de la France, by the Count de Boulainvilliers, tom. i. p. 180—182. and the second volume of the Observations sur l'Histoire de France, by the Abbé de Mably.

¹² In the provinces to the south of the Loire, the first *Capetians* were scarcely allowed a feudal supremacy. On all sides, Normandy, Bretagne, Aquitain, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Flanders, contracted the name and limits of the *proper* France. See Hadrian Vales. Notitia Galliarum.

¹³ These counts, a younger branch of the dukes of Aquitain, were at length despoiled of the greatest part of their country by Philip Augustus. The bishops of Clermont gradually became princes of

the city. *Mélanges*, tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque, tom. xxxvi. p. 288, etc.

¹⁴ See the acts of the council of Clermont, *Concil.* tom. xii. p. 829, etc.

¹⁵ *Confluxerunt ad concilium e multis regionibus, viri potentes et honorati, innumeri quamvis cingulo laicalis militiæ superbi* (Baldric, an eye witness, p. 86—88. Robert. Mon. p. 31, 32. Will. Tyr. i. 14, 15. p. 639—641. Guibert, p. 478—480. Fulcher Carnot. p. 382.).

¹⁶ The Truce of God (*Treva*, or *Treuga Dei*) was first invented in Aquitain, A. D. 1032; blamed by some bishops as an occasion of perjury, and rejected by the Normans as contrary to their privileges (Ducange, *Gloss. Latin.* tom. vi. p. 682—685.).

¹⁷ *Deus vult, Deus vult!* was the pure acclamation of the clergy who understood Latin (Robert. Mon. l. i. p. 32.). By the illiterate laity, who spoke the *Provincial* or *Limousin* idiom, it was corrupted to *Deus lo volt*, or *Die el volt*. See *Chron. Casinense*, l. iv. c. 11. p. 497. in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. iv. and Ducange (*Dissertat.* xi. p. 207. sur Joinville, and *Gloss. Latin.* tom. ii. p. 690.), who, in his preface, produces a very difficult specimen of the dialect of Roergue, A. D. 1100, very near, both in time and place, to the council of Clermont (p. 15, 16.).

¹⁸ Most commonly on their shoulders, in gold, or silk, or cloth sewed on their garments. In the first crusade, all were red: in the third, the French alone preserved that colour, while green crosses were adopted by the Flemings, and white by the English (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 651.). Yet in England, the red ever appears the favourite, and, as it were, the national, colour of our military ensigns and uniforms.

¹⁹ Bongarsius, who has published the original writers of the crusades, adopts, with much complacency, the fanatic title of Guibertus, *Gesta DEI per Francos*; though some critics propose to read *Gesta Diaboli per Francos* (Hanoviæ, 1611, two vols. in folio). I shall briefly enumerate, as they stand in this collection, the authors whom I have used for the first crusade. I. *Festa Francorum*. II. Robertus Monachus. III. Baldricus. IV. Raimundus de Agiles. V. Albertus Aquensis. VI. Fulcherius Carnotensis. VII. Guibertus. VIII. Willelmus Tyriensis. Muratori has given us, IX. Radulphus Cadomensis de *Gestis Tancredi* (*Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. v. p. 285—333.), and, X. Bernardus Thesaurarius de *Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ* (tom. vii. p. 664—848.). The last of these was unknown to a late French historian, who has given a large and critical list of the writers of the crusades (*Esprit des Croisades*, tom. i. p. 13—141.), and most of whose judgments my own

experience will allow me to ratify. It was late before I could obtain a sight of the French historians collected by Duchesne. I. Petri Tudebodi Sacerdotis Sivracensis Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere (tom. iv. p. 773—815.), has been transfused into the first anonymous writer of Bongarsius. II. The Metrical History of the first Crusade, in vii books (p. 890—912.), is of small value or account.

²⁰ If the reader will turn to the first scene of the first part of Henry the Fourth, he will see in the text of Shakespeare the natural feelings of enthusiasm; and in the notes of Dr. Johnson, the workings of a bigoted though vigorous mind, greedy of every pretence to hate and persecute those who dissent from his creed.

²¹ The sixth Discourse of Fleury on Ecclesiastical History (p. 223—261.) contains an accurate and rational view of the causes and effects of the crusades.

²² The penance, indulgences, etc. of the middle ages are amply discussed by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiae medii Aevi, tom. v. dissert. lxxviii. p. 709—768.), and by M. Chais (Lettres sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences, tom. ii. lettres 21 et 22. p. 478—556.), with this difference, that the abuses of superstition are mildly, perhaps faintly, exposed by the learned Italian, and peevishly magnified by the Dutch minister.

²³ Schmidt (Histoire des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 211—220. 452—462.) gives an abstract of the Penitential of Rhegino in the ninth, and of Burchard in the tenth, century. In one year five-and-thirty murders were perpetrated at Worms.

²⁴ Till the xiith century, we may support the clear account of xii *denarii*, or pence, to the *solidus*, or shilling; and xx *solidi* to the pound weight of silver, about the pound sterling. Our money is diminished to a third, and the French to a fiftieth, of this primitive standard.

²⁵ Each century of lashes was sanctified with the recital of a psalm; and the whole Psalter, with the accompaniment of 15,000 stripes, was equivalent to five years.

²⁶ The Life and Achievements of St. Dominic Loricatus, was composed by his friend and admirer, Peter Damianus. See Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 96—104. Baronius, A. D. 1056, N°. 7. who observes from Damianus, how fashionable, even among ladies of quality (*sublimis generis*), this expiation (*purgatorii genus*) was grown.

²⁷ At a quarter, or even half a rial a lash, Sancho Pança was a cheaper, and possibly not a more dishonest, workman. I remember

in Père Labat (*Voyages en Italie*, tom. vii. p. 16—29.) a very lively picture of the *dexterity* of one of these artists.

²⁸ Quicumque pro solâ devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni pœnitentiâ reputetur. Canon. Concil. Claromont. ii. p. 829. Guibert styles it novum salutis genus (p. 471.), and is almost philosophical on the subject.

²⁹ Such at least was the belief of the crusaders, and such is the uniform style of the historians (*Esprit des Croisades* (tom. iii. p. 477. : but the prayers for the repose of their souls, is inconsistent in orthodox theology with the merits of martyrdom.

³⁰ The same hopes were displayed in the letters of the adventurers ad animandos qui in Franciâ residerant. Hugh de Reiteste could boast, that his share amounted to one abbey and ten castles, of the yearly value of 1500 marks, and that he should acquire an hundred castles by the conquest of Aleppo (Guibert, p. 554, 555.).

³¹ In his genuine or fictitious letter to the count of Flanders, Alexius mingled with the danger of the church, and the relics of saints, the auri et argenti amor, and pulcherrimarum fœminarum voluptas (p. 476.) as if, says the indignant Guibert, the Greek women were handsomer than those of France.

³² See the privileges of the *Crucesignati*, freedom from debt, usury, injury, secular justice, etc. The pope was their perpetual guardian (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 651, 652.).

³³ Guibert (p. 481.) paints in lively colours this general emotion. He was one of the few contemporaries who had genius enough to feel the astonishing scenes that were passing before their eyes. Erat itaque videre miraculum caro omnes emere, atque vili vendere, etc.

³⁴ Some instances of these *stigmata* are given in the *Esprit des Croisades* (tom. iii. p. 169, etc.), from authors whom I have not seen.

³⁵ Fuit et aliud scelus detestabile in hâc congregatione pedestris populi stulti et vesanæ levitatis, anserem quendam divino spiritû afferebant afflatum, et capellam non minus eodem repletam, et has sibi duces secundæ viæ fecerant, etc. (Albert. Aquensis, l. i. c. 31. p. 169.) Had these peasants founded an empire, they might have introduced, as in Egypt, the worship of animals, which their philosophic descendants would have glossed over with some specious and subtle allegory.

³⁶ Benjamin of Tudela describes the state of his Jewish brethren from Cologne along the Rhine: they were rich, generous, learned, hospitable, and lived in the eager hope of the Messiah (*Voyage*,

tom. i. p. 243—245. par Baratier.) In seventy years (he wrote about A. D. 1170) they had recovered from these massacres.

³⁷ These massacres and depredations on the Jews, which were renewed at each crusade, are *coolly* related. It is true, that St. Bernard (epist. 363. tom. i. p. 329.) admonishes the Oriental Franks, *non sunt persequendi Judæi, non sunt trucidandi*. The contrary doctrine had been preached by a *rival* monk.

³⁸ See the contemporary description of Hungary in Otho of Frisingen, l. ii. c. 31. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. vi. p. 665, 666.

³⁹ The old Hungarians, without excepting Turotzius, are ill informed of the first crusade, which they involve in a single passage. Katona, like ourselves, can only quote the writers of France; but he compares with local science the ancient and modern geography. *Ante portam Cyperon*, is Sopron or Poson; *Mallevilla*, Zemlin; *Fluvius Maroe*, Savus; *Lintax*, Leith; *Mesebroch*, or *Merseburg*, Ouar, or Moson; *Tollenburg*, Pragg (de Regibus Hungariæ, tom. ii. p. 19—53.).

⁴⁰ Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. x. p. 287.) describes this *οἶων πολωνος* as a mountain *ὑψηλον και βαθος και πλατος αξιολογωτατον*. In the siege of Nice, such were used by the Franks themselves as the materials of a wall.

⁴¹ The particular references to the great events of the first crusade are represented in the following table.

	The Crowd.	The Chiefs.	The Road toConstantinople.	Alexius.	Nice and Asia Minor.	Edeffa.	Antioch.	The Battle.	The Holy Lance.	Conquest of Jerusalem.
I. Gesta Francorum . . .	p. 1, 2.	p. 2.	p. 2, 3.	p. 4, 5.	p. 5-7.	—	p. 9-15.	p. 15-22.	p. 18-20.	p. 26-29.
II. Robertus Mo-nachus . . .	p. 33, 34.	p. 35, 36.	p. 36, 37.	p. 37, 38.	p. 39-45.	—	p. 45-55.	p. 55-66.	p. 61, 62.	p. 74-81.
III. Baldricus . .	p. 89.	—	p. 91-93.	p. 91-94.	p. 94-101.	—	p. 101, 111.	p. 111-122.	p. 116-119.	p. 130-138.
IV. Raimundus des Agiles . .	—	—	p. 139, 140.	p. 140, 141.	p. 142.	—	p. 142-149.	p. 149-155.	p. 150.	p. 173-183.
V. Albertus Aque-nensis . .	l. i. c. 7-31.	—	l. ii. c. 1-8.	l. ii. c. 9. 19.	l. ii. c. 20-43 l. iii. c. 1-4.	l. iii. c. 5-32. l. iv. 9. 12. l. v. 15-22.	l. iii. c. 33. — 66. iv. 1-26.	l. iv. c. 7— 56.	l. iv. c. 45. l. v. c. 45, 46 l. vi. c. 1-50.	l. v. c. 45, 46 l. vi. c. 1-50.
VI. Fulcherius Carnotensis . .	p. 384.	—	p. 385, 386.	p. 386.	p. 387-389.	p. 389, 390.	p. 390-392.	p. 392-395.	p. 392.	p. 396-400.
VII. Guibertus . .	p. 482, 485.	—	p. 485, 489.	p. 485-490.	p. 491-493. 498.	p. 496, 497.	p. 498. 506. 512.	p. 512-523.	p. 520. 530-533.	p. 523-537.
VIII. Willermus Tyren-sis . . .	l. i. c. 18-30	l. i. c. 17.	l. ii. c. 1-4. 13. 17, 22.	l. ii. c. 5-23	l. iii. c. 1-12. l. iv. c. 13-25	l. iv. c. 1-6.	l. iv. 9-24. l. v. 1-23.	l. vi. c. 1-23.	l. vi. c. 14.	l. vii. c. 1-25. l. viii c. 1-24.
IX. Radulphus Cadomen-sis.	—	c. 1. 3. 15.	c. 4-7. 17.	c. 8-15. 18, 19.	c. 14-16. 21. 47.	—	c. 18-71.	c. 72-91.	c. 100-109.	c. 111-138.
X. Bernardus Thesaurarius.	c. 7-11.	—	c. 11-20.	c. 11-20.	c. 21-25.	c. 26.	c. 27-38.	c. 39-52.	c. 45.	c. 54-77.

⁴² The author of the *Esprit des Croisades* has doubted, and might have disbelieved, the crusade and tragic death of prince Sueno, with 1500 or 15,000 Danes, who was cut off by sultan Soliman in Cappadocia, but who still lives in the poem of Tasso (tom. iv. p. III—III5).

⁴³ The fragments of the kingdoms of Lotharingia, or Lorraine, were broken into the two duchies, of the Moselle, and of the Meuse; the first has preserved its name, which in the latter has been changed into that of Brabant (*Valef. Notit. Gall.* p. 283—288.).

⁴⁴ See, in the *Description of France*, by the Abbé de Longuerue, the articles of *Boulogne*, part. i. p. 54. *Brabant*, p. ii. p. 47, 48. *Bouillon*, p. 134. On his departure, Godfrey sold or pawned Bouillon to the church for 1300 marks.

⁴⁵ See the family character of Godfrey, in *William of Tyre*, l. ix. c. 5—8.; his previous design on Guibert (p. 485.), his sickness and vow, in *Bernard Thesaur.* (c. 78.).

⁴⁶ Anna Comnena supposes, that Hugh was proud of his nobility, riches, and power (l. x. p. 288.); the two last articles appear more equivocal; but an *εὐγενεία*, which seven hundred years ago was famous in the palace of Constantinople, attests the ancient dignity of the Capetian family of France.

⁴⁷ *Will. Gemeticensis*, l. vii. c. 7. p. 672, 673. in *Camden. Normanicis*. He pawned the duchy for one hundredth part of the present yearly revenue. Ten thousand marks may be equal to five hundred thousand livres, and Normandy annually yields fifty-seven millions to the king (*Necker, Administration des Finances*, tom. i. p. 287.).

⁴⁸ His original letter to his wife, is inserted in the *Spicilegium of Dom. Luc. d'Acheri*, tom. iv. and quoted in the *Esprit des Croisades*, tom. i. p. 63.

⁴⁹ *Unius enim, duum, trium seu quatuor oppidorum dominos quis numeret? quorum tanta fuit copia, ut non vix totidem Trojana obsidio coegisse putetur* (*Ever the lively and interesting Guibert*, p. 486.).

⁵⁰ It is singular enough, that Raymond of St. Giles, a second character in the genuine history of the crusades, should shine as the first of heroes in the writings of the Greeks (*Anna Comnen. Alexiad.* l. x, xi.) and the Arabians (*Longueruana*, p. 129.).

⁵¹ *Omnes de Burgundiâ, et Alvernîâ, et Vasconiâ, et Gothi (of Languedoc), provinciales appellabantur, cæteri vero Francigenæ et hoc in exercitû; inter hostes autem Franci dicebantur.* *Raymond des Agiles*, p. 144.

⁵² The town of his birth, or first appanage, was consecrated to St. Ægidius, whose name, as early as the first crusade, was corrupted

by the French into St. Gilles, or St. Giles. It is situate in the Lower Languedoc, between Nîmes and the Rhône, and still boasts a collegiate church of the foundation of Raymond (*Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque*, tom xxxvii. p. 51.).

⁵³ The mother of Tancred was Emma, sister of the great Robert Guiscard; his father, the marquis Odo the Good. It is singular enough, that the family and country of so illustrious a person should be unknown; but Muratori reasonably conjectures that he was an Italian, and perhaps of the race of the marquisses of Montferrat in Piedmont (*Script.* tom. v. p. 281, 282.).

⁵⁴ To gratify the childish vanity of the house of Este, Tasso has inserted in his poem, and in the first crusade, a fabulous hero, the brave and amorous Rinaldo (x. 75. xvii. 66—94.). He might borrow his name from a Rinaldo, with the Aquila bianca Estense, who vanquished, as the standard-bearer of the Roman church, the emperor Frederic I. (*Storia Imperiale di Ricobaldo*, in Muratori *Script. Ital.* tom. ix. p. 360. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, iii. 30.). But, 1. The distance of sixty years between the youth of the two Rinaldos, destroys their identity. 2. The *Storia Imperiale* is a forgery of the conte Boyardo at the end of the xvth century (Muratori, p. 281—289.). 3. This Rinaldo, and his exploits, are not less chimerical than the hero of Tasso (Muratori, *Antichità Estensi*, tom. i. p. 350.).

⁵⁵ Of the words *gentilis*, *gentilhomme*, *gentleman*, two etymologies are produced: 1. From the Barbarians of the fifth century, the soldiers, and at length the conquerors of the Roman empire, who were vain of their foreign nobility; and, 2. From the sense of the civilians, who consider *gentilis* as synonymous with *ingenuus*. Selden inclines to the first, but the latter is more pure, as well as probable.

⁵⁶ *Frameâ scutoque juvenem ornant.* Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 13.

⁵⁷ The athletic exercises, particularly the *cæstus* and *pancratium*, were condemned by Lycurgus, Philopœmen, and Galen, a law-giver, a general, and a physician. Against their authority and reasons, the reader may weigh the apology of Lucian, in the character of Solon. See West on the Olympic Games, in his *Pindar*, vol. ii. p. 86—96. 245—248.

⁵⁸ On the curious subjects of knighthood, knights-service, nobility, arms, cry of war, banners, and tournaments, an ample fund of information may be sought in Selden (*Opera*, tom. iii. part. i. *Titles of Honour*, part. ii. c. 1. 3. 5. 8.), Ducange (*Gloss. Latin.* tom. iv. p. 398—412, etc. *Dissertations sur Joinville* (l. vi—xii. p. 127—142. p. 165—222.), and M. de St. Palaye (*Mémoires sur la Chevalerie*).

⁵⁹ The *Familia Dalmaticæ* of Ducange are meagre and imperfect;

the national historians are recent and fabulous, the Greeks remote and careless. In the year 1104, Coloman reduced the maritime country as far as Trau and Salona (Katona, *Hist. Crit.* tom. iii. p. 195—207.).

⁶⁰ Scodras appears in Livy as the capital and fortress of Gentius king of the Illyrians, *arx munitissima*, afterwards a Roman colony (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 393, 394.). It is now called Iscodar, or Scutari (d'Anville, *Geographie Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 164.). The fanjiak (now a pasha) of Scutari, or Schendeire, was the viiiith under the Beglerbeg of Romania, and furnished 600 soldiers on a revenue of 78, 787 rix-dollars (Marfigli, *Stato Militare del Impero Ottomano*, p. 128.).

⁶¹ In Pelagoniâ castrum hæreticum spoliatum cum suis habitatoribus igne combuffere. *Nec id eis injuriâ contigit*: quia illorum detestabilis sermo et cancer ferpebat, jamque circumjacentes regiones suo pravo dogmate sædaverat (Robert. Mon. p. 36, 37.). After coolly relating the fact, the archbishop Baldric adds, as a praise, *Omnes siquidem illi viatores, Judæos, hæreticos, Saracenos æqualiter habent exofos; quos omnes appellant inimicos Dei* (p. 92.).

⁶² Αναλαβόμενος ἀπο Ρωμῆς τὴν χρυσὴν τῆ Ἀγίᾳ Πέτρῳ σημαίαν (Alexiad, l. x. p. 288.).

⁶³ Ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλεῶν, καὶ ἀρχηγὸς τῆ Φραγγικῆς στρατευμάτων. This Oriental pomp is extravagant in a count of Vermandois; but the patriot Ducange repeats with much complacency (Not. ad Alexiad. p. 352, 353. Differt. xxvii. sur Joinville, p. 315.), the passages of Matthew Paris (A. D. 1254.) and Froissard (vol. iv. p. 201.), which style the king of France, *rex regum*, and *chef de tous les rois Chrétiens*.

⁶⁴ Anna Comnena was born the 1st of December, A. D. 1083, indiction vii. (Alexiad, l. vi. p. 166, 167.). At thirteen, the time of the first crusade, she was nubile, and perhaps married to the younger Nicephorus Bryennius, whom she fondly styles *τὸν ἐμὸν Καίσαρα* (l. x. p. 295, 296.). Some moderns have *imagined*, that her enmity to Bohemond was the fruit of disappointed love. In the transactions of Constantinople and Nice, her partial accounts (Alex. l. x. xi. p. 283—317.) may be opposed to the partiality of the Latins, but in their subsequent exploits she is brief and ignorant.

⁶⁵ In their views of the character and conduct of Alexius, Maimbourg has favoured the *Catholic* Franks, and Voltaire has been partial to the *schismatic* Greeks. The prejudice of a philosopher is less excusable than that of a Jesuit.

⁶⁶ Between the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the river Barbyfes,

which is deep in summer, [and runs fifteen miles through a flat meadow. Its communication with Europe and Constantinople is by the stone bridge of the *Blachernæ*, which in successive ages was restored by Justinian and Basil (Gyllius de Bosphoro Thracio, l. ii. c. 3. Ducange, C. P. Christiana, l. iv. c. 2. p. 179.).

⁶⁷ There were two sorts of adoption, the one by arms, the other by introducing the son between the shirt and skin of his father. Ducange (sur Joinville, diff. xxii. p. 270.) supposes Godfrey's adoption to have been of the latter sort.

⁶⁸ After his return, Robert of Flanders became the *man* of the king of England. See the first act in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

⁶⁹ *Sensit vetus regnandi, falsos in amore, odia non fingere*, Tacit. vi. 44.

⁷⁰ The proud historians of the crusades slide and stumble over this humiliating step. Yet, since the heroes knelt to salute the emperor as he sat motionless on his throne, it is clear that they must have kissed either his feet or knees. It is only singular, that Anna should not have amply supplied the silence or ambiguity of the Latins. The abasement of their princes, would have added a fine chapter to the *Cæremoniale Aulæ Byzantinæ*.

⁷¹ He called himself *ᾠραγγος καθαρος των ευγενων* (Alexias, l. x. p. 301.). What a title of *noblesse* of the xith century, if any one could now prove his inheritance! Anna relates, with visible pleasure, that the swelling Barbarian, *Λατινος τετυφωμενος*, was killed, or wounded, after fighting in the front in the battle of Dorylæum, (l. xi. p. 317.). This circumstance may justify the suspicion of Ducange (Not. p. 362.), that he was no other than Robert of Paris, of the district most peculiarly styled the Duchy or Island of France (*L'Isle de France*).

⁷² With the same penetration, Ducange discovers his church to be that of St. Draufus, or Drosin, of Soissons, quem duello dimicaturi solent invocare: pugiles qui ad memoriam ejus (*his tomb*) pernoctant invictos reddit, ut et de Burgundiâ et Italiâ tali necessitate confugiatur ad eum. Joan. Sariberiensis, epist. 139.

⁷³ There is some diversity on the numbers of his army: but no authority can be compared with that of Ptolemy, who states it at five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot (see Usher's *Annales*, p. 152.).

⁷⁴ Fulcher. Carnotensis, p. 387. He enumerates nineteen nations of different names and languages (p. 389.); but I do not clearly

apprehend his difference between the *Franci* and *Galli*, *Itali* and *Apuli*. Elsewhere (p. 385.) he contemptuously brands the deserters.

⁷⁵ Guibert, p. 556. Yet even his gentle opposition implies an immense multitude. By Urban II. in the fervour of his zeal, it is only rated at 300,000 pilgrims (epist. xvi. Concil. tom. xii. p. 731.).

⁷⁶ Alexias, l. x. p. 283, 305. Her fastidious delicacy complains of their strange and inarticulate names, and indeed there is scarcely one that she has not contrived to disfigure with the proud ignorance, so dear and familiar to a polished people. I shall select only one example, *Sangeles*, for the count of St. Giles.

⁷⁷ William of Malmsbury (who wrote about the year 1130) has inserted in his history (l. iv. p. 130—134.) a narrative of the first crusade; but I wish that, instead of listening to the tenue murmur which had passed the British ocean (p. 143.), he had confined himself to the numbers, families, and adventures of his countrymen. I find in Dugdale, that an English Norman, Stephen earl of Albemarle and Holderneffe, led the rearguard with duke Robert, at the battle of Antioch (Baronage part. i. p. 61.).

⁷⁸ *Videres Scotorum apud se ferocium aliàs imbellium cuneos* (Guibert, p. 471.); the *crus intectum*, and *hispida chlamys*, may suit the Highlanders; but the *finibus uliginosis*, may rather apply to the Irish bogs. William of Malmsbury expressly mentions the Welsh and Scots, etc. (l. iv. p. 133.) who quitted, the former *venationem saltuum*, the latter *familiaritatem pulicum*.

⁷⁹ This cannibal hunger, sometimes real, more frequently an artifice or a lye, may be found in Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. x. p. 288.), Guibert p. 546.), Radulph. Cadom. (c. 97.) The stratagem is related by the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, the monk Robert Baldric, and Raymond des Agiles, in the siege and famine of Antioch.

⁸⁰ His Musulman appellation of Soliman is used by the Latins, and his character is highly embellished by Taffo. His Turkish name of Kilidge - Arflan (A. H. 485—500. A. D. 1192—1206. See de Guignes's Tables, tom. i. p. 245.) is employed by the Orientals, and with some corruption by the Greeks: but little more than his name can be found in the Mahometan writers, who are dry and sulky on the subject of the first crusade (de Guignes, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 10—30.).

⁸¹ On the fortifications, engines, and sieges of the middle ages, see Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italiæ*, tom. ii. dissert. xxvi. p. 452—524.). The *belfredus*, from whence our belfrey, was the moveable tower of the ancients (Ducange, tom. i. p. 608.).

⁸² I cannot forbear remarking the resemblance between the siege and

lake of Nice, with the operations of Hernan Cortez before Mexico. See Dr. Robertson, Hist. of America, l. v.

⁸³ *Mecreant*, a word invented by the French crusaders, and confined in that language to its primitive sense. It should seem, that the zeal of our ancestors boiled higher, and that they branded every unbeliever as a rascal. A similar prejudice still lurks in the minds of many who think themselves Christians.

⁸⁴ Baronius has produced a very doubtful letter to his brother Roger (A. D. 1098. N. 15.). The enemies consisted of Medes, Persians, Chaldeans: be it so. The first attack was cum nostro incommodo; true and tender. But why Godfrey of Bouillon and Hugh brothers? Tancred is styled *filius*; of whom? certainly not of Roger, nor of Bohemond.

⁸⁵ Veruntamen dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione; et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Franci et Turci (Gesta Francorum, p. 7.). The same community of blood and valour is attested by archbishop Baldric (p. 99.).

⁸⁶ *Balista*, *Balestra*, *Arbalestre*. See Muratori, Antiq. tom. ii. p. 517—524. Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. i. p. 531, 532. In the time of Anna Comnena, this weapon, which she describes under the name of *tzangra*, was unknown in the East (l. x. p. 291.). By an humane inconsistency, the pope strove to prohibit it in Christian wars.

⁸⁷ The curious reader may compare the classic learning of Cellarius, and the geographical science of d'Anville. William of Tyre is the only historian of the crusades who has any knowledge of antiquity; and M. Otter trod almost in the footsteps of the Franks from Constantinople to Antioch (Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. i. p. 35—88.).

⁸⁸ This detached conquest of Edessa is best represented by Fulcherius Carnotensis, or of Chartres (in the collections of Bongarsius, Duchesne, and Martenne), the valiant chaplain of count Baldwin (Esprit des Croisades, tom. i. p. 13, 14.). In the disputes of that prince with Tancred, his partiality is encountered by the partiality of Radulphus Cadomensis, the soldier and historian of the gallant marquis.

⁸⁹ See de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. c. 456.

⁹⁰ For Antioch, see Pococke (Description of the East, vol. ii. p. i. p. 188—193.), Otter (Voyage en Turquie, etc. tom. i. p. 81, etc.), the Turkish geographer (in Otter's notes), the Index Geographicus of Schultens (ad calcem Bohadin. Vit. Saladin.), and Abulfeda (Tabula Syriæ, p. 115, 116. vers. Reiske).

⁹¹ Ensem elevat, eumque a sinistrâ parte scapularum, tantâ virtute intorsit ut quod pectus medium disjunxit spinam et vitalia interruptit, et sic lubricus ensis super crus dextrum integer exivit; sicque caput

integrum cum dextrâ parte corporis immerfit gurgite, partemque quæ equo præsidebat remisit civitati (Robert. Mon. p. 50.). Cujus ense trajectus, Turcus duo factus est Turci; ut inferior alter in urbem equitaret, alter arcitenens in flumine nataret (Radulph. Cadom. c. 53. p. 304.). Yet he justifies the deed by the *stupendis* viribus of Godfrey; and William of Tyre covers it by obtupuit populus facti novitate. . . . mirabilis (l. v. c. 6. p. 701.). Yet it must not have appeared incredible to the knights of that age.

⁹² See the exploits of Robert, Raymond, and the modest Tancred, who imposed silence on his squire (Radulph. Cadom. c. 53.).

⁹³ After mentioning the distress and humble petition of the Franks, Abulpharagius adds the haughty reply of Codbuka, or Kerboga; non evasuri estis nisi per gladium (Dynast. p. 242.).

⁹⁴ In describing the host of Kerboga, most of the Latin historians, the author of the Gesta (p. 17.), Robert Monachus (p. 56.), Baldric (p. 111.), Fulcherius Carnotensis (p. 392.), Guibert (p. 512.), William of Tyre (l. vi. c. 3. p. 714.), Bernard Thesaurarius (c. 39. p. 695.), are content with the vague expressions of infinita multitudo, inmensum agmen, innumeræ copiæ or gentes, which correspond with the μετα αναριθμητων χιλιαδων of Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. xi. p. 318—320.). The numbers of the Turks are fixed by Albert Aquensis at 200,000 (l. iv. c. 10. p. 242.), and by Radulphus Cadomenfis at 400,000 horse (c. 72. p. 309.).

⁹⁵ See the tragic and scandalous fate of an archdeacon of royal birth, who was slain by the Turks as he reposed in an orchard, playing at dice with a Syrian concubine.

⁹⁶ The value of an ox rose from five solidi (fifteen shillings) at Christmas to two marks (four pounds), and afterwards much higher: a kid or lamb, from one shilling to eighteen of our present money: in the second famine, a loaf of bread, or the head of an animal, sold for a piece of gold. More examples might be produced; but it is the ordinary, not the extraordinary, prices, that deserve the notice of the philosopher.

⁹⁷ Alii multi, quorum nomina non tenemus, quia deleta de libro vitæ præsentis operi non sunt inferenda (Will. Tyr. l. vi. c. 5. p. 715.). Guibert (p. 518. 523.) attempts to excuse Hugh the Great, and even Stephen of Chartres.

⁹⁸ See the progress of the crusade, the retreat of Alexius, the victory of Antioch, and the conquest of Jerusalem, in the Alexiad, l. xi. p. 317—327. Anna was so prone to exaggeration, that she magnifies the exploits of the Latins.

⁹⁹ The Mahometan Aboulmahasen (apud de Guignes, tom. ii. p. ii.

p. 95.) is more correct in his account of the holy lance than the Christians, Anna Comnena and Abulpharagius: the Greek princess confounds it with a nail of the cross (l. xi. p. 326.); the Jacobite primate, with St. Peter's staff (p. 242.).

¹⁰⁰ The two antagonists who express the most intimate knowledge and the strongest conviction of the *miracle*, and of the *fraud*, are Raymond des Agiles, and Radulphus Cadomensis, the one attached to the count of Tholouse, the other to the Norman prince. Fulcherius Carnotensis presumes to say, *audite fraudem et non fraudem!* and afterwards, *invenit lanceam, fallaciter occultatam forsitan*. The rest of the herd are loud and strenuous.

¹⁰¹ See M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. ii. p. 223, etc.); and the articles of *Barkiarok*, *Mohammed*, *Sangiar*, in d'Herbelot.

¹⁰² The emir, or sultan Aphdal, recovered Jerusalem and Tyre, A. H. 489. (Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 478. de Guignes, tom. i. p. 249. from Abulfeda and Ben Schounah). Jerusalem ante adventum vestrum recuperavimus, Turcos ejecimus, say the Fatimite ambassadors.

¹⁰³ See the transactions between the caliph of Egypt and the crusaders, in William of Tyre (l. iv. c. 24. l. vi. c. 19.) and Albert Aquensis (l. iii. c. 59.), who are more sensible of their importance, than the contemporary writers.

¹⁰⁴ The greatest part of the march of the Franks is traced, and most accurately traced, in Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem (p. 11—67.), un des meilleurs morceaux, sans contredit, qu'on ait dans ce genre (d'Anville, Mémoire sur Jerusalem, p. 27.).

¹⁰⁵ See the masterly description of Tacitus (Hist. v. 11, 12, 13.), who supposes, that the Jewish lawgivers had provided for a perpetual state of hostility against the rest of mankind.

¹⁰⁶ The lively scepticism of Voltaire is balanced with sense and erudition by the French author of the *Esprit des Croisades* (tom. iv. p. 386—388.), who observes, that according to the Arabians, the inhabitants of Jerusalem must have exceeded 200,000; that in the siege of Titus, Josephus collects 1,300,000 Jews; that they are stated by Tacitus himself at 600,000, and that the largest defalcation, that his *accepimus* can justify, will still leave them more numerous than the Roman army.

¹⁰⁷ Maundrell, who diligently perambulated the walls, found a circuit of 4630 paces, or 4167 English yards (p. 109, 110.): from an authentic plan, d'Anville concludes a measure nearly similar of 1960 French *toises* (p. 23—29.), in his scarce and valuable tract. For the

topography of Jerusalem, see Reland (Palestina, tom. ii. p. 832—860.).

¹⁰⁸ Jerusalem was possessed only of the torrent of Kedron, dry in summer, and of the little spring or brook of Siloe (Reland, tom. i. p. 294. 300.). Both strangers and natives complained of the want of water, which in time of war was studiously aggravated. Within the city, Tacitus mentions a perennial fountain, an aqueduct, and cisterns for rain water. The aqueduct was conveyed from the rivulet Tekoe or Etham, which is likewise mentioned by Bohadin (in Vit. Saladin. p. 238.).

¹⁰⁹ Gierusalemme Liberata, canto xiii. It is pleasant enough to observe how Tasso has copied and embellished the minutest details of the siege.

¹¹⁰ Besides the Latins, who are not ashamed of the massacre, see Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 363.), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 243.), and M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. ii. p. 99.), from Aboulmahasen.

¹¹¹ The old tower Psephina, in the middle ages Neblosa, was named Castellum Pisanum, from the patriarch Daimbert. It is still the citadel, the residence of the Turkish aga, and commands a prospect of the Dead Sea, Judea, and Arabia (d'Anville, p. 19—23.). It was likewise called the Tower of David, *πύργος ποντιφικῆς*.

¹¹² Hume, in his History of England, vol. i. p. 311, 312. octavo edition.

¹¹³ Voltaire, in his Essai sur l'Histoire Générale, tom. ii. c. 54. p. 345, 346.

¹¹⁴ The English ascribe to Robert of Normandy, and the Provincials to Raymond of Tholouse, the glory of refusing the crown; but the honest voice of tradition has preserved the memory of the ambition and revenge (Villehardouin, N° 136.) of the count of St. Giles. He died at the siege of Tripoli, which was possessed by his descendants.

¹¹⁵ See the election, the battle of Ascalon, etc. in William of Tyre, l. ix. c. 1—12. and in the conclusion of the Latin historians of the first crusade.

¹¹⁶ Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 479.

¹¹⁷ See the claims of the patriarch Daimbert, in William of Tyre (l. ix. c. 15—18. x. 4. 7. 9.), who asserts with marvellous candour the independence of the conquerors and kings of Jerusalem.

¹¹⁸ Willerm. Tyr. l. x. 19. The Historia Hierosolimitana of Jacobus à Vitriaco (l. i. c. 21—50.), and the Secreta Fidelium Crucis of Marinus Sanatus (l. iii. p. i.), describe the state and conquests of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

¹¹⁹ An actual muster, not including the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, gave David an army of 1,300,000, or 1,574,000 fighting men; which, with the addition of women, children, and slaves, may imply a population of thirteen millions, in a country sixty leagues in length, and thirty broad. The honest and rational Le Clerc (*Comment. on 2d Samuel xxiv. and 1st Chronicles xxi. æstuat angusto in limite*, and mutters his suspicion of a false transcript; a dangerous suspicion!

¹²⁰ These sieges are related, each in its proper place, in the great history of William of Tyre, from the ixth to the xviiiith book, and more briefly told by Bernardus Thesaurarius (*de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ*, c. 89—98. p. 732—740.). Some domestic facts are celebrated in the Chronicles of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, in the vith, ixth, and xiith tomes of Muratori.

¹²¹ *Quidam populus de insulis occidentis egressus, et maxime de ea parte quæ Norvegia dicitur.* William of Tyre (l. xi. c. 14. p. 804.) marks their course per Britannicum mare et Calpen to the siege of Sidon.

¹²² Benelathir, apud de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. part. ii. p. 150, 151. A. D. 1127. He must speak of the inland country.

¹²³ Sanut very sensibly descants on the mischiefs of female succession, in a land hostibus circumdata, ubi cuncta virilia et virtuosa esse deberent. Yet, at the summons, and with the approbation, of her feudal lord, a noble damsel was obliged to chuse a husband and champion (*Affises de Jerusalem*, c. 242, etc. See in M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 441—471.) the accurate and useful tables of these dynasties, which are chiefly drawn from the *Lignages d'Outremer*.

¹²⁴ They were called by derision *Poullains*, *Pullani*, and their name is never pronounced without contempt (*Ducange, Gloss. Latin.* tom. v. p. 535. and *Observations sur Joinville*, p. 84, 85. *Jacob à Vitriaco, Hist. Hierosol.* l. i. c. 67. 72. and Sanut, l. iii. p. viii. c. 2. p. 182.). *Illustrium virorum qui ad Terræ Sanctæ . . . liberationem in ipsâ manserunt degeneres filii . . . in deliciis enutriti, molles et effœminati*, etc.

¹²⁵ This authentic detail is extracted from the *Affises de Jerusalem* (c. 324. 326—331.). Sanut (l. iii. p. iii. c. 1. p. 174.) reckons only 518 knights, and 5775 followers.

¹²⁶ The sum total, and the division, ascertain the service of the three great baronies at 100 knights each; and the text of the *Affises*, which extends the number to 500, can only be justified by this supposition.

¹²⁷ Yet on great emergencies (says Sanut) the barons brought a voluntary aid, *decentem comitivam militum juxta statum suum*.

¹²⁸ William of Tyre (l. xviii. c. 3, 4, 5.) relates the ignoble origin, and early insolence, of the Hospitalers, who soon deserted their humble patron, St. John the Eleemosynary, for the more august character of St. John the Baptist (see the ineffectual struggles of Pagi, Critica, A. D. 1099, N^o 14—18.). They assumed the profession of arms about the year 1120; the Hospital was *mater*, the Temple, *filia*; the Teutonic order was founded A. D. 1190, at the siege of Acre (Mosheim, Institut. p. 389, 390.).

¹²⁹ See St. Bernard de Laude Novæ Militiæ Templi, composed A. D. 1132—1136, in Opp. tom. i. p. ii. p. 547—563. edit. Mabillon, Venet. 1750. Such an encomium, which is thrown away on the dead Templars, would be highly valued by the historians of Malta.

¹³⁰ Matthew Paris, Hist. Major, p. 544. He assigns to the Hospitalers 19,000, to the Templars 9,000 *maneria*, a word of much higher import (as Ducange has rightly observed) in the English than in the French idiom. *Manor* is a lordship, *manoir* a dwelling.

¹³¹ In the three first books of the Histoire des Chevaliers de Malthe, par l'Abbé de Vertot, the reader may amuse himself with a fair, and sometimes flattering, picture of the order, while it was employed for the defence of Palestine. The subsequent books pursue their emigrations to Rhodes and Malta.

¹³² The Assises de Jerusalem, in old law French, were printed with Beaumanoir's Coutumes de Beauvoisis (Bourges and Paris, 1690, in folio), and illustrated by Gaspard Thaumas de la Thaumassiere, with a comment and glossary. An Italian version had been published in 1535, at Venice, for the use of the kingdom of Cyprus.

¹³³ A la terre perdue, tout fut perdu, is the vigorous expression of the Affize (c. 281.). Yet Jerusalem capitulated with Saladin; the queen and the principal Christians departed in peace; and a code so precious and so portable could not provoke the avarice of the conquerors. I have sometimes suspected the existence of this original copy of the Holy Sepulchre, which might be invented to sanctify, and authenticate the traditionary customs of the French in Palestine.

¹³⁴ A noble lawyer, Raoul de Tabarie, denied the prayer of king Amauri (A. D. 1195—1205), that he would commit his knowledge to writing, and frankly declared, que de ce qu'il favoit, ne feroit-il ja nul borjois son pareill, ne nul sage homme lettré (c. 281.).

¹³⁵ The compiler of this work, Jean d'Ibelin, was count of Jaffa and Ascalon, lord of Baruth (Berytus) and Rames, and died A. D. 1266 (Sanut, l. iii. p. ii. c. 5. 8.). The family of Ibelin, which descended from a younger brother of a count of Chartres in France, long flourished in Palestine and Cyprus (see the Lignages de deça Mer,

or d'Outremer, c. 6. at the end of the *Affises de Jerusalem*, an original book, which records the pedigrees of the French adventurers).

¹³⁶ By sixteen commissioners chosen in the states of the island: the work was finished the 3d of November 1369, sealed with four seals, and deposited in the cathedral of Nicolia (see the preface to the *Affises*).

¹³⁷ The cautious John d'Ibelin argues, rather than affirms, that Tripoli, is the fourth barony, and expresses some doubt concerning the right or pretension of the constable and marshal (c. 323.).

¹³⁸ Entre seignor et homme ne n'a que la foi; . . . mais tant que l'homme doit à son seignor reverence en toutes choses (c. 206.). Tous les hommes dudit royaume sont par ladite Affise tenus les uns aus autres . . . et en celle maniere que le seignor mette main ou face mettre au cors ou au fié d'aucun d'yans sans esgard et sans connoissance de court, que tous les autres doivent venir devant le seignor, etc. (212.). The form of their remonstrances is conceived with the noble simplicity of freedom.

¹³⁹ See l'Esprit des Lois, l. xxviii. In the forty years since its publication, no work has been more read and criticised; and the spirit of enquiry which it has excited, is not the least of our obligations to the author.

¹⁴⁰ For the intelligence of this obscure and obsolete jurisprudence (c. 80—III.), I am deeply indebted to the friendship of a learned lord, who, with an accurate and discerning eye, has surveyed the philosophic history of law. By his studies, posterity might be enriched: the merit of the orator and the judge can be *felt* only by his contemporaries.

¹⁴¹ Louis le Gros, who is considered as the father of this institution in France, did not begin his reign till nine years (A. D. 1108.) after Godfrey of Bouillon (*Affises*, c. 2. 324.). For its origin and effects, see the judicious remarks of Dr. Robertson (*History of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 30—36. 251—265. quarto edition).

¹⁴² Every reader conversant with the historians of the crusades, will understand by the peuple des Suriens, the Oriental Christians, Melchites, Jacobites, or Nestorians, who had all adopted the use of the Arabic language (vol. iv. p. 593.).

¹⁴³ See the *Affises de Jerusalem* (310, 311, 312.). These laws were enacted as late as the year 1350, in the kingdom of Cyprus. In the same century, in the reign of Edward I. I understand, from a late publication (of his Book of Account), that the price of a war-horse was not less exorbitant in England.

CHAP. LIX.

¹ Anna Comnena relates her father's conquests in Asia Minor, *Alexiad.* l. xi. p. 321—325. l. xiv. p. 419.; his Cilician war against Tancred and Bohemond, p. 328—342.; the war of Epirus, with tedious prolixity, l. xii, xiii. p. 345—406.; the death of Bohemond, l. xiv. p. 419.

² The kings of Jerusalem submitted however to a nominal dependence, and in the dates of their inscriptions (one is still legible in the church of Bethlem), they respectfully placed before their own, the name of the reigning emperor (Ducange, *Dissertations sur Joinville*, xxvii. p. 319.).

³ Anna Comnena adds, that to complete the imitation, he was shut up with a dead cock; and condescends to wonder how the Barbarian could endure the confinement and putrefaction. This absurd tale is unknown to the Latins.

⁴ *Απο Θυλης*, in the Byzantine Geography, must mean England; yet we are more credibly informed, that our Henry I. would not suffer him to levy any troops in his kingdom (Ducange, *Not. ad Alexiad.*, p. 41.).

⁵ The copy of the treaty (*Alexiad.* l. xiii. p. 406—416.) is an original and curious piece, which would require, and might afford, a good map of the principality of Antioch.

⁶ See in the learned work of M. de Guignes (tom. ii. part. ii.), the history of the Seljukians of Iconium, Aleppo, and Damascus, as far as it may be collected from the Greeks, Latins, and Arabians. The last are ignorant or regardless of the affairs of *Roum*.

⁷ Iconium is mentioned as a station by Xenophon, and by Strabo, with the ambiguous title of *Κωμοπολις* (Cellarius, tom. ii. p. 121.). Yet St. Paul found in that place a multitude (*πληθος*) of Jews and Gentiles. Under the corrupt name of *Kunijah*, it is described as a great city, with a river and gardens, three leagues from the mountains, and decorated (I know not why) with Plato's tomb (Abulfeda, *tabul.* xvii. p. 303. *vers.* Reiske; and the *Index Geographicus* of Schultens from Ibn Said).

⁸ For this supplement to the first crusade, see Anna Comnena (*Alexias*, l. xi. p. 331, etc. and the viiith book of Albert Aquensis).

⁹ For the second crusade of Conrad III. and Lewis VII. see William of Tyre (l. xvi. c. 18—29.), Otho of Frisingen (l. i. c. 34—45. 59, 60.), Matthew Paris (*Hist. Major.* p. 68.), Struvius (*Corpus, Hist. Germanicæ*, p. 372, 373.), *Scriptores Rerum Francicarum à Duchesne*, tom. iv. Nicetas, in *Vit. Manuel*, i. i. c. 4, 5, 6. p. 41—48. Cinnamus, l. ii. p. 41—49.

¹⁰ For the third crusade, of Frederic Barbarossa, see Nicetas in Isaac. Angel. l. ii. c. 3—8. p. 257—266. Struv. (Corpus, Hist. Germ. p. 414.), and two historians, who probably were spectators, Tagino (in Scriptor. Freher. tom. i. p. 406—416. edit. Struv.), and the Anonymus de Expeditione Asiaticâ, Fred. I. (in Canisii, Antiq. Lection. tom. iii. p. ii. p. 498—526. edit. Bafnage).

¹¹ Anne, who states these later swarms at 40,000 horse, and 100,000 foot, calls them Normans, and places at their head two brothers of Flanders. The Greeks were strangely ignorant of the names, families and possession of the Latin princes.

¹² William of Tyre, and Matthew Paris, reckon 70,000 loricati in each of the armies.

¹³ The imperfect enumeration is mentioned by Cinnamus (ἐννενηκοντὰ μυριαδες), and confirmed by Odo de Diogilo apud Ducange ad Cinnanum, with the more precise sum of 900,556. Why must therefore the version and comment suppose the modest and insufficient reckoning of 90,000? Does not Godfrey of Viterbo (Pantheon, p. xix. in Muratori, tom. vii. p. 462.) exclaim?

— Numerum si poscere quæras,

Millia millena milites agmen erat.

¹⁴ This extravagant account is given by Albert of Stade (apud Struvium, p. 414.); my calculation is borrowed from Godfrey of Viterbo, Arnold of Lubek, apud eundem, and Bernard Thesaur. (c. 169. p. 804.). The original writers are silent. The Mahometans gave him 200,000, or 260,000 men (Bohadin, in Vit. Saladin. p. 110.).

¹⁵ I must observe, that in the second and third crusades, the subjects of Conrad and Frederic are styled by the Greeks and Orientals *Alamanni*. The Lechi and Tzechi of Cinnamus, are the Poles and Bohemians; and it is for the French, that he reserves the ancient appellation of Germans. He likewise names the Βεῖτρος, or Βεῖτραννοι.

¹⁶ Nicetas was a child at the second crusade, but in the third he commanded against the Franks the important post of Philippopolis. Cinnamus is infected with national prejudice and pride.

¹⁷ The conduct of the Philadelphians is blamed by Nicetas, while the anonymous German accuses the rudeness of his countrymen (culpa nostrâ). History would be pleasant, if we were embarrassed only by such contradictions. It is likewise from Nicetas, that we learn the pious and humane sorrow of Frederic.

¹⁸ Χθαμαλή εἶδα, which Cinnamus translates into Latin by the word Σελλιον. Ducange works very hard to save his king and country from such ignominy (sur Joinville, dissertat. xxvii. p. 317—320.). Louis

afterwards insisted on a meeting in *mari ex æquo*, not *ex equo* according to the laughable readings of some MSS.

¹⁹ *Ego Romanorum imperator sum, ille Romaniorum* (Anonym. Canif. p. 512.). The public and historical style of the Greeks was *Πῆξ . . . princeps*. Yet Cinnamus owns, that *Ἰμπερατορ* is synonymous to *Βασιλεὺς*.

²⁰ In the Epistles of Innocent III. (xiii. p. 184.), and the History of Bohadin (p. 129, 130.), see the views of a pope and a cadhi on this singular toleration.

²¹ As counts of Vexin, the kings of France were the vassals and advocates of the monastery of St. Denys. The saint's peculiar banner, which they received from the abbot, was of a square form, and a red or *flaming* colour. The *oriflamme* appeared at the head of the French armies from the xiith to the xvth century (Ducange sur Joinville, dissert. xviii. p. 244—253.).

²² The original French histories of the second crusade, are the *Gesta Ludovici VII.* published in the ivth volume of Duchesne's Collection. The same volume contains many original letters of the king, of Suger his minister, etc. the best documents of authentic history.

²³ *Terram horroris et fœluginis, siccam, sterilem inamœnam.* Anonym. Canif. p. 517. The emphatic language of a sufferer.

²⁴ *Gens innumera, sylvestris, indomita, prædones sine ductore.* The sultan of Cogni might sincerely rejoice in their defeat. Anonym. Canif. p. 517, 518.

²⁵ See in the anonymous writer in the collection of Canisius, Tagino, and Bohadin (Vit. Saladin. p. 119, 120.), the ambiguous conduct of Kilidge Arslan, sultan of Cogni, who hated and feared both Saladin and Frederic.

²⁶ The desire of comparing two great men, has tempted many writers to drown Frederic in the river Cydnus, in which Alexander so imprudently bathed (Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 4, 5.). But from the march of the emperor, I rather judge, that his Saleph is the Calycadnus, a stream of less fame, but of a longer course.

²⁷ Marinus Sanutus, A. D. 1321, lays it down as a precept. *Quod stolis Ecclesiæ per terram nullatenus est ducenda.* He resolves, by the Divine aid, the objection, or rather exception, of the first crusade (*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, l. ii. p. ii. c. ii. p. 37.).

²⁸ The most authentic information of St. Bernard must be drawn from his own writing, published in a correct edition by Père Mabillon, and reprinted at Venice 1750, in six volumes in folio. Whatever friendship could recollect, or superstition could add, is contained in the two
lives,

lives; by his disciples, in the vith volume: whatever learning and criticism could ascertain, may be found in the prefaces of the Benedictine editor.

²⁹ Clairvaux, furnamed the Valley of Absynth, is situate among the woods near Bar sur Aube in Champagne. St. Bernard would blush at the pomp of the church and monastery; he would ask for the library, and I know not whether he would be much edified by a tun of 800 muids (914 $\frac{1}{2}$ hogsheads), which almost rivals that of Heidelberg (*Mélanges tirés d'une Grande Bibliothèque* tom. xlv. p. 15—20.).

³⁰ The disciples of the saint (*Vit. Ima*, l. iii. c. 2. p. 1232. *Vit. Iida*, c. 16. N° 45. p. 1383.) record a marvellous example of his pious apathy. *Juxta lacum etiam Laufannensem totius diei itinere pergens, penitus non attendit aut se videre non vidit. Cum enim vespere facto de eodem lacu focii colloquerentur, interrogabat eos ubi lacus ille esset; et mirati sunt universi. To admire or despise St. Bernard as he ought, the reader, like myself, should have before the windows of his library the beauties of that incomparable landskip.*

³¹ Otho Frising. l. i. c. 4. Bernard, *Epist.* 363. ad Francos Orientales, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 328. *Vit. Ima*, l. iii. c. 4. tom. vi. p. 1235.

³² *Mandastis et obedivi . . . multiplicati sunt super numerum; vacuantur urbes et castella; et pene jam non inveniunt quem apprehendant septem mulieres unum virum; adeo ubique viduæ vivis remanent viris.* Bernard. *Epist.* p. 247. We must be careful not to construe *pene* as a substantive.

³³ *Quis ego sum ut disponam acies, ut egrediar ante facies armorum, aut quid tam remotum a professione meâ, si vires, si peritia, etc.* *epist.* 256. tom. i. p. 259. He speaks with contempt of the hermit Peter, *vir quidam*, *epist.* 363.

³⁴ *Sic dicunt forsitan isti, unde scimus quod a Domino sermo egressus sit? Quæ signa tu facis ut credamus tibi? Non est quod ad ista ipse respondeam; parcendum verecundiæ meæ, responde tu pro me, et pro te ipso secundum quæ vidisti et audisti, et secundum quod te inspiraverit Deus.* *Consolat.* l. ii. c. 1. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 421—423.

³⁵ See the testimonies in *Vitâ Imâ* l. iv. c. 5, 6. *Opp.* tom. vi. p. 1258—1261. l. vi. c. 1—17. p. 1286—1314.

³⁶ Abulmahasen apud de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 99.

³⁷ See his *article* in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of d'Herbelot, and de Guignes, tom. ii. p. i. p. 230—261. Such was his valour, that he was styled the second Alexander; and such the extravagant love of his subjects, that they prayed for the sultan a year after his decease. Yet Sangiar might have been made prisoner by the Franks, as well as by the Uzes. He reigned near fifty years (A. D. 1103—1152.), and was a munificent patron of Persian poetry.

³⁸ See the Chronology of the Atabeks of Irak and Syria, in de Guignes, tom. i. p. 254; and the reigns of Zenghi and Nouredin in the same writer (tom. ii. P. ii. p. 147—221.), who uses the Arabic text of Benelathir, Ben Schounah, and Abulfeda; the Bibliothèque Orientale, under the articles *Atabeks* and *Nouredin*, and the Dynasties of Abulpharagius, p. 250—267. verf. Pocock.

³⁹ William of Tyre (l. xvi. c. 4, 5. 7.) describes the loss of Edeffa, and the death of Zenghi. The corruption of his name into *Sanguin*, afforded the Latins a comfortable allusion to his *sanguinary* character and end, fit sanguine sanguinolentus.

⁴⁰ Noradinus (says William of Tyre, l. xx. 33.) maximus nominis et fidei Christianæ persecutor; princeps tamen justus, vafer, providus, et secundum gentis suæ traditiones religiosus. To this catholic witness, we may add the primate of the Jacobites (Abulpharag. p. 267.), quo non alter erat inter reges vitæ ratione magis laudabili, aut quæ pluribus justitiæ experimentis abundaret. The true praise of kings is after their death, and from the mouth of their enemies.

⁴¹ From the ambassador, William of Tyre (l. xix. c. 17, 18.) describes the palace of Cairo. In the caliph's treasure were found a pearl as large as a pigeon's egg, a ruby weighing seventeen Egyptian drams, an emerald a palm and an half in length, and many vases of chrystal and porcelain of China (Renaudot, p. 536.).

⁴² *Mamluc*, plur. *Mamalic*, is defined by Pocock (Prolegom. ad Abulpharag. p. 7.), and d'Herbelot (p. 545.), servum emptitium, seu qui pretio numerato in domini possessionem cedit. They frequently occur in the wars of Saladin (Bohadin, p. 236, etc.); and it was only the *Bahartie* Mamalukes that were first introduced into Egypt by his descendants.

⁴³ Jacobus à Vitriaco (p. IIII6) gives the king of Jerusalem no more than 374 knights. Both the Franks and the Moslems report the superior numbers of the enemy; a difference which may be solved by counting or omitting the unwarlike Egyptians.

⁴⁴ It was the Alexandria of the Arabs, a middle term in extent and riches between the period of the Greeks and Romans, and that of the Turks (Savary, Lettres sur l'Égypte, tom. i. p. 25, 26.).

⁴⁵ For this great revolution of Egypt, see William of Tyre (l. xix. 5, 6, 7. 12—31. xx. 5—12.). Bohadin (in Vit. Saladin p. 35—39.), Abulfeda (in Excerpt. Schultens, p. 1—12.), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. *Abhed*, *Fathemah*, but very incorrect), Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 522—525. 532—537.), Vertot (Hist. des Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. i. p. 141—163. in 4to), and M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. ii. p. 185—215.).

⁴⁶ For the Curds, see de Guignes, tom. i. p. 416, 417. the Index

Geographicus of Schultens, and Tavernier, Voyages, p. i. p. 308, 309. The Ayoubites descended from the tribe of the Rawadiæi, one of the noblest; but as *they* were infected with the heresy of the Metempsychosis, the orthodox sultans insinuated, that their descent was only on the mother's side, and that their ancestor was a stranger who settled among the Curds.

⁴⁷ See the the ivth book of the Anabasis of Xenophon. The ten thousand suffered more from the arrows of the free Carduchians, than from the splendid weakness of the great king.

⁴⁷ We are indebted to the professor Schultens (Lugd. Bat. 1755, in folio) for the richest and most authentic materials, a life of Saladin by his friend and minister the Cadhi Bohadin, and copious extracts from the history of his kinsman the prince Abulfeda of Hamah. To these we may add, the article of *Salahaddin* in the Bibliothèque Orientale, and all that may be gleaned from the Dynasties of Abulpharagius.

⁴⁹ Since Abulfeda was himself an Ayoubite, he may share the praise, for imitating, at least tacitly, the modesty of the founder.

⁵⁰ Hist. Hierosol. in the Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1152. A similar example may be found in Joinville (p. 42. edition du Louvre); but the pious St. Louis refused to dignify infidels with the order of Christian knighthood (Ducange, Observations, p. 70.).

⁵¹ In these Arabic titles, *religionis* must always be understood: *Noureddin*, lumen r.; *Ezzodin*, decus; *Amadoddin*, column: our hero's proper name was Joseph, and he was styled *Salahoddin*, salus; *Al Malichus*, *Al Nasirus*, rex defensor; *Abu Modaffir*, pater victoriæ. Schultens, Præfat.

⁵² Abulfeda, who descended from a brother of Saladin, observes from many examples, that the founders of dynasties took the guilt for themselves, and left the reward to their innocent collaterals (Excerpt. p. 10.).

⁵³ See his life and character in Renaudot, p. 537—548.

⁵⁴ His civil and religious virtues are celebrated in the first chapter of Bohadin (p. 4 30.), himself an eye-witness, and an honest bigot.

⁵⁵ In many works, particularly Joseph's well in the castle of Cairo, the sultan and the patriarch have been confounded by the ignorance of natives and travellers.

⁵⁶ Anonym. Canisii, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 504.

⁵⁷ Bohadin, p. 129, 130.

⁵⁸ For the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, see William of Tyre, from the ixth to the xxiid book. Jacob à Vitriaco, Hist. Hierosolym. l. i. and Sanutus, Secreta Fidelium Crucis, l. iii. p. vi, vii, viii, ix.

⁵⁹ Templarii ut apes bombabant et Hospitalarii ut venti stridebant,

et barones se exitio offerebant, et Turcopoli (the Christian light troops) semet ipsi in ignem injiciebant (Ispahani de Expugnatione Kudfiticâ, p. 18. apud Schultens); a specimen of Arabian eloquence, somewhat different from the style of Xenophon!

⁶⁰ The Latins affirm, the Arabians insinuate, the treason of Raymond; but had he really embraced their religion, he would have been a saint and a hero in the eyes of the latter.

⁶¹ Renaud, Reginald, or Arnold de Chatillon, is celebrated by the Latins in his life and death; but the circumstances of the latter are more distinctly related by Bohadin and Abulfeda; and Joinville (Hist. de St. Louis, p. 70.) alludes to the practice of Saladin, of never putting to death a prisoner who had tasted his bread and salt. Some of the companions of Arnold had been slaughtered, and almost sacrificed, in a valley of Mecca, ubi sacrificia mactantur (Abulfeda, p. 32.)

⁶² Vertot, who well describes the loss of the kingdom and city (Hist. des Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. i. l. ii. p. 226—278.), inserts two original epistles of a knight templar.

⁶³ Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 545.

⁶⁴ For the conquest of Jerusalem, Bohadin (p. 67—75.) and Abulfeda (p. 40—43.) are our Moslem witnesses. Of the Christian, Bernard Thesaurarius (c. 151—167.) is the most copious and authentic; see likewise Matthew Paris (p. 120—124.).

⁶⁵ The sieges of Tyre and Acre are most copiously described by Bernard Thesaurarius (de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ, c. 167—179.), the author of the Historia Hierosolymitana (p. 1150—1172. in Bongarsius); Abulfeda (p. 43—50.), and Bohadin (p. 75—179.).

⁶⁶ I have followed a moderate and probable representation of the fact: by Vertot, who adopts without reluctance a romantic tale, the old marquis is actually exposed to the darts of the besieged.

⁶⁷ Northmanni et Gothi, et cæteri populi insularum quæ inter occidentem et septemtrionem sitæ sunt, gentes bellicosæ, corporis proceri, mortis intrepidæ, bipennibus armatæ, navibus rotundis quæ Yfnachiæ dicuntur advectæ.

⁶⁸ The historian of Jerusalem (p. 1108.) adds the nations of the East from the Tigris to India, and the swarthy tribes of Moors and Getulians, so that Asia and Africa fought against Europe.

⁶⁹ Bohadin, p. 180.; and this massacre is neither denied nor blamed by the Christian historians. Alacriter jussa complentes (the English soldiers), says Galfridus à Vinisau (l. iv. c. 4. p. 346.), who fixes at 2700 the number of victims; who are multiplied to 5000 by Roger Hoveden (p. 697, 698.). The humanity or avarice of Philip Augustus was persuaded to ransom his prisoners (Jacob. à Vitriaco, l. i. c. 98. p. 1122.).

⁷⁰ Bohadin, p. 14. He quotes the judgment of Balianus, and the prince of Sidon, and adds, *ex illo mundo quasi hominum paucissimi redierunt*. Among the Christians who died before St. John d'Acre, I find the English names of de Ferrers earl of Derby (Dugdale, Baronage, part i. p. 260.), Mowbray (idem, p. 124.), de Mandevil, de Fiennes, St. John, Scrope, Pigot, Talbot, etc.

⁷¹ Magnus hic apud eos, interque reges eorum tum virtute, tum majestate eminens summus rerum arbiter (Bohadin, p. 159.). He does not seem to have known the names either of Philip or Richard.

⁷² Rex Angliæ, præstrenuus rege Gallorum minor apud eos censetur ratione regni atque dignitatis; sed tum divitiis florentior, tum bellicâ virtute multo erat celebrior (Bohadin, p. 161.). A stranger might admire those riches; the national historians will tell with what lawless and wasteful oppression they were collected.

⁷³ Joinville, p. 17. Cuides-tu que ce soit le roi Richart?

⁷⁴ Yet he was guilty in the opinion of the Moslems, who attest the confession of the assassins, that they were sent by the king of England (Bohadin, p. 225.): and his only defence is an absurd and palpable forgery (Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 155—163.), a pretended letter from the prince of the assassins, the Sheich, or old man of the mountain, who justified Richard, by assuming to himself the guilt or merit of the murder.

⁷⁵ See the distress and pious firmness of Saladin, as they are described by Bohadin (p. 7—9. 235—237.), who himself harangued the defenders of Jerusalem; their fears were not unknown to the enemy (Jacob. à Vitriaco, l. i. c. 100. p. 1123. Vinisau, l. v. c. 50. p. 399.).

⁷⁶ Yet unless the sultan, or an Ayoubite prince, remained in Jerusalem, nec Curdi Turcis, nec Turci essent obtemperaturi Curdis (Bohadin, p. 236.). He draws aside a corner of the political curtain.

⁷⁷ Bohadin (p. 237.) and even Jeffrey de Vinisau (l. vi. c. 1—8. p. 403—409) ascribe the retreat to Richard himself; and Jacobus à Vitriaco observes, that in his impatience to depart, in alterum virum mutatus est (p. 1123.). Yet Joinville, a French knight, accuses the envy of Hugh duke of Burgundy (p. 116.), without supposing, like Matthew Paris, that he was bribed by Saladin.

⁷⁸ The expeditions to Ascalon, Jerusalem, and Jaffa, are related by Bohadin (p. 184—249.) and Abulfeda (p. 51, 52.). The author of the Itinerary, or the monk of St. Alban's, cannot exaggerate the Cadhi's account of the prowess of Richard (Vinisau, l. vi. c. 14—24. p. 412—421. Hist. Major, p. 137—143.); and on the whole of this war, there is a marvellous agreement between the Christian and Mahometan writers, who mutually praise the virtues of their enemies.

⁷⁹ See the progress of negotiation and hostility in Bohadin (p. 207—260.), who was himself an actor in the treaty. Richard declared his intention of returning with new armies to the conquest of the Holy Land; and Saladin answered the menace with a civil compliment (Vinislauf, l. vi. c. 28. p. 423.).

⁸⁰ The most copious and original account of this holy war, is Galfridi à Vinislauf *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi et aliorum in Terram Hierosolymarum*, in six books, published in the iid volume of Gale's *Scriptores Hist. Anglicanæ* (p. 247—429.). Roger Hoveden and Matthew Paris afford likewise many valuable materials; and the former describes, with accuracy, the discipline and navigation of the English fleet.

⁸¹ Even Vertot (tom. i. p. 251.) adopts the foolish notion of the indifference of Saladin, who professed the Koran with his last breath.

⁸² See the succession of the Ayoubites, in Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 277, etc.), and the tables of M. de Guignes, *l'art de Verifier les Dates*, and the *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

⁸³ Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. p. 311—374.) has copiously treated of the origin, abuses, and restrictions of these *tenths*. A theory was started, but not pursued, that they were rightfully due to the pope, a tenth of the Levites' tenth to the high priest (Selden on Tithes; see his *Works*, vol. iii. p. ii. p. 1083.).

⁸⁴ See the *Gesta Innocentii III.* in Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* (tom. iii. p. i. p. 486—568.).

⁸⁵ See the vth crusade, and the siege of Damietta, in Jacobus à Vitriaco (l. iii. p. 1125—1149. in the *Gesta Dei* of Bongarsius), an eye-witness, Bernard Thesaurarius in *Script. Muratori*, tom. vii. p. 825—846. c. 190—207.), a contemporary, and Sanutus (*Secreta Fidel. Crucis*, l. iii. p. xi. c. 4—9.), a diligent compiler; and of the Arabians, Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 294.), and the Extracts at the end of Joinville (p. 533. 537. 540. 547, etc.).

⁸⁶ To those who took the cross against Mainfroy, the pope (A. D. 1255) granted *plenissimam peccatorum remissionem*. *Fideles mirabantur quod tantum eis promitteret pro sanguine Christianorum effundendo, quantum pro cruore infidelium aliquando* (Matthew Paris, p. 785.). A high flight for the reason of the xiiith century.

⁸⁷ This simple idea is agreeable to the good sense of Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* p. 332.) and the fine philosophy of Hume (*Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 330.).

⁸⁸ The original materials for the crusade of Frederic II. may be drawn from Richard de St. Germano (in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. vii. p. 1002—1013.) and Matthew Paris (p. 286. 291. 300. 302. 304.). The most rational moderns are, Fleury (*Hist. Eccles.* tom. xvi.), Vertot (*Chevaliers de Malthe*, tom. i. l. iii.), Giannone

(*Istoria Civile di Napoli*, tom. ii. l. xvi., and Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. x.).

⁸⁹ Poor Muratori knows what to think, but knows not what to say.
 “Chino qui il capo,” etc. p. 322.

⁹⁰ The clergy artfully confounded the mosque or church of the temple with the holy sepulchre, and their wilful error has deceived both Vertot and Muratori.

⁹¹ The irruption of the Carizmians, or Corasmins, is related by Matthew Paris (p. 546, 547.), and by Joinville, Nangis, and the Arabians (p. 111, 112, 191, 192. 528. 530.).

⁹² Read, if you can, the life and miracles of St. Louis, by the confessor of queen Margaret (p. 291—523. Joinville, du Louvre.)

⁹³ He believed all that mother church taught (Joinville, p. 10.), but he cautioned Joinville against disputing with infidels. “L’omme
 “lay (said he in his old language) quand il ot medire de la loy
 “Crestienne, ne doit pas deffendre la loy Crestienne ne mais que
 “de l’espée, dequoi il doit donner parmi le ventre dedens, tant
 “comme elle y peut entrer” (p. 12.).

⁹⁴ I have two editions of Joinville, the one (Paris, 1668) most valuable for the observations of Ducange; the other (Paris au Louvre, 1761) most precious for the pure and authentic text, a MS. of which has been recently discovered. The last editor proves, that the history of St. Louis was finished A. D. 1309, without explaining, or even admiring, the age of the author, which must have exceeded ninety years (Préface, p. xi. Observations de Ducange, p. 17.).

⁹⁵ Joinville, p. 32. Arabic Extracts, p. 549.

⁹⁶ The last editors have enriched their Joinville with large and curious extracts from the Arabic historians, Macrizi, Abulfeda, etc. See likewise Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 322—325.), who calls him by the corrupt name of *Redefrans*. Matthew Paris (p. 683, 684.) has described the rival folly of the French and English who fought and fell at Maffoura.

⁹⁷ Savary, in his agreeable *Lettres sur l’Egypte*, has given a description of Damietta (tom. i. lettre xxiii. p. 274—290.), and a narrative of the expedition of St. Louis (xxv. p. 306—350.).

⁹⁸ For the ransom of St. Louis, a million of byzants was asked and granted; but the sultan’s generosity reduced that sum to 800,000 byzants, which are valued by Joinville at 400,000 French livres of his own time, and expressed by Matthew Paris by 100,000 marks of silver (Ducange, Dissertation xx. sur Joinville.)

⁹⁹ The idea of the emirs to chuse Louis for their sultan, is seriously attested by Joinville (p. 77, 78.), and does not appear to me so

absurd as to M. de Voltaire (*Hist. Générale*, tom. ii. p. 386, 387.). The Mamalukes themselves were strangers, rebels, and equals; they had felt his valour, they hoped his conversion; and such a motion, which was not seconded, might be made, perhaps by a secret Christian, in their tumultuous assembly.

¹⁰⁰ See the expedition in the *Annals of St. Louis*, by William de Nangis, p. 270—287. and the *Arabic Extracts*, p. 545. 555. of the Louvre edition of Joinville.

¹⁰¹ Voltaire, *Hist. Générale*, tom. ii. p. 391.

¹⁰² The chronology of the two dynasties of Mamalukes, the Baharites, Turks or Tartars of Kipzack, and the Borgites, Circassians, is given by Pocock (*Prolegom. ad Abulpharag.* p. 6—31.) and de Guignes (tom. i. p. 264—270.); their history from Abulfeda, Macrizi, etc. to the beginning of the xvth century, by the same M. de Guignes (tom. iv. p. 110—328.).

¹⁰³ Savary, *Lettres sur l'Egypte*, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 189—208. I much question the authenticity of this copy; yet it is true, that sultan Selim concluded a treaty with the Circassians or Mamalukes of Egypt, and left them in possession of arms, riches, and power. See a new *Abrégé de l'Histoire Ottomane*, composed in Egypt, and translated by M. Digeon (tom. i. p. 55—58. Paris 1781.), a curious, authentic, and national history.

¹⁰⁴ Si totum quo regnum occupârunt tempus respicias, præsertim quod fini propius, reperies illud bellis, pugnis, injuriis, ac rapinis refertum (Al Jannabi, apud Pocock, p. 31.). The reign of Mohammed (A. D. 1311—1341.) affords an happy exception (de Guignes, tom. iv. p. 208—210.).

¹⁰⁵ They are now reduced to 8500: but the expence of each Mamaluke may be rated at 100 louis; and Egypt groans under the avarice and insolence of these strangers (*Voyages de Volney*, tom. i. p. 89—187.).

¹⁰⁶ See Carte's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 165—175. and his original authors, Thomas Wikes and Walter Hemingford (l. iii. c. 34, 35.), in Gale's *Collection* (tom. ii. p. 97. 589—592.). They are both ignorant of the princess Eleanor's piety in sucking the poisoned wound, and saving her husband at the risk of her own life.

¹⁰⁷ Sanutus, *Secret. Fidelium Crucis*, l. iii. p. xii. c. 9. and de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. iv. p. 143. from the Arabic historians.

¹⁰⁸ The state of Acre is represented in all the chronicles of the times, and most accurately in John Villani, l. vii. c. 144. in Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xiii. p. 337. 338.

¹⁰⁹ See the final expulsion of the Franks, in Sanutus, l. iii. p. xii. c. 11—22. Abulfeda, Macrizi, etc. in de Guignes, tom. iv. p. 162. 164. and Vertot, tom. i. l. iii. p. 407—428.

NOTES

TO THE

ELEVENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LX.

¹ In the successive centuries, from the ixth to the xviiiith, Mosheim traces the schism of the Greeks, with learning, clearness, and impartiality: the *filioque* (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 277.), Leo III. p. 303. Photius, p. 307, 308. Michael Cerularius, p. 370. 371, etc.

² Ἄνδρες δυσσεβεῖς καὶ ἀποτροπαιοὶ, ἄνδρες ἐκ σκοτῆς ἀνχιδόντες, τῆς γὰρ Ἑσπερίᾳ μοίρας ὑπῆρχον γεννημάτων (Phot. Epist. p. 47. edit. Montacut.) The Oriental patriarch continues to apply the images of thunder, earthquake, hail, wild boar, præcursors of Antichrist, etc. etc.

³ The mysterious subject of the procession of the Holy Ghost, is discussed in the historical, theological, and controversial sense, or nonsense, by the Jesuit Petavius (Dogmata Theologica, tom. ii. l. vii. p. 362—440.).

⁴ Before the shrine of St. Peter, he placed two shields of the weight of $94\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of pure silver; on which he inscribed the text of both creeds (utroque symbolo), pro amore et *cautelâ* orthodoxæ fidei (Anastas. in Leon. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. pars i. p. 208.). His language most clearly proves, that neither the *filioque*, nor the Athanasian creed, were received at Rome about the year 830.

⁵ The Missi of Charlemagne pressed him to declare, that all who rejected the *filioque*, at least the doctrine, must be damned. All, replies the pope, are not capable of reaching the altiora mysteria; qui potuerit, et non voluerit, salvus esse non potest (Collect. Concil. tom. ix. p. 277—286.). The *potuerit* would leave a large loop hole of salvation!

⁶ In France, after some harsher laws, the ecclesiastical discipline is now relaxed: milk, cheese, and butter, are become a perpetual, and eggs an annual, indulgence in Lent (Vie privée des Français, tom. ii. p. 27—38.).

⁷ The original monuments of the schism, of the charges of the Greeks against the Latins, are deposited in the Epistles of Photius Epist. Encyclica, ii. p. 47—61.) and of Michael Cerularius (Canisii Antiq.

Lectiones, tom. iii. p. i. p. 281—324. edit. Basnage, with the prolix answer of cardinal Humbert).

⁸ The xth volume of the Venice edition of the Councils, contains all the acts of the synods, and history of Photius: they are abridged, with a faint tinge of prejudice or prudence, by Dupin and Fleury.

⁹ The synod of Constantinople, held in the year 869, is the viiith of the general councils, the last assembly of the East which is recognised by the Roman church. She rejects the synods of Constantinople of the years 867 and 879, which were, however, equally numerous and noisy; but they were favourable to Photius.

¹⁰ See this anathema in the Councils, tom. xi. p. 1457—1460.

¹¹ Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. i. p. 31—33.) represents the abhorrence, not only of the church, but of the palace, for Gregory VII. the popes, and the Latin communion. The style of Cinnamus and Nicetas is still more vehement. Yet how calm is the voice of history compared with that of polemics!

¹² His anonymous historian (de Expedit. Afiat. Fred. I. in Caniffi Lection. Antiq. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 511. edit. Basnage) mentions the sermons of the Greek patriarch, quomodo Græcis injunxerat in remissionem peccatorum peregrinos occidere et delere de terrâ. Tagino observes (in Scriptores Freher tom. i. p. 409. edit. Struv.), Græci hæreticos nos appellant: clerici et monachi dictis et factis persequuntur. We may add the declaration of the emperor Baldwin fifteen years afterwards: Hæc est (*gens*) quæ Latinos omnes non hominum nomine, sed canum dignabatur; quorum sanguinem effundere penè inter merita reputabant (Gesta Innocent. III. c. 92. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum. tom. iii. pars i. p. 536.). There may be some exaggeration, but it was as effectual for the action and re-action of hatred.

¹³ See Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. vi. p. 161, 162.), and a remarkable passage of Nicetas (in Manuel. l. v. c. 9.), who observes of the Venetians, κατὰ σμῆνιν καὶ Φρατρίας τὴν Κωνσταντινὴν πόλιν τῆς οἰκείας ἡλλοξάντο, etc.

¹⁴ Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 186, 187.

¹⁵ Nicetas in Manuel. l. vii. c. 2. Regnante enim (Manuele) apud eum tantam Latinus populus repererat gratiam ut neglectis Græculis suis tanquam viris mollibus et effœminatis, folis Latinis grandia committeret negotia erga eos profusâ liberalitate abundabat ex omni orbe ad eum tanquam ad benefactorem nobiles et ignobiles concurrebant. Willerm. Tyr xxii. c. 10.

¹⁶ The suspicions of the Greeks would have been confirmed, if they had seen the political epistles of Manuel to pope Alexander III.

the enemy of his enemy Frederic I. in which the emperor declares his wish of uniting the Greeks and Latins as one flock under one shepherd, etc. (See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xv. p. 187. 213. 243.).

¹⁷ See the Greek and Latin narratives in Nicetas (in *Alexio Comneno*, c. 10.) and William of Tyre (l. xxii. c. 10, 11, 12, 13.); the first soft and concise, the second loud, copious, and tragical.

¹⁸ The history of the reign of Isaac Angelus is composed, in three books, by the senator Nicetas (p. 228—290.); and his offices of logothete, or principal secretary, and judge of the veil or palace, could not bribe the impartiality of the historian. He wrote, it is true, after the fall and death of his benefactor.

¹⁹ See Bohadin, *Vit. Saladin.* p. 129—131. 226. *vers.* Schultens. The amballador of Isaac was equally versed in the Greek, French, and Arabic languages; a rare instance in those times. His ambassies were received with honour, dismissed without effect, and reported with scandal in the West.

²⁰ Ducange, *Familiæ Dalmaticæ*, p. 318. 319, 320. The original correspondence of the Bulgarian king and the Roman pontiff, is inscribed in the *Gesta Innocent. III.* c. 66—82. p. 513—525.

²¹ The pope acknowledges his pedigree, *a nobili urbis Romæ profapia genitores tui originem traxerunt.* This tradition, and the strong resemblance of the Latin and Walachian idioms, is explained by M. d'Anville (*Etats de l'Europe*, p. 258—262.). The Italian colonies of the Dacia of Trajan, were swept away by the tide of emigration from the Danube to the Volga, and brought back by another wave from the Volga to the Danube. Possible, but strange!

²² This parable is in the best savage style; but I wish the Walach had not introduced the classic name of Mysians, the experiment of the magnet or loadstone, and the passage of an old comic poet (Nicetas, in *Alex. Comnena*, l. i. p. 299, 300.).

²³ The Latins aggravate the ingratitude of Alexius, by supposing that he had been released by his brother Isaac from Turkish captivity. This pathetic tale had doubtless been repeated at Venice and Zara: but I do not readily discover its grounds in the Greek historians.

²⁴ See the reign of Alexius Angelus, or Comnenus, in the three books of Nicetas, p. 291—352.

²⁵ See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xvi. p. 26, etc. and Villehardouin, N° 1. with the observations of Ducange, which I always mean to quote with the original text.

²⁶ The contemporary life of pope Innocent III. published by Baluze and Muratori (*Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. pars i. p. 486—568.), is most valuable for the important and original documents

which are inserted in the text. The bull of the crusade may be read, c. 84, 85.

²⁷ Por-ce que cil pardon fut issi gran, si s'en esmeurent moult li cuers des genz, et mult s'en croisierent, por-ce que li pardons ere si gran. Villehardouin, N° 1. Our philosophers may refine on the causes of the crusades, but such were the genuine feelings of a French knight.

²⁸ This number of fiefs (of which 1800, owed liege homage) was enrolled in the church of St. Stephen at Troyes, and attested A. D. 1213, by the marshal and butler of Champagne (Ducange, *Observat.* p. 254.).

²⁹ Campania militiæ privilegio singularius excellit in tyrociniis prolusione armorum, etc. Ducange, p. 249. from the old Chronicle of Jerusalem, A. D. 1177—1199.

³⁰ The name of Ville-hardouin, was taken from a village and castle in the diocese of Troyes, near the river Aube, between Bar and Arceis. The family was ancient and noble; the elder branch of our historian existed after the year 1400; the younger, which acquired the principality of Achaia, merged in the house of Savoy (Ducange, p. 235—245.).

³¹ This office was held by his father and his descendants, but Ducange has not hunted it with his usual sagacity. I find that, in the year 1356, it was in the family of Conflans; but these provincial, have been long since eclipsed by the national, marshals of France.

³² This language, of which I shall produce some specimens, is explained by Vigenere and Ducange in a version and glossary. The president des Broffes (*Mécanisme des Langues*, tom. ii. p. 83.) gives it as the example of a language which has ceased to be French, and is understood only by grammarians.

³³ His age, and his own expression, moi qui ceste œuvre dicta (N° 62, etc.), may justify the suspicion (more probable than M. Wood's on Homer), that he could neither read nor write. Yet Champagne may boast of the two first historians, the noble authors of French prose, Villehardouin and Joinville.

³⁴ The crusade and reigns of the counts of Flanders, Baldwin and his brother Henry, are the subject of a particular history by the Jesuit Doutremens (*Constantinopolis Belgica*; Turnaci, 1638, in 4to), which I have only seen with the eyes of Ducange.

³⁵ History, etc. vol. iii. p. 420—422.

³⁶ The foundation and independence of Venice, and Pepin's invasion, are discussed by Pagi (*Critica*, tom. iii. A. D. 810, N° 4, etc.) and Beretti (*Differt. Chorograph. Italiae medii Ævi*, in Muratori, *Script.*

tom. x. p. 153.) The two critics have a slight bias, the Frenchman adverse, the Italian favourable, to the republic.

³⁷ When the son of Charlemagne asserted his right of sovereignty, he was answered by the loyal Venetians, ὅτι ἡμεῖς δέσποὶ θελομεν εἶναι τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας (Constantin. Porphyrogenit. de Administrat. Imperii, pars ii. c. 28. p. 85.); and the report of the ixth, establishes the fact of the xth century, which is confirmed by the embassy of Liutprand of Cremona. The annual tribute, which the emperor allows them to pay to the king of Italy, alleviates, by doubling, their servitude; but the hateful word δέσποὶ must be translated, as in the charter of 827 (Laugier, Hist. de Venise, tom. i. p. 67; etc.), by the softer appellation of *subditi*, or *fideles*.

³⁸ See the xxvth and xxxth dissertations of the Antiquitates mediævi of Muratori. From Anderson's History of Commerce, I understand that the Venetians did not trade to England before the year 1323. The most flourishing state of their wealth and commerce in the beginning of the xvth century, is agreeably described by the Abbé Dubos (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 443—480.).

³⁹ The Venetians have been slow in writing and publishing their history. Their most ancient monuments are, 1. The rude Chronicle (perhaps) of John Sagorninus (Venezia, 1765, in octavo,) which represents the state and manners of Venice in the year 1008. 2. The larger history of the doge (1342—1354) Andrew Dandolo, published for the first time in the xiith tom. of Muratori, A. D. 1728. The History of Venice by the Abbé Laugier (Paris, 1728), is a work of some merit, which I have chiefly used for the constitutional part.

⁴⁰ Henry Dandolo was eighty-four at his election (A. D. 1192), and ninety-seven at his death (A. D. 1205). See the Observations of Ducange sur Villehardouin, N° 204. But this *extraordinary* longevity is not observed by the original writers, nor does there exist another example of an hero near an hundred years of age. Theophrastus might afford an instance of a writer of ninety nine; but instead of ἐννενήκοντα (Proœm. ad Character.), I am much inclined to read ἑβδόμηκοντα, with his last editor Fischer, and the first thoughts of Casaubon. It is scarcely possible that the powers of the mind and body should support themselves till such a period of life.

⁴¹ The modern Venetians (Laugier, tom. ii. p. 119.) accuse the emperor Manuel: but the calumny is refuted by Villehardouin and the older writers, who suppose that Dandolo lost his eyes by a wound N° 34. and Ducange.)

⁴¹ See the original treaty in the Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo, p. 323—326.

⁴³ A reader of Villehardouin must observe the frequent tears of the marshal and his brother knights. *Sachiez que la ot mainte lerne plorée de pitié* (N° 17.) ; *mut plorant* (ibid.) ; *mainte lerne plorée* (N° 34.) ; *si orent mult pitié et plorerent mult durement* (N° 60.) ; *i et maint lerne plorée de pitié* (N° 62.). They weep on every occasion of grief, joy, or devotion.

⁴⁴ By a victory (A. D. 1191) over the citizens of Afti, by a crusade to Palestine, and by an embassy from the pope to the German princes (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia* tom. x. p. 163. 202.).

⁴⁵ See the crusade of the Germans in the *Historia C. P.* of Gunther (Canisii *Antiq. Lect.* tom. iv. p. v—viii.), who celebrates the pilgrimage of his abbot Martin, one of the preaching rivals of Fulk of Neuilly. His monastery, of the Cistercian order, was situate in the diocese of Basil.

⁴⁶ Jadera, now Zara, was a Roman colony, which acknowledged Augustus for its parent. It is now only two miles round, and contains five or six thousand inhabitants; but the fortifications are strong, and it is joined to the main land by a bridge. See the travels of the two companions, Spon and Wheeler (*Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce, etc.* tom. i. p. 64—70. *Journey into Greece*, p. 8—14.); the last of whom, by mistaking *Sestertia* for *Sestertii*, values an arch with statues and columns at twelve pounds. If, in his time, there were no trees near Zara, the cherry-trees were not yet planted which produce our incomparable *marasquin*.

⁴⁷ Katona (*Hist. Critica Reg. Hungariæ, Stirpis Arpad.* tom. iv p. 536—558.) collects all the facts and testimonies most adverse to the conquerors of Zara.

⁴⁸ See the whole transaction, and the sentiments of the pope, in the Epistles of Innocent III. *Gesta*, c. 86, 87, 88.

⁴⁹ A modern reader is surprised to hear of the valet de Constantinople, as applied to young Alexius, on account of his youth, like the *infants* of Spain, and the *nobilissimus puer* of the Romans. The pages and *valets* of the knights were as noble as themselves (Villehardouin and Ducange, N° 36.).

⁵⁰ The emperor Isaac is styled by Villehardouin, *Surfac* (N° 35, etc.), which may be derived from the French *Sire*, or the Greek *Kyp* (*κύριος*) melted into his proper name; the farther corruptions of *Tursac* and *Conferac* will instruct us what licence may have been used in the old dynasties of Assyria and Egypt.

⁵¹ Reinier and Conrad; the former married Maria, daughter of the emperor Manuel Comnenus; the latter was the husband of Theodora Angela, sister of the emperors Isaac and Alexius. Conrad abandoned the Greek court and princess for the glory of defending Tyre against Saladin (Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 187. 203).

⁵² Nicetas (in Alexio Comneno, l. iii. c. 9.) accuses the doge and Venetians as the first authors of the war against Constantinople, and considers only as a *κυμα ὑπὲρ κυματι*, the arrival and shameful offers of the royal exile.

⁵³ Villehardouin and Gunther represent the sentiments of the two parties. The abbot Martin left the army at Zara, proceeded to Palestine, was sent ambassador to Constantinople, and became a reluctant witness of the second siege.

⁵⁴ The birth and dignity of Andrew Dandolo gave him the motive and the means of searching in the archives of Venice the memorable story of his ancestor. His brevity seems to accuse the copious and more recent narratives of Sanudo (in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xxii.), Blondus, Sabellicus, and Rhamnusius.

⁵⁵ Villehardouin, N° 62. His feelings and expressions are original; he often weeps, but he rejoices in the glories and perils of war with a spirit unknown to a sedentary writer.

⁵⁶ In this voyage, almost all the geographical names are corrupted by the Latins. The modern appellation of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, is derived from its *Euripus*, *Eyripo*, *Negri-po*, *Negropont*, which dishonours our maps (d'Anville, *Geographie Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 263).

⁵⁷ Et sachiez que il ne ot si hardi cui le cuer ne fremist (c. 67.) Chascuns regardoit ses armes que par tems en aront mestier (c. 68.). Such is the honesty of courage

⁵⁸ Eandem urbem plus in solis navibus piscatorum abundare, quam illos in toto navigio. Habebat enim mille et sexcentas piscatorias naves Bellicas autem sive mercatorias habebant infinitæ multitudinis et portum tutissimum. Gunther, *Hist. C. P.* c. 8. p. 10.

⁵⁹ Καθ' ὅσον ἱερῶν ἀλτῶν, εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ θεοφύτευται παραδείσων εὐφραίνοντο τῶντων. Nicetas in Alex. Comneno, l. iii. c. 9. p. 348.

⁶⁰ From the version of Vignere I adopt the well-founding word *palander*, which is still used, I believe, in the Mediterranean. But had I written in French, I should have preferred the original and expressive denomination of *vessiers* or *huissiers*, from the *huis*, or door, which was let down as a draw-bridge; but which, at sea, was closed into the side of the ship (see Ducange au Villehardouin, N° 14. and Joinville, p. 27, 28. edit. du Louvre).

⁶¹ To avoid the vague expressions of followers, etc. I use, after Villehardouin, the word *serjeants* for all horsemen who were not knights. There were serjeants at arms, and serjeants at law; and if we visit the parade and Westminster-hall, we may observe the strange result of the distinction (Ducange, Glossar Latin. *Servientes*, etc. tom. vi. p. 22 — 231.).

⁶² It is needless to observe, that on the subject of Galata, the chain, etc. Ducange is accurate and full. Consult likewise the proper chapters of the C. P. Christiana of the same author. The inhabitants of Galata were so vain and ignorant, that they applied to themselves St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.

⁶³ The vessel that broke the chain was named the Eagle, *Aquila* (Dandolo. Chronicon. p. 322.), which Blondus (de Gestis Venet.) has changed into *Aquilo* the northwind. Ducange, Observations, N° 83. maintains the latter reading; but he had not seen the respectable text of Dandolo, nor did he enough consider the topography of the harbour. The south-east would have been a more effectual wind.

⁶⁴ Quatre cens mil homes ou plus (Villehardouin, N° 134.), must be understood of *men* of a military age. Le Beau (Hist. du Bas Empire, tom. xx. p. 417.) allows Constantinople a million of inhabitants, of whom 60,000 horse, and an infinite number of foot soldiers. In its present decay, the capital of the Ottoman empire may contain 400,000 souls (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 401, 402.); but as the Turks keep no registers, and as circumstances are fallacious, it is impossible to ascertain (Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 18, 19.) the real populousness of their cities.

⁶⁵ On the most correct plans of Constantinople, I know not how to measure more than 4000 paces. Yet Villehardouin computes the space at three leagues (N° 86.). If his eye were not deceived, he must reckon by the old Gallic league of 1500 paces, which might still be used in Champagne.

⁶⁶ The guards, the Varangi, are styled by Villehardouin (N° 89, 95, etc.), Englois et Danois avec leurs haches. Whatever had been their origin, a French pilgrim could not be mistaken in the nations of which they were at that time composed.

⁶⁷ For the first siege and conquest of Constantinople, we may read the original letter of the crusaders to Innocent III. Gesta, c. 91, p. 533. 534. Villehardouin, N° 75—99. Nicetas in Alexio Comnen. l. iii. c. 10. p. 349—352. Dandolo, in Chron. p. 322. Gunther, and his abbot Martin, were not yet returned from their obstinate pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or St. John d'Acre, where the greatest part of the company had died of the plague.

⁶⁸ Compare,

⁶⁸ Compare, in the rude energy of Villehardouin (N° 66. 100.), the inside and outside views of Constantinople, and their impresson on the minds of the pilgrims: *cette ville (says he) que de totes les autres ére souveraine*. See the parallel passages of Fulcherius Carnotensis, *Hist. Hierosol.* l. i. c. 4. and Will. Tyr. ii. 3. xx. 26.

⁶⁹ As they played at dice, the Latins took off his diadem, and clapped on his head a woollen or hairy cap, *το μεγαλοπρεπες και παγκλῆισον κατερρυπαινεν ονομα* (Nicetas, p. 358.). If these merry companions were Venetians, it was the insolence of trade and a commonwealth.

⁷⁰ Villehardouin, N° 101. Dandolo, p. 322. The doge affirms, that the Venetians were paid more slowly than the French; but he owns, that the histories of the two nations differed on that subject. Had he read Villehardouin? The Greeks complained, however, *quod totius Græciæ opes transtulisset* (Gunther, *Hist. C. P.* c. 13.). See the lamentations and invectives of Nicetas (p. 355.).

⁷¹ The reign of Alexius Comnenus occupies three books in Nicetas, p. 291—352. The short restoration of Isaac and his son is dispatched in five chapters, p. 352—362.

⁷² When Nicetas reproaches Alexius for his impious league, he bestows the harshest names on the pope's new religion: *μειζον και αποπωτατον . . . παρεκτροπην πιξεως . . . των τε Παπα προνομιων καινισμον . . . μεταθesis τε και μεταποιησιν των παλαιων Ραμαιοις εθων* (p. 348.). Such was the sincere language of every Greek to the last gasp of the empire.

⁷³ Nicetas (p. 355.) is positive in the charge, and specifies the Flemings (*Φλαμιονες*), though he is wrong in supposing it an ancient name. Villehardouin (N° 107.) exculpates the barons, and is ignorant (perhaps affectedly ignorant) of the names of the guilty.

⁷⁴ Compare the suspicions and complaints of Nicetas (p. 359—362.) with the blunt charges of Baldwin of Flanders (*Gesta Innocent.* III. c. 92. p. 534.), *cum patriarchâ et mole nobilium, nobis promissis perjurus et mendax*.

⁷⁵ His name was Nicholas Canabus; he deserved the praise of Nicetas and the vengeance of Mourzoufle (p. 362.).

⁷⁶ Villehardouin (N° 116.) speaks of him as a favourite, without knowing that he was a prince of the blood, *Angelus* and *Ducas*. Ducange, who pries into every corner, believes him to be the son of Isaac Ducas Sebastocrator, and second cousin of young Alexius.

⁷⁷ This negotiation, probable in itself, and attested by Nicetas

(p. 365.), is omitted as scandalous by the delicacy of Dandolo and Villehardouin.

⁷⁸ Baldwin mentions both attempts to fire the fleet (Gest. c. 92. p. 534, 535.); Villehardouin (N° 113—115.) only describes the first. It is remarkable, that neither of these warriors observe any peculiar properties in the Greek fire.

⁷⁹ Ducange (N° 119.) pours forth a torrent of learning on the *Gonfanon Imperial*. This banner of the Virgin is shewn at Venice as a trophy and relic: if it be genuine, the pious doge must have cheated the monks of Citeaux.

⁸⁰ Villehardouin (N° 126.) confesses, that mult ere grant peril; and Guntherus (Hist. C. P. c. 13.) affirms, that nulla spes victoriæ arridere poterat. Yet the knight despises those who thought of flight, and the monk praises his countrymen who were resolved on death.

⁸¹ Baldwin, and all the writers, honour the names of these two gallies, felici auspicio.

⁸² With an allusion to Homer, Nicetas calls him ἐννεα οργυίας, nine orgyæ, or eighteen yards high, a stature which would indeed have excused the terror of the Greek. On this occasion, the historian seems fonder of the marvellous, than of his country, or perhaps of truth. Baldwin exclaims in the words of the psalmist, persequitur unus ex nobis centum alienos.

⁸³ Villehardouin (N° 130.) is again ignorant of the authors of *this* more legitimate fire, which is ascribed by Gunther to a quidam comes Teutonicus (c. 14.). They seem ashamed, the incendiaries!

⁸⁴ For the second siege and conquest of Constantinople, see Villehardouin (N° 113—132.), Baldwin's iid Epistle to Innocent III. (Gesta, c. 92. p. 534—537.), with the whole reign of Mourzoufle, in Nicetas (p. 363—375.); and borrow some hints from Dandolo (Chron. Venet. p. 323—330.) and Gunther (Hist. C. P. c. 14—18.), who add the decorations of prophecy and vision. The former produces an oracle of the Erythræan sybil, of a great armament on the Adriatic, under a blind chief, against Byzantium, etc. Curious enough, were the prediction anterior to the fact.

⁸⁵ Ceciderunt tamen eâ die civium quasi duo millia, etc. (Gunther, c. 18.). Arithmetic is an excellent touchstone to try the amplifications of passion and rhetoric.

⁸⁶ Quidam (says Innocent III. Gesta, c. 94. p. 538.) nec religioni, nec ætati, nec sexui pepercerunt: sed fornicationes, adulteria, et incestus in oculis omnium exercentes, non solum maritatas et viduas, sed et matronas et virgines Deoque dicatas, exposuerunt spur-

citiis gacionum. Villehardouin takes no notice of these common incidents.

⁸⁷ Nicetas saved, and afterwards married, a noble virgin (p. 380.), whom a foldier *ἐπὶ μαρτυρίᾳ πολλοῖς οὐκ ἔδον ἐπιβρωμώμενος*, had almost violated in spite of the *ἐντολαί, ἐντάλματα ἐν γεγρονότων*.

⁸⁸ Of the general mass of wealth, Gunther observes, *ut de pauperibus et advenis cives ditissimi redderentur* (Hist. C. P. c. 18.) Villehardouin (N° 132.), that since the creation, *ne fu tant gaaigné dans une ville; Baldwin* (Gesta, c. 92.), *ut tantum tota non videatur possidere Latinitas*.

⁸⁹ Villehardouin, N° 133—135. Instead of 400,000, there is a various reading of 500,000. The Venetians had offered to take the whole booty, and to give 400 marks to each knight, 200 to each priest and horseman, and 100 to each foot-foldier: they would have been great losers (Le Beau, Hist. du Bas-Empire, tom. xx. p. 506. I know not from whence).

⁹⁰ At the council of Lyons (A. D. 1245.), the English ambassadors stated the revenue of the crown as below that of the foreign clergy, which amounted to 60,000 marks a year (Matthew Paris, p. 456. Hume's History of England, vol. ii. p. 170.).

⁹¹ The disorders of the sack of Constantinople, and his own adventures, are feelingly described by Nicetas, p. 367—369. and in the Status Urb. C. P. p. 375—384. His complaints even of sacrilege are justified by Innocent III. (Gesta, c. 92.); but Villehardouin does not betray a symptom of pity or remorse.

⁹² If I rightly apprehend the Greek of Nicetas's, receipts, their favourite dishes were boiled buttocks of beef, salt pork and pease, and soup made of garlic and sharp or four herbs (p. 382.).

⁹³ Nicetas uses very harsh expressions, *παρ' ἀγγραμματοῖς Βαρβαροῖς, καὶ τελευτῶν ἀναλφάβητοις* (Fragment. apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 414.). This reproach, it is true, applies most strongly to their ignorance of Greek and of Homer. In their own language, the Latins of the xiith and xiiith centuries were not destitute of literature. See Harris's Philological Inquiries, p. iii. c. 9, 10, 11.

⁹⁴ Nicetas was of Chonæ in Phrygia (the old Colossæ of St. Paul): he raised himself to the honours of senator, judge of the veil, and great logothete; beheld the fall of the empire, retired to Nice, and composed an elaborate history from the death of Alexius Comnenus to the reign of Henry.

⁹⁵ A manuscript of Nicetas in the Bodleian library, contains this curious fragment on the statues of Constantinople, which fraud, or

shame, or rather carelessness, has dropt in the common editions. It is published by Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 405—416), and immoderately praised by the late ingenious M. Harris of Salisbury (Philological Inquiries, p. iii. c. 5. p. 301—312.).

⁹⁶ To illustrate the statue of Hercules, M. Harris quotes a Greek epigram, and engraves a beautiful gem, which does not however copy the attitude of the statue: in the latter, Hercules had not his club, and his right leg and arm were extended.

⁹⁷ I transcribe these proportions, which appear to me inconsistent with each other; and may possibly shew, that the boasted taste of Nicetas was no more than affectation and vanity.

⁹⁸ Nicetas in Isaaco Angelo et Alexio, c. 3. p. 359. The Latin editor very properly observes, that the historian, in his bombast style, produces ex pulice elephantem.

⁹⁹ In two passages of Nicetas (edit. Paris, p. 360. Fabric. p. 408.), the Latins are branded with the lively reproach of *οἱ τὰ καλὰ ἀνεραῖοι βαρβαροί*, and their avarice of brass is clearly expressed. Yet the Venetians had the merit of removing four bronze horses from Constantinople to the place of St. Mark (Sanuto, Vite dei Dogi, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxii. p. 534.).

¹⁰⁰ Winckelman, Hist. de l'Art, tom. iii. p. 269, 270.

¹⁰¹ See the pious robbery of the abbot Martin, who transferred a rich cargo to his monastery of Paris, diocese of Basil (Gunther, Hist. C. P. c. 19. 23, 24.). Yet in secreting this booty, the saint incurred an excommunication, and perhaps broke his oath.

¹⁰² Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 139—145.

¹⁰³ I shall conclude this chapter with the notice of a modern history, which illustrates the taking of Constantinople by the Latins; but which has fallen somewhat late into my hands. Paolo Ramusio, the son of the compiler of voyages, was directed by the senate of Venice to write the history of the conquest; and this order, which he received in his youth, he executed in a mature age, by an elegant Latin work, *de Bello Constantinopolitano et Imperatoribus Comnenis per Gallos et Venetos restitutis* (Venet. 1635, in folio). Ramusio, or Rhamnusius, transcribes and translates, sequitur ad unguem, a MS. of Villehardouin, which he possessed; but he enriches his narrative with Greek and Latin materials, and we are indebted to him for a correct state of the fleet, the names of the fifty Venetian nobles who commanded the gallies of the republic, and the patriot opposition of Pantaleon Barbus to the choice of the doge for emperor.

CHAP. LXI.

¹ See the original treaty of partition, in the Venetian Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo, p. 326—330. and the subsequent election in Villehardouin, N° 136—140. with Ducange in his Observations, and the 1st book of his Histoire de Constantinople sous l'Empire des François.

² After mentioning the nomination of the doge by a French elector, his kinsman Andrew Dandolo approves his exclusion, *quidam Venetorum fidelis et nobilis senex*, *usus oratione fatis probabili*, etc. which has been embroidered by modern writers from Blondus to Le Beau.

³ Nicetas (p. 384.), with the vain ignorance of a Greek, describes the marquis of Montferrat as a *maritime* power. *Λαμπαρδίων δε οικεισθαι παραλίον*. Was he deceived by the Byzantine theme of Lombardy, which extended along the coast of Calabria?

⁴ They exacted an oath from Thomas Morosini to appoint no canons of St. Sophia, the lawful electors, except Venetians who had lived ten years at Venice, etc. But the foreign clergy was envious, the pope disapproved this national monopoly, and of the six Latin patriarchs of Constantinople, only the first and the last were Venetians.

⁵ Nicetas, p. 383.

⁶ The Epistles of Innocent III. are a rich fund for the ecclesiastical and civil institution of the Latin empire of Constantinople; and the most important of these epistles (of which the collection in 2 vols. in folio, is published by Stephen Baluze) are inserted in his *Gesta*, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. p. i. c. 94—105.

⁷ In the treaty of partition, most of the names are corrupted by the scribes: they might be restored, and a good map suited to the last age of the Byzantine empire, would be an improvement of geography. But, alas! d'Anville is no more!

⁸ Their style was *dominus quartæ partis et dimidiæ imperii Romani*, till Giovanni Dolfino who was elected doge in the year 1356. (Sanuto, p. 530. 641.). For the government of Constantinople, see Ducange, *Histoire de C. P.* i. 37.

⁹ Ducange (*Hist. de C. P.* ii. 6.) has marked the conquests made by the state or nobles of Venice of the islands of Candia, Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Naxos, Paros, Melos, Andros, Mycone, Scyro, Cea, and Lemnos.

¹⁰ Boniface sold the isle of Candia, August 12, A. D. 1204. See the act in Sanuto, p. 533.: but I cannot understand how it could be his mother's portion, or how she could be the daughter of an emperor Alexius.

¹¹ In the year 1212, the doge Peter Zani sent a colony to Candia,

drawn from every quarter of Venice. But in their savage manners and frequent rebellions, the Candiots may be compared to the Corficans under the yoke of Genoa: and when I compare the accounts of Belon and Tournefort, I cannot discern much difference between the Venetian and the Turkish Island.

¹² Villehardouin (N° 159, 160. 173—177.) and Nicetas (p. 387—394.) describe the expedition into Greece of the marquis Boniface. The Choniata might derive his information from his brother Michael, archbishop of Athens, whom he paints as an orator, a statesman, and a saint. His encomium of Athens, and the description of Tempe, should be published from the Bodleian MS. of Nicetas (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 405.), and would have deserved Mr. Harris's inquiries.

¹³ Napoli di Romania, or Nauplia, the ancient sea-port of Argos, is still a place of strength and consideration, situate on a rocky peninsula, with a good harbour (Chandler's Travels into Greece, p. 227.).

¹⁴ I have softened the expression of Nicetas, who strives to expose the presumption of the Franks. See de Rebus post C. P. expugnatam, p. 375—384.

¹⁵ A city surrounded by the river Hebrus, and six leagues to the south of Adrianople, received from its double wall the Greek name of Didymoteichos, insensibly corrupted into Demotica and Dimot. I have preferred the more convenient and modern appellation of Demotica. This place was the last Turkish residence of Charles XII.

¹⁶ Their quarrel is told by Villehardouin (N° 146—158.) with the spirit of freedom. The merit and reputation of the marshal are acknowledged by the Greek historian (p. 387.), *μεγα παρα τοις Λατινων δυναμενς στρατευμασι*: unlike some modern heroes, whose exploits are only visible in their own memoirs.

¹⁷ See the fate of Mourzoufle, in Nicetas (p. 393.), Villehardouin (N° 141—145. 163.), and Guntherus (c. 20, 21.). Neither the marshal nor the monk afford a grain of pity for a tyrant or rebel, whose punishment, however, was more unexampled than his crime.

¹⁸ The column of Arcadius, which represents in basso-relievo his victories, or those of his father Theodosius, is still extant at Constantinople. It is described and measured, Gyllius (Topograph. iv. 7.), Banduri (ad l. i. Antiquit. C. P. p. 507, etc.), and Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. lettre xii. p. 231.).

¹⁹ The nonsense of Gunther and the modern Greeks concerning this *columna fatidica*, is unworthy of notice: but it is singular enough, that fifty years before the Latin conquest, the poet Tzetzes (Chiliad, ix. 277.) relates the dream of a matron, who saw an army in the forum,

and a man sitting on the column, clapping his hands, and uttering a loud exclamation.

²⁰ The dynasties of Nice, Trebizond, and Epirus (of which Nicetas saw the origin without much pleasure or hope), are learnedly explored, and clearly represented, in the *Familia Byzantina* of Ducange.

²¹ Except some facts in Pachymer and Nicephorus Gregoras, which will hereafter be used, the Byzantine writers disdain to speak of the empire of Trebizond, or principality of the *Lazî*; and among the Latins, it is conspicuous only in the romances of the xivth or xvth centuries. Yet the indefatigable Ducange has dug out (*Fam. Byz.* p. 192.) two authentic passages in Vincent of Beauvais (l. xxxi. c. 144.), and the protonotary Ogerius (apud Wading, A. D. 1279. N° 4.).

²² The portrait of the French Latins, is drawn in Nicetas by the hand of prejudice and resentment: *ἔθεν τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς Ἀρεὸς ἐργὰ παρὰσυμβεβλησθαι ἠνειχόντο, ἀλλ' ἔδε τις τῶν χάριτων ἢ τῶν μιστῶν παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις τε τοῖς ἐπεξενίζετο, καὶ παρὰ τε τοῖς οἰμαὶ τὴν φύσιν ἦσαν ἀνημέροι, καὶ τὸν χολὸν εἶχον τὰ λόγῳ προτρέχοντα.*

²³ I here begin to use, with freedom and confidence, the eight books of the *Histoire de C. P. sous l'Empire des François*, which Ducange has given as a supplement to Villehardouin; and which, in a barbarous style, deserves the praise of an original and classic work.

²⁴ In Calo-John's answer to the pope, we may find his claims and complaints (*Gesta Innocent. III.* c. 108, 109.); he was cherished at Rome as the prodigal son.

²⁵ The Comans were a Tartar or Turkman hord, which encamped in the xiith and xiiith centuries on the verge of Moldavia. The greater part were pagans, but some were Mahometans, and the whole hord was converted to Christianity (A. D. 1370.) by Lewis king of Hungary.

²⁶ Nicetas, from ignorance or malice, imputes the defeat to the cowardice of Dandolo (p. 383.); but Villehardouin shares his own glory with his venerable friend, *qui viels home ére et gote ne veoit, mais mult ére sages et preus et vigueros* (N° 193.).

²⁷ The truth of geography, and the original text of Villehardouin (N° 194.), place Rodosto three days journey (*trois journées*) from Adrianople; but Vigenere, in his version, has most absurdly substituted *trois heures*; and this error, which is not corrected by Ducange, has entrapped several moderns, whose names I shall spare.

²⁸ The reign and end of Baldwin are related by Villehardouin and Nicetas (p. 386—416.); and their omissions are supplied by Ducange in his *Observations*, and to the end of his first book.

²⁹ After brushing away all doubtful and improbable circumstances,

we may prove the death of Baldwin, 1. By the firm belief of the French barons (Villehardouin, N° 230.). 2. By the declaration of Calo-John himself, who excuses his not releasing the captive emperor, *quia debitum carnis exsolverat cum carcere teneretur* (Gesta Innocent. III. c. 109.).

³⁰ See the story of this impostor from the French and Flemish writers in Ducange, *Hist. de C. P.* iii. 9. and the ridiculous fables that were believed by the monks of St. Alban's, in Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 271, 272.

³¹ Villehardouin, N° 257. I quote with regret, this lamentable conclusion, where we lose at once the original history, and the rich illustrations of Ducange. The last pages may derive some light from Henry's two Epistles to Innocent III. (Gesta, c. 106, 107.).

³² The marshal was alive in 1212, but he probably died soon afterwards, without returning to France (Ducange, *Observations sur Villehardouin*, p. 238.). His fief of Meffinople, the gift of Boniface, was the ancient Maximianopolis, which flourished in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, among the cities of Thrace (N° 141.).

³³ The church of this patron of Thessalonica was served by the canons of the holy sepulchre, and contained a divine ointment which distilled daily and stupendous miracles (Ducange, *Hist. de C. P.* ii. 4.).

³⁴ Acropolita (c. 17.) observes the persecution of the legate, and the toleration of Henry (Έρη as he calls him), *κλυδωνα κατεξορεσε*.

³⁵ See the reign of HENRY, in Ducange (*Hist. de C. P.* l. i. c. 35—41. l. ii. c. 1—12.), who is much indebted to the Epistles of the Popes. Le Beau (*Hist. du Bas-Empire*, tom. xxi. p. 120—122.) has found, perhaps in Doutreman, some laws of Henry, which determined the service of fiefs, and the prerogatives of the emperor.

³⁶ Acropolita (c. 14.) affirms, that Peter of Courtenay died by the sword (*εργον μαχαίρας γενεσθαι*): but from his dark expressions, I should conclude a previous captivity, *ως παντας αρδην δεσμωτας συν πασι σκευεσι*. The Chronicle of Auxerre delays the emperor's death till the year 1219; and Auxerre is in the neighbourhood of Courtenay.

³⁷ See the reign and death of Peter of Courtenay, in Ducange (*Hist. de C. P.* l. ii. c. 22—28.), who feebly strives to excuse the neglect of the emperor by Honorius III.

³⁸ Marinus Sanutus (*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, l. ii. p. iv. c. 18. p. 73.) is so much delighted with this bloody deed, that he has transcribed it in his margin as a bonum exemplum. Yet he acknowledges the damsel for the lawful wife of Robert.

³⁹ See the reign of Robert, in Ducange (Hist. de C. P. l. iii. c. 1—12.).

⁴⁰ Rex igitur Franciæ, deliberatione habitâ respondit nuntiis, fe daturum hominem Syriæ partibus aptum; in armis probum (*preux*), in bellis securum, in agendis providum, Johannem comitem Brennensem. Sanut. Secret. Fidelium, l. iii. p. xi. c. 4. p. 205. Matthew Paris, p. 159.

⁴¹ Giannone (Istoria Civile, tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 380—385.) discusses the marriage of Frederic II. with the daughter of John of Brienne, and the double union of the crowns of Naples and Jerusalem.

⁴² Acropolita, c. 27. The historian was at that time a boy, and educated at Constantinople. In 1233, when he was eleven years old, his father broke the Latin chain, left a splendid fortune, and escaped to the Greek court of Nice, where his son was raised to the highest honours.

⁴³ Philip Mouskes, bishop of Tournay (A. D. 1274—1282), has composed a poem, or rather a string of verses, in bad old Flemish French, on the Latin emperors of Constantinople, which Ducange has published at the end of Villehardouin; see p. 224. for the prowess of John of Brienne.

N'Aie, Ector, Roll' ne Ogiers
Ne Judas Machabeus li fiers
Tant ne fit d'armes en estors
Com fist li Rois Jehans cel jors
Et il defors et il dedans
La paru sa force et ses fens
Et li hardiment qu'il avoit.

⁴⁴ See the reign of John de Brienne, in Ducange, Hist. de C. P. l. iii. c. 13—26.

⁴⁵ See the reign of Baldwin II. till his expulsion from Constantinople, in Ducange, Hist. de C. P. l. iv. c. 1—34. the end l. v. c. 1—33.

⁴⁶ Matthew Paris relates the two visits of Baldwin II. to the English court, p. 396. 637.: his return to Greece armatâ manû, p. 407.: his letters of his nomen formidabile, etc. p. 481. (a passage which had escaped Ducange): his expulsion, p. 850.

⁴⁷ Louis IX. disapproved and stopped the alienation of Courtenay (Ducange, l. iv. c. 23.). It is now annexed to the royal demesne, but granted for a term (*engagé*) to the family of Boulainvilliers. Courtenay, in the election of Nemours in the Isle de France, is a town of 900 inhabitants with the remains of a castle (Mélanges tirés d'une grand Bibliothèque, tom. xlv. p. 74—77.

⁴⁸ Joinville, p. 104. edit. du Louvre. A Coman prince, who died

without baptism, was buried at the gates of Constantinople with a live retinue of slaves and horses.

⁴⁹ Sanut. Secret. Fidel. Crucis, l. ii. p. iv. c. 18. p. 73.

⁵⁰ Under the words, *Perparus*, *Perpera*, *Hyperperum*, Ducange is short and vague: *Monetæ* genus. From a corrupt passage of Guntherus (Hist. C. P. c. 8. p. 10.), I guess, that the *Perpera* was the nummus aureus, the fourth part of a mark of silver, or about ten shillings sterling in value. In lead, it would be too contemptible.

⁵¹ For the translation of the holy crown, etc. from Constantinople to Paris, see Ducange (Hist. de C. P. l. iv. c. 11—14. 24. 35.) and Fleury (Hist. Eccles. tom. xvii. p. 201—204.).

⁵² *Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque*, tom. xliii. p. 201—205. The *Lutrin* of Boileau exhibits the inside, the soul and manners of the *Sainte Chapelle*; and many facts relative to the institution are collected and explained by his commentators, Broffette and de St. Marc.

⁵³ It was performed A. D. 1656. March 24. on the niece of Pascal; and that superior genius, with Arnauld, Nicole, etc. were on the spot to believe and attest a miracle which confounded the Jesuits, and saved Port Royal (*Oeuvres de Racine*, tom. vi. p. 176—187. in his eloquent History of Port Royal.).

⁵⁴ Voltaire (*Siècle de Louis XIV.* c. 37. *Oeuvres*, tom. ix. p. 178, 179.) strives to invalidate the fact: but Hume (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 483, 484), with more skill and success, seizes the battery, and turns the cannon against his enemies.

⁵⁵ The gradual losses of the Latins may be traced in the third, fourth, and fifth books of the compilation of Ducange: but of the Greek conquests he has dropped many circumstances, which may be recovered from the larger history of George Acropolita, and the three first books of Nicephorus Gregoras, two writers of the Byzantine series, who have had the good fortune to meet with learned editors, Leo Allatius at Rome, and John Boivin in the Academy of Inscriptions of Paris.

⁵⁶ George Acropolita, c. 78. p. 89, 90. edit. Paris.

⁵⁷ The Greeks, ashamed of any foreign aid, disguise the alliance and succour of the Genoese; but the fact is proved by the testimony of J. Villani (*Chron.* l. vi. c. 71. in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xiii. p. 202, 203) and William de Nangis (*Annales de St. Louis*, p. 248. in the Louvre Joinville), two impartial foreigners; and Urban IV. threatened to deprive Genoa of her archbishop.

⁵⁸ Some precautions must be used in reconciling the discordant numbers; the 800 soldiers of Nicetas, the 25,000 of Spandugino

(apud Ducange, l. v. c. 24.); the Greeks and Scythians of Acropolita, and the numerous army of Michael, in the Epistles of Pope Urban IV. (i. 129.).

⁵⁹ *Θεληματοαριοι*. They are described and named by Pachymer (l. ii. c. 14.).

⁶⁰ It is needless to seek these Comans in the deserts of Tartary, or even of Moldavia. A part of the hord had submitted to John Vataces, and was probably settled as a nursery of soldiers on some waste lands of Thrace (Cantacuzen, l. i. c. 2.).

⁶¹ The loss of Constantinople is briefly told by the Latins: the conquest is described with more satisfaction by the Greeks; by Acropolita (c. 85.), Pachymer (l. ii. c. 26, 27.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iv. c. 1, 2.). See Ducange, *Hist. de C. P.* l. v. c. 19—27.

⁶² See the three last books (l. v—viii.), and the genealogical tables of Ducange. In the year 1382, the titular emperor of Constantinople was James de Baux, duke of Andria in the kingdom of Naples, the son of Margaret, daughter of Catherine de Valois, daughter of Catherine, daughter of Philip, son of Baldwin II. (Ducange, l. viii. c. 37, 38.). It is uncertain whether he left any posterity.

⁶³ Abulfeda, who saw the conclusion of the crusades, speaks of the kingdoms of the Franks, and those of the Negroes, as equally unknown (*Prolegom. ad Geograph.*). Had he not disdained the Latin language, how easily might the Syrian prince have found books and interpreters?

⁶⁴ A short and superficial account of these versions from Latin into Greek, is given by Huet (*de Interpretatione et de claris Interpretibus*, p. 131—135.). Maximus Planudes, a monk of Constantinople (A. D. 1327—1353.), has translated Cæsar's Commentaries, the *Somnium Scipionis*, the *Metamorphoses* and *Heroïdes* of Ovid, etc. (*Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom. x. p. 533.*).

⁶⁵ Windmills, first invented in the dry country of Asia Minor, were used in Normandy as early as the year 1105. (*Vie privée des François, tom. i. p. 42, 43. Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. iv. p. 474.*).

⁶⁶ See the complaints of Roger Bacon (*Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 418. Kippis's edition*). If Bacon himself, or Gerbert, understood some Greeks, they were prodigies, and owed nothing to the commerce of the East.

⁶⁷ Such was the opinion of the great Leibnitz (*Oeuvres de Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 458.*), a master of the history of the middle ages. I shall only instance the pedigree of the Carmelites, and the flight of the house of Loretto, which were both derived from Palestine.

⁶⁸ If I rank the Saracens with the Barbarians, it is only relative to

their wars, or rather inroads, in Italy and France, where their sole purpose was to plunder and destroy.

⁶⁹ On this interesting subject, the progress of society in Europe, a strong ray of philosophic light has broke from Scotland in our own times; and it is with private, as well as public regard, that I repeat the names of Hume, Robertson, and Adam Smith.

⁷⁰ I have applied, but not confined, myself to *A genealogical History of the noble and illustrious Family of Courtenay, by Ezra Cleaveland, Tutor to Sir William Courtenay, and Rector of Honiton; Exon 1735. in folio.* The first part is extracted from William of Tyre, the second from Bouchet's French history; and the third from various memorials, public, provincial, and private, of the Courtenays of Devonshire. The rector of Honiton has more gratitude, than industry, and more industry than criticism.

⁷¹ The primitive record of the family, is a passage of the continuator of Aimoin, a monk of Fleury, who wrote in the xiith century. See his Chronicle, in the Historians of France (tom. xi. p. 276.).

⁷² Turbessel, or as it is now styled Telbeshier, is fixed by d'Anville four - and - twenty miles from the great passage over the Euphrates at Zeugma.

⁷³ His possessions are distinguished in the Assizes of Jerusalem (c. 326.) among the feudal tenures of the kingdom, which must therefore have been collected between the years 1153 and 1187. His pedigree may be found in the Lignages d'Outremer, c. 16.

⁷⁴ The rapine and satisfaction of Reginald de Courtenay, are preposterously arranged in the Epistles of the abbot and regent Suger (cxiv. cxvi.), the best memorials of the age (Duchefne, Scriptores Hist. Franc. tom. iv. p. 530.).

⁷⁵ In the beginning of the xith century, after naming the father and grandfather of Hugh Capet, the monk Glaber is obliged to add, *cujus genus valde in-ante reperitur obscurum.* Yet we are assured that the great grandfather of Hugh Capet was Robert the Strong, count of Anjou (A. D. 863—873.), a noble Frank of Neustria, Neustrius generosæ stirpis, who was slain in the defence of his country against the Normans, *dum patriæ fines tuebatur.* Beyond Robert, all is conjecture or fable. It is a probable conjecture, that the third race descended from the second by Childebrand, the brother of Charles Martel. It is an absurd fable, that the second was allied to the first by the marriage of Ansbert, a Roman senator and the ancestor of St. Arnoult, with Blitilde, a daughter of Clotaire I. The Saxon origin of the house of France is an ancient but incredible opinion. See a judicious memoir of M. de Foncemagne (*Mémoires de*

l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xx. p. 548—579.). He had promised to declare his own opinion in a second memoir, which has never appeared.

⁷⁶ Of the various petitions, apologies, etc. published by the *princes* of Courtenay, I have seen the three following, all in octavo: 1. *De Stirpe et Origine Domûs de Courtenay: addita sunt Responsa celeberrimorum Europæ Jurisconsultorum*: Paris, 1607. 2. *Representation du Procédé tenu à l'instance faicte devant le Roi, par Messieurs de Courtenay, pour la conservation de l'Honneur et Dignité de leur Maison, branche de la royale Maison de France: à Paris, 1613.* 3. *Representation du subject qui a porté Messieurs de Salles et de Fraville, de la Maison de Courtenays, à se retirer hors du Royaume, 1614.* It was an homicide, for which the Courtenays expected to be pardoned, or tried, as princes of the blood.

⁷⁷ The sense of the parliaments is thus expressed by Thuanus: *Principis nomen nusquam in Galliâ tributum, nisi iis qui per mares e regibus nostris originem repetunt: qui nunc tantum a Ludovico nono beatæ memoriæ numerantur: nam Cortinæi et Drocenses, a Ludovico crasso genus ducentes, hodie inter eos minime recensentur.* A distinction of expediency, rather than justice. The sanctity of Louis IX. could not invest him with any special prerogative, and all the descendants of Hugh Capet must be included in his original compact with the French nation.

⁷⁸ The last male of the Courtenays was Charles Roger, who died in the year 1730, without leaving any sons. The last female was Helene de Courtenay, who married Louis de Beaufremont. Her title of *Princesse du Sang Royal de France*, was suppressed (February 7th, 1737) by an *arrêt* of the parliament of Paris.

⁷⁹ The singular anecdote to which I allude, is related in the *Recueil des Pièces interessantes et peu connues* (Maastricht, 1786, in 4 vols, 12mo); and the unknown editor quotes his author, who had received it from Helene de Courtenay, marquise de Beaufremont.

⁸⁰ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i. p. 786. Yet this fable must have been invented before the reign of Edward III. The profuse devotion of the three first generations to Ford Abbey, was followed by oppression on one side and ingratitude on the other; and in the sixth generation, the monks ceased to register the births, actions, and deaths of their patrons.

⁸¹ In his *Britannia*, in the list of the earls of Devonshire. His expression, *e regio sanguine ortos credunt*, betrays however some doubt or suspicion.

⁸² In his *Baronage*, P. i. p. 634. he refers to his own *Monasticon*.

Should he not have corrected the register of Ford abbey, and annihilated the phantom Florus, by the unquestionable evidence of the French historians?

⁸³ Besides the third and most valuable book of Cleaveland's History, I have consulted Dugdale, the father of our genealogical science (Baronage, p. i. p. 634—643.).

⁸⁴ This great family, de Ripuariis, de Redvers, de Rivers, ended, in Edward the First's time, in Isabella de Fortibus, a famous and potent dowager, who long survived her brother and husband (Dugdale, Baronage, p. i. p. 254—257.).

⁸⁵ Cleaveland, p. 142. By some, it is assigned to a Rivers earl of Devon: but the English denotes the xvth, rather than the xiiith, century.

⁸⁶ *Ubi lapsus! Quid feci?* a motto which was probably adopted by the Powderham branch, after the loss of the earldom of Devonshire, etc. The primitive arms of the Courtenays were, *or, three torteaux, gules*, which seem to denote their affinity with Godfrey of Bouillon, and the ancient counts of Boulogne.

CHAP. LXII.

¹ For the reigns of the Nicene emperors, more especially of John Vataces and his son, their minister, George Acropolita, is the only genuine contemporary: but George Pachymer returned to Constantinople with the Greeks, at the age of nineteen (Hanckius, de Script. Byzant. c. 33, 34. p. 564—578. Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 448—460.). Yet the history of Nicephorus Gregoras, though of the xivth century, is a valuable narrative from the taking of Constantinople by the Latins.

² Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1.) distinguishes between the *οἷα ὄρη* of Lascaris, and the *εὐσταθεια* of Vataces. The two portraits are in a very good style.

³ Pachymer, l. i. c. 23, 24. Nic. Greg. l. ii. c. 6. The reader of the Byzantines must observe how rarely we are indulged with such precious details.

⁴ *Μοι γὰρ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνομαστότατοι βασιλεὺς καὶ φιλοσοφός* (Greg. Acropol. c. 32.). The emperor, in a familiar conversation, examined and encouraged the studies of his future logothete.

⁵ Compare Acropolita (c. 18. 52.), and the two first books of Nicephorus Gregoras.

⁶ A Persian saying, that Cyrus was the *father*, and Darius the *master*, of his subjects, was applied to Vataces and his son. But Pachymer

(l. i. c. 23.) has mistaken the mild Darius for the cruel Cambyfes, despot or tyrant of his people. By the institution of taxes, Darius had incurred the less odious, but more contemptible, name of *Καπηλος*, merchant or broker (Herodotus, iii. 89.).

⁷ Acropolita (c. 63.) seems to admire his own firmness in sustaining a beating, and not returning to council till he was called. He relates the exploits of Theodore, and his own services, from c. 53. to c. 74. of his history. See the third book of Nicephorus Gregoras.

⁸ Pachymer (l. i. c. 21.) names and discriminates fifteen or twenty Greek families, *καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι, οἷς ἡ μεγαλογενής σείρα καὶ χρυσή συγκεκροτήτο*. Does he mean, by this decoration, a figurative, or a real golden chain? Perhaps, both.

⁹ The old geographers, with Cellarius and d'Anville, and our travellers, particularly Pocock and Chandler, will teach us to distinguish the two Magnesiums of Asia Minor, of the Mæander and of Sipylus. The latter, our present object, is still flourishing for a Turkish city, and lies eight hours, or leagues, to the north-east of Smyrna (Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xxii. p. 365—370. Chandler's Travels into Asia Minor, p. 267.).

¹⁰ See Acropolita (c. 75, 76, etc.), who lived too near the times; Pachymer (l. i. c. 13—25.), Gregoras (l. iii. c. 3, 4, 5.).

¹¹ The pedigree of Palæologus is explained by Ducange (Fam. Byzant. p. 230, etc.): the events of his private life are related by Pachymer (l. i. c. 7—12.) and Gregoras (l. ii. 8. l. iii. 2. 4. l. iv. 1.), with visible favour to the father of the reigning dynasty.

¹² Acropolita (c. 50.) relates the circumstances of this curious adventure, which seem to have escaped the more recent writers.

¹³ Pachymer (l. i. c. 12.), who speaks with proper contempt of this barbarous trial, affirms, that he had seen in his youth many persons who had sustained, without injury, the fiery ordeal. As a Greek, he is credulous; but the ingenuity of the Greeks might furnish some remedies of art or fraud against their own superstition, or that of their tyrant.

¹⁴ Without comparing Pachymer to Thucydides or Tacitus, I will praise his narrative (l. i. c. 13—32. l. ii. c. 1—9.), which pursues the ascent of Palæologus with eloquence, perspicuity, and tolerable freedom. Acropolita is more cautious, and Gregoras more concise.

¹⁵ The judicial combat was abolished by St. Louis in his own territories; and his example and authority were at length prevalent in France (Esprit des Loix, l. xxviii. c. 29.).

¹⁶ In civil cases Henry II. gave an option to the defendant: Glanville prefers the proof by evidence, and that by judicial combat is reprobated.

in the Fleta. Yet the trial by battle has never been abrogated in the English law, and it was ordered by the judges as late as the beginning of the last century.

¹⁷ Yet an ingenious friend has urged to me in mitigation of this practice, 1. *That* in nations emerging from barbarism, it moderates the licence of private war and arbitrary revenge. 2. *That* it is less absurd than the trials by the ordeal, or boiling water, or the cross, which it has contributed to abolish. 3. *That* it served at least as a test of personal courage; a quality so seldom united with a base disposition, that the danger of the trial might be some check to a malicious prosecutor, and an useful barrier against injustice supported by power. The gallant and unfortunate earl of Surrey might probably have escaped his unmerited fate, had not his demand of the combat against his accuser been over-ruled.

¹⁸ The site of Nymphæum is not clearly defined in ancient or modern geography. But from the last hours of Vataces (Acropolita, c. 52.), it is evident the palace and gardens of his favourite residence were in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. Nymphæum might be loosely placed in Lydia (Gregoras, l. vi. 6.).

¹⁹ This sceptre, the emblem of justice and power, was a long staff, such as was used by the heroes in Homer. By the latter Greeks it was named *Dicanice*, and the Imperial sceptre was distinguished as usual by the red or purple colour.

²⁰ Acropolita affirms (c. 87.), that this bonnet was after the French fashion; but from the ruby at the point or summit, Ducange (Hist. de C. P. l. v. c. 28, 29.) believes that it was the high-crowned hat of the Greeks. Could Acropolita mistake the dress of his own court?

²¹ See Pachymer (l. ii. c. 28—33.), Acropolita (c. 88.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iv. 7.), and for the treatment of the subject Latins, Ducange (l. v. c. 30, 31.).

²² This milder invention for extinguishing the sight, was tried by the philosopher Democritus on himself, when he sought to withdraw his mind from the visible world: a foolish story! The word *abbacinare*, in Latin and Italian, has furnished Ducange (Gloss. Latin.) with an opportunity to review the various modes of blinding: the more violent were scooping, burning with an iron, or hot vinegar, and binding the head with a strong cord till the eyes burst from their sockets. Ingenious tyrants!

²³ See the first retreat and restoration of Arsenius, in Pachymer (l. ii. c. 15. l. iii. c. 1, 2.), and Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iii. c. 1. l. iv. c. 1.). Posterity justly accused the ἀδελεία and ῥαθυμία of Arsenius, the virtues of an hermit, the vices of a minister (l. xii. c. 2.).

²⁴ The

²⁴ The crime and excommunication of Michael are fairly told by Pachymer (l. iii. c. 10. 14. 19, etc.) and Gregoras (l. iv. c. 4.). His confession and penance restored their freedom.

²⁵ Pachymer relates the exile of Arsenius (l. iv. c. 1—16.): he was one of the commissaries who visited him in the desert island. The last testament of the unforgiving patriarch is still extant (Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. x. p. 95.).

²⁶ Pachymer (l. vii. c. 22.) relates this miraculous trial like a philosopher, and treats with similar contempt a plot of the Arsenites, to hide a revelation in the coffin of some old saint (l. vii. c. 13.). He compensates this incredulity by an image that weeps, another that bleeds (l. vii. c. 30.), and the miraculous cures of a deaf and a mute patient (l. xi. c. 32.).

²⁷ The story of the Arsenites is spread through the thirteen books of Pachymer. Their union and triumph are reserved for Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 9.), who neither loves nor esteems these sectaries.

²⁸ Of the xiii books of Pachymer, the first six (as the ivth and vth of Nicephorus Gregoras) contain the reign of Michael, at the time of whose death he was forty years of age. Instead of breaking, like his editor the Père Pouffin, his history into two parts, I follow Ducange and Cousin, who number the xiii books in one series.

²⁹ Ducange, *Hist. de C. P.* l. v. c. 33, etc. from the Epistles of Urban IV.

³⁰ From their mercantile intercourse with the Venetians and Genoese, they branded the Latins as *καπηλοι* and *βαναυσοι* (Pachymer, l. v. c. 10.). "Some are heretics in name; others, like the Latins, in fact," said the learned Veccus (l. v. c. 12.), who soon afterwards became a convert (c. 15, 16.) and a patriarch (c. 24.).

³¹ In this class, we may place Pachymer himself, whose copious and candid narrative occupies the vii and viii books of his history. Yet the Greek is silent on the council of Lyons, and seems to believe that the popes always resided in Rome and Italy (l. v. c. 17. 21.).

³² See the acts of the council of Lyons in the year 1274. Fleury, *Hist. Ecclésiastique*, tom. xviii. p. 181—192. Dupin, *Bibliot. Eccles.* tom. x. p. 135.

³³ This curious instruction, which has been drawn with more or less honesty by Wading and Leo Allatius from the archives of the Vatican, is given in an abstract or version by Fleury (tom. xviii. p. 252—253.).

³⁴ This frank and authentic confession of Michael's distress, is exhibited in barbarous Latin by Ogerius, who signs himself *Protonotarius Interpretum*, and transcribed by Wading from the MSS. of the Vatican
Notes. Z

(A. D. 1278. N° 3.). His Annals of the Franciscan order, the *Fratres Minores*, in xvii volumes in folio (Rome, 1741.), I have now accidentally seen among the waste paper of a bookseller.

³⁵ See the sixth book of Pachymer, particularly the chapters, I. II. 16. 18. 24—27. He is the more credible, as he speaks of this persecution with less anger than sorrow.

³⁶ Pachymer, I. vii. c. I—II. 17. The speech of Andronicus the elder (I. xii. c. 2.) is a curious record, which proves, that if the Greeks were the slaves of the emperor, the emperor was not less the slave of superstition and the clergy.

³⁷ The best accounts, the nearest the time, the most full and entertaining, of the conquest of Naples by Charles of Anjou, may be found in the Florentine Chronicles of Ricordano Malaspina (c. 175—193.) and Giovanni Villani (I. vii. c. I—10. 25—30.), which are published by Muratori in the viiith and xiiith volumes of the historians of Italy. In his Annals (tom. xi. p. 56—72.), he has abridged these great events, which are likewise described in the *Istoria Civile* of Giannone, tom. ii. l. xix. tom. iii. l. xx.

³⁸ Ducange, *Hist. de C. P.* I. v. c. 49—56. I. vi. c. I—13. See Pachymer, I. iv. c. 29. I. v. c. 7—10. 25. I. vi. c. 30. 32, 33. and Nicephorus Gregoras, I. iv. 5. I. v. I. 6.

³⁹ The reader of Herodotus will recollect how miraculously the Assyrian host of Sennacherib was disarmed and destroyed (I. ii. c. 141.).

⁴⁰ According to Sabas Malaspina (*Hist. Sicula*, I. iii. c. 16. in Muratori, tom. viii. p. 832.), a zealous Guelph, the subjects of Charles, who had reviled Mainfroy as a wolf, began to regret him as a lamb, and he justifies their discontent by the oppressions of the French government (I. vi. c. 2. 7.). See the Sicilian manifesto in Nicholas Specialis (I. i. c. II. in Muratori, tom. x. p. 930.).

⁴¹ See the character and counsels of Peter king of Arragon, in Mariana (*Hist. Hispan.* I. xiv. c. 6. tom. ii. p. 133.). The reader forgives the Jesuit's defects, in favour, always of his style, and often of his sense.

⁴² After enumerating the sufferings of his country, Nicholas Specialis adds, in the true spirit of Italian jealousy, *Quæ omnia et graviora quidem, ut arbitror, patienti animo Siculi tolerassent, nisi (quod primum cunctis dominantibus cavendum est), alienas fœminas invasissent* (I. i. c. 2. p. 924.).

⁴³ The French were long taught to remember this bloody lesson:
 “ If I am provoked (said Henry the fourth), I will breakfast at Milan,
 “ and dine at Naples. Your majesty (replied the Spanish ambassador)
 “ may perhaps arrive in Sicily for vespers.”

⁴⁴ This revolt, with the subsequent victory, are related by two national writers, Bartholemy à Neocastro (in Muratori, tom. xiii.) and Nicholas Specialis (in Muratori, tom. x.), the one a contemporary, the other of the next century. The patriot Specialis disclaims the name of rebellion, and all previous correspondence with Peter of Arragon (*nullo communicato consilio*), who *happened* to be with a fleet and army on the African coast (l. i. c. 4. 9.).

⁴⁵ Nicephorus Gregoras (l. v. c. 6.) admires the wisdom of Providence in this equal balance of states and princes. For the honour of Palæologus, I had rather this balance had been observed by an Italian writer.

⁴⁶ See the Chronicle of Villani, the xith volume of the *Annali d'Italia* of Muratori, and the xxth and xxiith books of the *Istoria Civile* of Giannone.

⁴⁷ In this motley multitude, the Catalans and Spaniards, the bravest of the soldiery, were styled, by themselves and the Greeks, *Amogavares*. Moncada derives their origin from the Goths, and Pachymer (l. xi. c. 22.) from the Arabs; and in spite of national and religious pride, I am afraid the latter is in the right.

⁴⁸ Some idea may be formed of the population of these cities, from the 36,000 inhabitants of Tralles, which, in the preceding reign, was rebuilt by the emperor, and ruined by the Turks (Pachymer, l. vi. c. 20, 21.).

⁴⁹ I have collected these pecuniary circumstances from Pachymer (l. xi. c. 21. l. xii. c. 4, 5. 8. 14. 19.), who describes the progressive degradation of the gold coin. Even in the prosperous times of John Ducas Vatases, the byzants were composed in equal proportions of the pure and the baser metal. The poverty of Michael Palæologus compelled him to strike a new coin, with nine parts, or carats, of gold, and fifteen of copper alloy. After his death, the standard rose to ten carats, till in the public distress it was reduced to the moiety. The prince was relieved for a moment, while credit and commerce were for ever blasted. In France, the gold coin is of twenty-two carats (one twelfth alloy), and the standard of England and Holland is still higher.

⁵⁰ The Catalan war is most copiously related by Pachymer, in the xith, xiith, and xiiith books, till he breaks off in the year 1308. Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 3—6.) is more concise and complete. Ducange, who adopts these adventurers as French, has hunted their footsteps with his usual diligence (*Hist. de C. P.* l. vi. c. 22—46.). He quotes an Arragonefe history, which I have read with pleasure, and which the Spaniards extol as a model of style and composition

(Expedicion de los Catalanos y Arragoneses contra los Turcos y Griegos; Barcelona, 1623, in quarto; Madrid, 1777, in octavo.) Don Francisco de Moncada, Conde de Osona, may imitate Cæsar or Sallust; he may transcribe the Greek or Italian contemporaries: but he never quotes his authorities, and I cannot discern any national records of the exploits of his countrymen.

⁵¹ See the laborious history of Ducange, whose accurate table of the French dynasties, recapitulates the thirty-five passages in which he mentions the dukes of Athens.

⁵² He is twice mentioned by Villehardouin with honour (N° 151. 235.); and under the first passage, Ducange observes all that can be known of his person and family.

⁵³ From these Latin princes of the xivth century, Boccace, Chaucer, and Shakespeare, have borrowed their Theseus *duke* of Athens. An ignorant age transfers its own language and manners to the most distant times.

⁵⁴ The same Constantine gave to Sicily a king, to Russia the *magnus dapifer* of the empire, to Thebes the *primicerius*: and these absurd fables are properly lashed by Ducange (ad Nicephor. Greg. l. vii. c. 5.). By the Latins, the Lord of Thebes was styled by corruption the Megas Kurios, or Grand Sire!

⁵⁵ *Quodam miraculo*, says Alberic. He was probably received by Michael Choniates, the archbishop who had defended Athens against the tyrant Leo Sgurus (Nicetas in Baldwino.) Michael was the brother of the historian Nicetas; and his encomium of Athens is still extant in MS. in the Bodleian library (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 405.).

⁵⁶ The modern account of Athens, and the Athenians, is extracted from Spon (Voyage en Grèce, tom. ii. p. 79—190.) and Wheeler (Travels into Greece, p. 337—414.), Stuart (Antiquities of Athens, passim) and Chandler (Travels into Greece, p. 23—172.). The first of these travellers visited Greece in the year 1676, the last 1765; and ninety years had not produced much difference in the tranquil scene.

⁵⁷ The ancients, or at least the Athenians, believed that all the bees in the world had been propagated from mount Hymettus. They taught, that health might be preserved, and life prolonged, by the external use of oil, and the internal use of honey (Geoponica, l. xv. c. 7. p. 1089—1094. edit. Niclas.)

⁵⁸ Ducange, Glossar. Græc. Præfat. p. 3. who quotes for his author Theodosius Zygomalas, a modern grammarian. Yet Spon (tom. ii.

p. 194.) and Wheeler (p. 355.), no incompetent judges, entertain a more favourable opinion of the Attic dialect.

⁵⁹ Yet we must not accuse them of corrupting the name of Athens, which they still call Athini. From the εἰς τὴν Ἀθῆναι, we have formed our own barbarism of *Setines*.

C H A P. LXIII.

¹ Andronicus himself will justify our freedom in the invective (Nicephorus Gregoras, l. i. c. 1.), which he pronounced against historic falsehood. It is true, that his censure is more pointedly urged against calumny than against adulation.

² For the anathema in the pigeon's nest, see Pachymer (l. ix. c. 24.), who relates the general history of Athanasius (l. viii. c. 13—16. 20—24. l. x. c. 27—29. 31—36. l. xi. c. 1—3. 5, 6. l. xiii. c. 8. 10. 23. 35.), and is followed by Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vi. 5. 7. l. vii. c. 1. 9.), who includes the second retreat of this second Chrysostom.

³ Pachymer, in seven books, 377 folio pages, describes the first twenty-six years of Andronicus the Elder; and marks the date of his composition by the current news or lye of the day (A. D. 1308.). Either death or disgust prevented him from resuming the pen.

⁴ After an interval of twelve years, from the conclusion of Pachymer, Cantacuzenus takes up the pen; and his first book (c. 6—59. p. 9—150) relates the civil war, and the eight last years of the elder Andronicus. The ingenious comparison with Moses and Cæsar, is fancied by his French translator, the president Cousin.

⁵ Nicephorus Gregoras more briefly includes the entire life and reign of Andronicus the Elder (l. vi. c. i—l. x. c. 1. p. 96—291.). This is the part of which Cantacuzene complains as a false and malicious representation of his conduct.

⁶ He was crowned May 21st, 1295, and died October 12th, 1320. (Ducange, Fam. Byz. p. 239.). His brother Theodore, by a second marriage, inherited the marquisate of Montferrat, apostatized to the religion and manners of the Latins (ὅτι καὶ γνῶμῃ καὶ πῖσει καὶ σχηματὶ, καὶ γενεῶν κῆρυκα καὶ πασιν ἐστὶ Λατῖνος ἢ ἀκραιφνής, Nic. Greg. l. ix. c. 1.), and founded a dynasty of Italian princes, which was extinguished A. D. 1533. (Ducange, Fam. Byz. p. 249—253.),

⁷ We are indebted to Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. c. 1.) for the knowledge of this tragic adventure; while Cantacuzene more discreetly conceals the vices of Andronicus the younger, of which he was the witness, and perhaps the associate (l. i. c. 1, etc.).

⁶ His destined heir was Michael Catharus, the bastard of Constantine his second son. In this project of excluding his grandson Andronicus, Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. c. 3.) agrees with Cantacuzene (l. i. c. 1, 2.).

⁹ See Nicephorus Gregoras, l. viii. c. 6. The younger Andronicus complained, that in four years and four months, a sum of 350,000 byzants of gold was due to him for the expences of his household (Cantacuzen, l. i. c. 48.). Yet he would have remitted the debt, if he might have been allowed to squeeze the farmers of the revenue.

¹⁰ I follow the chronology of Nicephorus Gregoras, who is remarkably exact. It is proved, that Cantacuzene has mistaken the dates of his own actions, or rather that his text has been corrupted by ignorant transcribers.

¹¹ I have endeavoured to reconcile the 24,000 pieces of Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 1.) with the 10,000 of Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ix. c. 2.); the one of whom wished to soften, the other to magnify, the hardships of the old emperors.

¹² See Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ix. c. 6, 7, 8. 10. 14. l. x. c. 1.), The historian had tasted of the prosperity, and shared the retreat, of his benefactor; and that friendship, which "waits or to the scaffold or "the cell," should not lightly be accused as "a hireling, a prostitute "to praise."

¹³ The sole reign of Andronicus the younger is described by Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 1—40. p. 191—339.) and Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ix. c. 7—l. xi. c. 11. p. 262—361.).

¹⁴ Agnes, or Irene, was the daughter of duke Henry the Wonderful, the chief of the house of Brunswick, and the fourth in descent from the famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and conqueror of the Slavi on the Baltic coast. Her brother Henry was surnamed the *Greek*, from his two journies into the East: but these journies were subsequent to his sister's marriage; and I am ignorant *how* Agnes was discovered in the heart of Germany, and recommended to the Byzantine court (Rimius, Mémoires of the House of Brunswick, p. 126—137.).

¹⁵ Henry the Wonderful was the founder of the branch of Grubenhagen, extinct in the year 1596 (Rimius, p. 287.). He resided in the castle of Wolfenbittel, and possessed no more than a sixth part of the allodial estates of Brunswick and Luneburgh, which the Guelph family had saved from the confiscation of their great fiefs. The frequent partitions among brothers, had almost ruined the princely houses of Germany, till that just, but pernicious, law was slowly superseded by the right of primogeniture. The principality of Grubenhagen, one of

the last remains of the Hercynian forest, is a woody, mountainous, and barren tract (Busching's Geography, vol. vi. p. 270—286. English translation).

¹⁶ The royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg will teach us, how justly, in a much later period, the north of Germany deserved the epithets of poor and barbarous (Essai sur les Mœurs, etc.). In the year 1306, in the woods of Luneburgh, some wild people of the Vened race were allowed to bury alive their infirm and useless parents (Rimius, p. 136.).

¹⁷ The assertion of Tacitus, that Germany was destitute of the precious metals, must be taken, even in his own time, with some limitation (Germania, c. 5. Annal. xi. 20.). According to Spener (Hist. Germaniæ Pragmatica, tom. i. p. 351.), *Argentifodinæ* in Hercyniis montibus, imperante Othone magno (A. D. 968.) primum apertæ, largam etiam opes augendi dederunt copiam: but Rimius (p. 258, 259.) defers till the year 1016 the discovery of the silver mines of Grubenhagen, or the Upper Hartz, which were productive in the beginning of the xivth century, and which still yield a considerable revenue to the house of Brunswick.

¹⁸ Cantacuzene has given a most honourable testimony, *ην δ' εκ Γερμανων αυτη θυγατηρ δεκος ντι μπρεζεικ* (the modern Greeks employ the *ν* for the *δ*, and the *μπ* for the *β*, and the whole will read in the Italian idiom *di Brunzuic*), *τη παρ' αυτοις επιφανεσατα, και λαμπροτητι παντας της ομοφυλης υπερβαλλοντος της γενεας*. The praise is just in itself, and pleasing to an English ear.

¹⁹ Anne, or Jane, was one of the four daughters of Amedée the Great, by a second marriage, and half sister of his successor Edward count of Savoy (Anderson's Tables, p. 650.). See Cantacuzene (l. i. c. 40—42.).

²⁰ That king, if the fact be true, must have been Charles the Fair, who in five years (1321—1326.) was married to three wives (Anderson, p. 628.). Anne of Savoy arrived at Constantinople in February 1326.

²¹ The noble race of the Cantacuzeni (illustrious from the xith century in the Byzantine annals) was drawn from the Paladins of France, the heroes of those romances which in the xiiith century were translated and read by the Greeks (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 258.).

²² See Cantacuzene (l. iii. c. 24. 30. 36.).

²³ Saferna, in Gaul, and Columella, in Italy or Spain, allow two yoke of oxen, two drivers, and six labourers, for two hundred jugera (125 English acres) of arable land, and three more men must be

added if there be much underwood (Columella de Re Rusticâ, l. ii. c. 13. p. 441. edit. Gefner).

²⁴ In this enumeration (l. iii. c. 30), the French translation of the president Cousin is blotted with three palpable and essential errors. 1. He omits the 1000 yoke of working oxen. 2. He interprets the πεντακοσίων πρὸς δισχιλίας, by the number of fifteen hundred. 3. He confounds myriads with chiliads, and gives Cantacuzene no more than 5000 hogs. Put not your trust in translations!

²⁵ See the regency and reign of John Cantacuzenus, and the whole progress of the civil war, in his own history (l. iii. c. 1—100. p. 348—700.), and in that of Nicephorus Gregoras (l. xii. c. 1—l. xv. c. 9. p. 353—492.).

²⁶ He assumed the royal privilege of red shoes or buskins; placed on his head a mitre of silk and gold; subscribed his epistles with hyacinth or green ink, and claimed for the new, whatever Constantine had given to the ancient, Rome (Cantacuzen. l. iii. c. 35. Nic. Gregoras, l. xiv. c. 3.).

²⁷ Nic. Gregoras (l. xii. c. 5.) confesses the innocence and virtues of Cantacuzenus, the guilt and flagitious vices of Apocancus; nor does he dissemble the motive of his personal and religious enmity to the former; ἰὺν δὲ διὰ κακίαν αλλαν, αἰτίος ὁ πρωτοκτοῦς τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἐδοξεν εἶναι Θέουρας.

²⁸ The princes of Servia (Ducange, Famil. Dalmaticæ, etc. c. 2, 3, 4. 9.) were styled Despots in Greek, and Cral, in their native idiom (Ducange, Gloss. Græc. p. 751.). That title, the equivalent of king, appears to be of Slavonic origin, from whence it has been borrowed by the Hungarians, the modern Greeks, and even by the Turks (Leunclavius, Pandect. Turc. p. 422.), who reserve the name of Padishah for the emperor. To obtain the latter instead of the former, is the ambition of the French at Constantinople (Avertissement à l'Histoire de Timur Bec, p. 39.).

²⁹ Nic. Gregoras, l. xii. c. 14. It is surprising, that Cantacuzene has not inserted this just and lively image in his own writings.

³⁰ The two avengers were both Palæologi, who might resent, with royal indignation, the shame of their chains. The tragedy of Apocancus may deserve a peculiar reference to Cantacuzene (l. iii. c. 86.) and Nic. Gregoras (l. xiv. c. 10.).

³¹ Cantacuzene accuses the patriarch, and spares the empress, the mother of his sovereign (l. iii. 33, 34.), against whom Nic. Gregoras expresses a particular animosity (l. xiv. 10, 11. xv. 5.). It is true, that they do not speak exactly of the same time.

³² The traitor and treason are revealed by Nic. Gregoras (l. xv. c. 8.): but the name is more discreetly suppressed by his great accomplice (Cantacuzen. l. iii. c. 99.).

³³ Nic. Greg. l. xv. 11. There were however some true pearls, but very thinly sprinkled. The rest of the stones had only παντοδαπὴν χροίαν πρὸς τὸ διαυγῆς.

³⁴ From his return to Constantinople, Cantacuzene continues his history, and that of the empire, one year beyond the abdication of his son Matthew, A. D. 1357. (l. iv. c. 1—50. p. 705—911.). Nicephorus Gregoras ends with the synod of Constantinople, in the year 1351. (l. xxii. c. 3. p. 660. the rest to the conclusion of the xxivth book, p. 717. is all controversy); and his fourteen last books are still MSS. in the king of France's library.

³⁵ The emperor (Cantacuzen. l. iv. c. 1.) represents his own virtues, and Nic. Gregoras (l. xv. c. 11.) the complaints of his friends, who suffered by it's effects. I have lent them the words of our poor cavaliers after the restoration.

³⁶ The awkward apology of Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 39—42.), who relates, with visible confusion, his own downfall, may be supplied by the less accurate, but more honest narratives of Matthew Villani (l. iv. c. 46. in the Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xiv. p. 268.) and Ducas (c. 10, 11.).

³⁷ Cantacuzene, in the year 1375, was honoured with a letter from the pope (Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 250.). His death is placed by respectable authority on the 20th of November 1411. (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 260.). But if he were of the age of his companion Andronicus the younger, he must have lived 116 years; a rare instance of longevity, which in so illustrious a person would have attracted universal notice.

³⁸ His four discourses, or books, were printed at Basil 1543. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 473.). He composed them to satisfy a proselyte who was assaulted with letters from his friends of Ispahan. Cantacuzene had read the Koran; but I understand from Maracci, that he adopts the vulgar prejudices and fables against Mahomet and his religion.

³⁹ See the Voyages de Bernier, tom. i. p. 127.

⁴⁰ Mosheim, Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 522, 523. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 22, 24. 107—114, etc. The former unfolds the causes with the judgment of a philosopher, the latter transcribes and translates with the prejudices of a Catholic priest.

⁴¹ Basnage (in Canisii Antiq. Lectiones, tom. iv. p. 363—368.) has investigated the character and story of Barlaam. The duplicity of

his opinions had inspired some doubts of the identity of his person. See likewise Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 427—432.).

⁴² See Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 39, 40. l. iv. c. 3. 23, 24, 25.), and Nic. Gregoras (l. xi. c. 10. l. xv. 3. 7, etc.), whose last books, from the xixth to the xxivth, are almost confined to a subject so interesting to the authors. Boivin (in Vit. Nic. Gregoræ), from the unpublished books, and Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 462—473.), or rather Montfaucon, from the MSS. of the Coislin library, have added some facts and documents.

⁴³ Pachymer (l. v. c. 10.) very properly explains λῆγες (*ligios*) by ἰδιγες. The use of these words in the Greek and Latin of the feudal times, may be amply understood from the Glossaries of Ducange (Græc. p. 811, 812. Latin. tom. iv. p. 109—111.).

⁴⁴ The establishment and progress of the Genoese at Pera, or Galata, is described by Ducange (C. P. Christiana, l. i. p. 68, 69.) from the Byzantine historians, Pachymer (l. ii. c. 35. l. v. 10. 30. l. ix. 15. l. xii. 6. 9.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. v. c. 4. l. vi. c. 11. l. ix. c. 5. l. xi. c. 1. l. xv. c. 1. 6.), and Cantacuzene (l. i. c. 12. l. ii. c. 29, etc.).

⁴⁵ Both Pachymer (l. iii. c. 3, 4, 5.) and Nic. Gregoras (l. iv. c. 7.) understand and deplore the effects of this dangerous indulgence. Bibaras, sultan of Egypt, himself a Tartar, but a devout Musulman, obtained from the children of Zingis the permission to build a stately mosch in the capital of Crimæa (de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 343.).

⁴⁶ Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. i. p. 48.) was assured at Caffa, that these fishes were sometimes twenty-four or twenty-six feet long, weighed eight or nine hundred pounds, and yielded three or four quintals of caviar. The corn of the Bosphorus had supplied the Athenians in the time of Demosthenes.

⁴⁷ De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 343, 344. Viaggi di Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 400. But this land or water carriage could only be practicable when Tartary was united under a wise and powerful monarch.

⁴⁸ Nic. Gregoras (l. xiii. c. 12.) is judicious and well-informed on the trade and colonies of the Black Sea. Chardin describes the present ruins of Caffa, where, in forty days, he saw above 400 sail employed in the corn and fish trade (Voyages en Perse, tom. i. p. 46—48.).

⁴⁹ See Nic. Gregoras, l. xvii. c. 1.

⁵⁰ The events of this war are related by Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 11.) with obscurity and confusion, and by Nic. Gregoras (l. xvii. c. 1—7.) in a clear and honest narrative. The priest was less responsible than the prince for the defeat of the fleet.

⁵¹ This second war is darkly told by Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 18

p. 24, 25. 28—32.), who wishes to disguise what he dares not deny. I regret this part of Nic. Gregoras, which is still in MS. at Paris.

⁵² Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. xii. p. 144.) refers to the most ancient Chronicles of Venice (*Caresinus*, the continuator of Andrew Dandulus, tom. xii. p. 421, 422.) and Genoa (*George Stella*, *Annales Genuenses*, tom. xvii. p. 1091, 1092.); both which I have diligently consulted in his great Collection of the Historians of Italy.

⁵³ See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani of Florence, l. ii. c. 59, 60. p. 145—147. c. 74, 75. p. 156, 157. in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiv.

⁵⁴ The Abbé de Sade (*Mémoires sur la Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. iii. p. 257—263.) translates this letter, which he had copied from a MS. in the king of France's library. Though a servant of the duke of Milan, Petrarch pours forth his astonishment and grief at the defeat and despair of the Genoese in the following year (p. 323—332.).

C H A P. LXIV.

¹ The reader is invited to review the chapters of the fourth and sixth volumes; the manners of pastoral nations, the conquests of Attila and the Huns, which were composed at a time when I entertained the wish, rather than the hope, of concluding my history.

² The khans of the Keraites were most probably incapable of reading the pompous epistles composed in their name by the Nestorian missionaries, who endowed them with the fabulous wonders of an Indian kingdom. Perhaps these Tartars (the Presbyter or Priest John) had submitted to the rites of baptism and ordination (*Affeman*, *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. iii. P. ii. p. 487—503.).

³ Since the history and tragedy of Voltaire, *Gengis*, at least in French, seems to be the more fashionable spelling: but Abulghazi Khan must have known the true name of his ancestor. His etymology appears just: *Zin*, in the Mogul tongue, signifies *great*, and *gis* is the superlative termination (*Hist. Généalogique des Tatars*, p. iii. p. 194, 195.). From the same idea of magnitude, the appellation of *Zingis* is bestowed on the ocean.

⁴ The name of Moguls has prevailed among the Orientals, and still adheres to the titular sovereign, the Great Mogul, of Hindostan.

⁵ The Tartars (more properly Tatars) were descended from Tatar Khan, the brother of Mogul Khan (see Abulghazi, part i. and ii.), and once formed a hord of 70,000 families on the borders of Kitay (p. 103—112.). In the great invasion of Europe (A. D. 1238.), they seem to have led the vanguard; and the similitude of the name of *Tartarei*, recommended that of Tartars to the Latins (*Matt. Paris*, p. 398, etc.).

⁶ A singular conformity may be found between the religious laws of Zingis Khan and of Mr. Locke (*Constitutions of Carolina*, in his works, vol. iv. p. 535. 4to edition, 1777.)

⁷ In the year 1294, by the command of Cazan, khan of Persia, the fourth in descent from Zingis. From these traditions, his vizir Fadlallah composed a Mogul history in the Persian language, which has been used by Petit de la Croix (*Hist. de Genghizcan*, p. 537—539.). The *Histoire Généalogique des Tatars* (à Leyde, 1726, in 12mo, 2 tomes) was translated by the Swedish prisoners in Siberia from the Mogul MS. of Abulgasi Bahadur Khan, a descendant of Zingis, who reigned over the Usbeks of Charasm, or Carizme (A. D. 1644—1663.). He is of most value and credit for the names, pedigrees, and manners of his nation. Of his nine parts, the 1st descends from Adam to Mogul Khan; the 2d, from Mogul to Zingis; the 3d, is the life of Zingis, the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th, the general history of his four sons, and their posterity; the 8th and 9th, the particular history of the descendants of Sheibani Khan, who reigned in Maurenahar and Charasm.

⁸ *Histoire de Gentchiscan, et de toute la Dynastie des Mongous ses Successeurs, Conquerans de la Chine*; tirée de l'*Histoire de la Chine*, par le R. P. Gaubil, de la Société de Jesus, Missionnaire à Peking; à Paris, 1739, in 4to. This translation is stamped with the Chinese character of domestic accuracy and foreign ignorance.

⁹ See the *Histoire du Grand Genghizcan, premier Empereur des Mogols et Tartares*, par M. Petit de la Croix, à Paris, 1710, in 12mo: a work of ten years labour, chiefly drawn from the Persian writers, among whom Nisavi, the secretary of sultan Gelaeddin, has the merit and prejudices of a contemporary. A slight air of romance is the fault of the originals, or the compiler. See likewise the articles of *Genghizcan*, *Mohammed*, *Gelaeddin*, etc. in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of d'Herbelot.

¹⁰ Haithonus, or Aithonus, an Armenian prince, and afterwards a monk of Premontré (*Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 34.), dictated in the French language, his book de *Tartaris*, his old fellow-soldiers. It was immediately translated into Latin, and is inserted in the *Novus Orbis* of Simon Grynæus (Basil, 1555, in folio.)

¹¹ Zingis Khan, and his first successors, occupy the conclusion of the 9th Dynasty of Abulpharagius (vers. Pocock, Oxon. 1663, in 4to); and his 10th Dynasty is that of the Moguls of Persia. Assemanus (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii.) has extracted some facts from his Syriac

writings, and the lives of the Jacobite maphrians, or primates of the East.

¹² Among the Arabians, in language and religion, we may distinguish Abulfeda, sultan of Hamah in Syria, who fought in person, under the Mamaluke standard, against the Moguls.

¹³ Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 5, 6.) has felt the necessity of connecting the Scythian and Byzantine histories. He describes with truth and elegance the settlement and manners of the Moguls of Persia, but he is ignorant of their origin, and corrupts the names of Zingis and his sons.

¹⁴ M. Levesque (*Histoire de Russie*, tom. ii.) has described the conquest of Russia by the Tartars, from the patriarch Nikon, and the old chronicles.

¹⁵ For Poland, I am content with the *Sarmatia Asiatica et Europea* of Matthew à Michou, or de Michovià, a canon and physician of Cracow (A. D. 1506), inserted in the *Novus Orbis* of Grynæus. Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. mediæ et infimæ Ætatis, tom. v. p. 56.

¹⁶ I should quote Thuroczius, the oldest general historian (pars. ii. c. 74. p. 150.), in the 1st volume of the *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, did not the same volume contain the original narrative of a contemporary, an eye-witness, and a sufferer (M. Rogerii, Hungari, Varidiensis Capituli Canonici, *Carmen miserabile, seu Historia super Destructione Regni Hungariæ, Temporibus Belæ IV. Regis per Tartaros facta*, p. 292—321.): the best picture that I have ever seen of all the circumstances of a Barbaric invasion.

¹⁷ Matthew Paris has represented, from authentic documents, the danger and distress of Europe (consult the word *Tartari* in his copious Index.) From motives of zeal and curiosity, the court of the great Khan, in the xiiith century, was visited by the two friars, John de Plano Carpini, and William Rubruquis, and by Marco Polo, a Venetian gentleman. The Latin relations of the two former are inserted in the 1st volume of Hackluyt; the Italian original or version of the third (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. mediæ Ævi, tom. ii. p. 198. tom. v. p. 25.) may be found in the 2^d tome of Ramusio.

¹⁸ In his great History of the Huns, M. de Guignes has most amply treated of Zingis Khan and his successors. See tom. iii. l. xv—xix. and in the collateral articles of the Seljukians of Roum, tom. ii. l. xi. the Carizmians, l. xiv. and the Mamalukes, tom. iv. l. xxi.: consult likewise the tables of the 1st volume. He is ever learned and accurate; yet I am only indebted to him for a general view, and some passages of Abulfeda, which are still latent in the Arabic text.

¹⁹ More properly *Yen-king*, an ancient city, whose ruins still appear

some furlongs to the south-east of the modern *Pekin*, which was built by Cublai Khan (Gaubel, p. 146.). Pe-king and Nan-king are vague titles, the courts of the north and of the south. The identity and change of names perplex the most skilful readers of the Chinese geography (p. 177.).

²⁰ M. de Voltaire, *Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, tom. iii. c. 60. p. 8. His account of Zingis and the Moguls contains, as usual, much general sense and truth, with some particular errors.

²¹ Zagatai gave his name to his dominions of Maurenahar, or Tranfoxiana; and the Moguls of Hindostan, who emigrated from that country, are styled Zagatais by the Persians. This certain etymology, and the similar example of Uzbek, Nogai, etc. may warn us not absolutely to reject the derivations of a national, from a personal, name.

²² In Marco Polo, and the Oriental geographers, the names of Cathay and Mangi distinguish the northern and southern empires, which, from A. D. 1234 to 1279, were those of the Great Khan, and of the Chinese. The search of Cathay, after China had been found, excited and misled our navigators of the sixteenth century, in their attempts to discover the north-east passage.

²³ I depend on the knowledge and fidelity of the Père Gaubil, who translates the Chinese text of the Annals of the Moguls or Yuen (p. 71. 93. 153.); but I am ignorant at what time these annals were composed and published. The two uncles of Marco Polo, who served as engineers at the siege of Siengyangfou (l. ii. c. 61. in Ramusio, tom. ii. See Gaubil, p. 155. 157.), must have felt and related the effects of this destructive powder, and their silence is a weighty, and almost decisive, objection. I entertain a suspicion, that the recent discovery was carried from Europe to China by the caravans of the xvth century, and falsely adopted as an old national discovery before the arrival of the Portuguese and Jesuits in the xvith. Yet the Père Gaubil affirms, that the use of gunpowder has been known to the Chinese above 1600 years.

²⁴ All that can be known of the Assassins of Persia and Syria, is poured from the copious, and even profuse, erudition of M. Falconer, in two *mémoires* read before the Academy of Inscriptions (tom. xvii. p. 127—170.).

²⁵ The Ismaelians of Syria, 40,000 Assassins, had acquired or founded ten castles in the hills above Tortosa. About the year 1280, they were extirpated by the Mamalukes.

²⁶ As a proof of the ignorance of the Chinese in foreign transactions, I must observe, that some of their historians extend the

conquests of Zingis himself to Medina, the country of Mahomet (Gaubil, p. 42.).

²⁷ The *Dashtë Kipzak*, or plain of Kipzak, extends on either side of the Volga, in a boundless space towards de Jaik and Borysthenes, and is supposed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Cossacks.

²⁸ In the year 1238, the inhabitants of Gothia (*Sweden*) and Frise were prevented, by their fear of the Tartars, from sending, as usual, their ships to the herring-fishery on the coast of England; and as there was no exportation, forty or fifty of these fish were sold for a shilling (Matthew Paris, p. 396.). It is whimsical enough, that the orders of a Mogul khan, who reigned on the borders of China, should have lowered the price of herrings in the English market.

²⁹ I shall copy his characteristic or flattering epithets of the different countries of Europe: *Furens ac fervens ad arma Germania, strenue militiæ genitrix et alumna Francia, bellicosa et audax Hispania, virtuosa viris et classe munita fertilis Anglia, impetuosus bellatoribus referta Alemannia, navalis Dacia, indomita Italia, pacis ignara Burgundia, inquieta Apulia, cum maris Græci, Adriatici et Tyrrheni insulis piraticis et invictis, Cretâ, Cypro, Sicilia, cum Oceano conterminis insulis, et regionibus, eruenta Hibernia, cum agili Wallia, palustris Scotia, glacialis Norwegia suam electam militiam sub vexillo Crucis destinabunt, etc.* (Matthew Paris, p. 498.).

³⁰ See Carpin's relation in Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 30. The pedigree of the khans of Siberia is given by Abulghazi (part viii. p. 485—495.). Have the Russians found no Tartar chronicles at Tobolskoi?

³¹ The Map of d'Anville, and the Chinese Itineraries (de Guignes, tom. i. part ii. p. 57.), seem to mark the position of Holin, or Caracorum, about six hundred miles to the northwest of Pekin. The distance between Selinginsky and Pekin is near 2000 Russian versts, between 1300 and 1400 English miles (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 67.).

³² Rubruquis found at Caracoram his countryman *Guillaume Boucher orfevre de Paris*, who had executed for the khan a silver tree, supported by four lions, and ejecting four different liquors. Abulghazi (part iv. p. 366.) mentions the painters of Kitay or China.

³³ The attachment of the khans, and the hatred of the mandarins, to the bonzes and lamas (Duhalde, Hist. de la Chine, tom. i. p. 502, 503.) seems to represent them as the priests of the same god, of the Indian *Fo*, whose worship prevails among the sects of Hindostan, Siam, Thibet, China, and Japan. But this mysterious subject is still lost in a cloud, which the researches of our Asiatic Society may gradually dispel.

³⁴ Some repulse of the Moguls in Hungary Matthew Paris, p. 545, 546.) might propagate and colour the report of the union and victory of the kings of the Franks on the confines of Bulgaria. Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 310.), after forty years, beyond the Tigris, might be easily deceived.

³⁵ See Pachymer, l. iii. c. 25. and l. ix. c. 26, 27.: and the false alarm at Nice, l. iii. c. 27. Nicephorus Gregoras, l. iv. c. 6.

³⁶ G. Acropolita, p. 36, 37. Nic. Gregoras, l. ii. c. 6. l. iv. c. 5.

³⁷ Abulpharagius, who wrote in the year 1284, declares, that the Moguls, since the fabulous defeat of Batou, had not attacked either the Franks or Greeks; and of this he is a competent witness. Hayton, likewise the Armeniac prince, celebrates their friendship for himself and his nation.

³⁸ Pachymer gives a splendid character of Cazan Khan, the rival of Cyrus and Alexander (l. xii. c. 1.). In the conclusion of his history (l. xiii. c. 36.), he *hopes* much from the arrival of 30,000 Tochars or Tartars, who were ordered by the successor of Cazan to restrain the Turks of Bithynia, A. D. 1308.

³⁹ The origin of the Ottoman dynasty is illustrated by the critical learning of M. M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 329—337.) and d'Anville (Empire Turc, p. 14—22.), two inhabitants of Paris, from whom the Orientals may learn the history and geography of their own country.

⁴⁰ See Pachymer, l. x. c. 25, 26. l. xiii. c. 33, 34. 36.; and concerning the guard of the mountains, l. i. c. 3—6.: Nicephorus Gregoras, l. vii. c. 1. and the 1st book of Laonicus Chalcocondyles, the Athenian.

⁴¹ I am ignorant whether the Turks have any writers older than Mahomet II. nor can I reach beyond a meagre chronicle (Annales Turcici ad Annum 1550.), translated by John Gaudier, and published by Leunclavius (ad calcem Laonic. Chalcocond. p. 311—350.), with copious pandects, or commentaries. The History of the Growth and Decay (A. D. 1300—1683.) of the Othman Empire, was translated into English from the Latin MS. of Demetrius Cantemir, prince of Moldavia (London, 1734, in folio). The author is guilty of strange blunders in Oriental history; but he was conversant with the language, the annals, and institutions of the Turks. Cantemir partly draws his materials from the Synopsis of Saadi Effendi of Larissa, dedicated in the year 1696 to sultan Mustapha, and a valuable abridgment of the original historians. In one of the Ramblers, Dr. Johnson praises Knolles (a General History of the Turks to the present Year. London, 1603) as the first of historians, unhappy only in the choice of his subject.

Yet

Yet I much doubt whether a partial and verbose compilation from Latin writers, thirteen hundred folio pages of speeches and battles, can either instruct or amuse an enlightened age, which requires from the historian some tincture of philosophy and criticism.

⁴² Cantacuzene, though he relates the battle and heroic flight of the younger Andronicus (l. ii. c. 6, 7, 8.), dissembles by his silence the loss of Prusa, Nice, and Nicomedia, which are fairly confessed by Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. 15. ix. 9. 13. xi. 6.). It appears that Nice was taken by Orchan in 1330, and Nicomedia in 1339, which are somewhat different from the Turkish dates.

⁴³ The partition of the Turkish emirs is extracted from two contemporaries, the Greek Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 1.) and the Arabian Marakefchi (de Guignes, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 76, 77.). See likewise the first book of Laonicus Chalcocondyles.

⁴⁴ Pachymer, l. xiii. c. 13.

⁴⁵ See the Travels of Wheeler and Spon, of Pococke and Chandler, and more particularly Smith's Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia, p. 205—276. The more pious antiquaries labour to reconcile the promises and threats of the author of the Revelations with the *present* state of the seven cities. Perhaps it would be more prudent to confine his predictions to the characters and events of his own times.

⁴⁶ Consult the ivth book of the Histoire de l'Ordre de Malthe, par l'Abbé de Vertot. That pleasing writer betrays his ignorance, in supposing that Othman, a freebooter of the Bithynian hills, could besiege Rhodes by sea and land.

⁴⁷ Nicephorus Gregoras has expatiated with pleasure on this amiable character (l. xii. 7. xiii. 4. 10. xiv. 1. 9. xvi. 6.). Cantacuzene speaks with honour and esteem of his ally (l. iii. c. 56, 57. 63, 64. 66, 67, 68. 86. 89. 95, 96.); but he seems ignorant of his own sentimental passion for the Turk, and indirectly denies the possibility of such unnatural friendship (l. iv. c. 40.).

⁴⁸ After the conquest of Smyrna by the Latins, the defence of this fortress was imposed by pope Gregory XI. on the knights of Rhodes (see Vertot, l. v.).

⁴⁹ See Cantacuzene, l. iii. c. 95. Nicephorus Gregoras, who, for the light of mount Thabor, brands the emperor with the names of tyrant and Herod, excuses, rather than blames, this Turkish marriage, and alleges the passion and power of Orchan, *εγγυτάτος. και τη δυναμει της κατ' αυτον ηδη Περσικης* (Turkish) *υπεραιων Σατραπας* (l. xv. 5.). He afterwards celebrates his kingdom and armies. See his reign in Cantemir, p. 24—30.

⁵⁰ The most lively and concise picture of this captivity, may be found in the history of Ducas (c. 8.), who fairly describes what Cantacuzene confesses with a guilty blush!

⁵¹ In this passage, and the first conquests in Europe, Cantemir (p. 27, etc.) gives a miserable idea of his Turkish guides: nor am I much better satisfied with Chalcocondyles (l. i. p. 12, etc.). They forget to consult the most authentic record, the ivth book of Cantacuzene. I likewise regret the last books, which are still manuscript, of Nicephorus Gregoras.

⁵² After the conclusion of Cantacuzene and Gregoras, there follows a dark interval of an hundred years. George Phranza, Michael Ducas, and Laonicus Chalcocondyles, all three wrote after the taking of Constantinople.

⁵³ See Cantemir, p. 37—41. with his own large and curious annotations.

⁵⁴ *White* and *black* face are common and proverbial expressions of praise and reproach in the Turkish language. *Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto*, was likewise a Latin sentence.

⁵⁵ See the life and death of Morad, or Amurath I. in Cantemir (p. 33—45.), the ist book of Chalcocondyles, and the *Annales Turcici* of Leunclavius. According to another story, the sultan was stabbed by a Croat in his tent: and this accident was alleged to Busbequius (Epist. i. p. 98.) as an excuse for the unworthy precaution of pinioning, as it were, between two attendants, an ambassador's arms, when he is introduced to the royal presence.

⁵⁶ The reign of Bajazet I. or Ilderim Bayazid, is contained in Cantemir (p. 46.), the iid book of Chalcocondyles, and the *Annales Turcici*. The surname of Ilderim, or lightning, is an example, that the conquerors and poets of every age have *felt* the truth of a system which derives the sublime from the principle of terror.

⁵⁷ Cantemir, who celebrates the victories of the great Stephen over the Turks (p. 47.), had composed the ancient and modern state of his principality of Moldavia, which has been long promised, and is still unpublished.

⁵⁸ Leunclav. *Annal. Turcici*, p. 318, 319. The venality of the cadhis has long been an object of scandal and satire; and if we distrust the observations of our travellers, we may consult the feeling of the Turks themselves (d'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orientale*, p. 216, 217. 229, 230.).

⁵⁹ The fact, which is attested by the Arabic history of Ben Schounah, a contemporary Syrian (de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. iv. p. 326.),

destroys the testimony of Saad Effendi and Cantemir (p. 14, 15.), of the election of Othman to the dignity of sultan.

⁶⁰ See the *Decades Rerum Hungaricarum* (Dec. iii. l. ii. p. 379.) of Bonfinius, an Italian, who, in the xvth century, was invited into Hungary to compose an eloquent history of that kingdom. Yet, if it be extant and accessible, I should give the preference to some homely chronicle of the time and country.

⁶¹ I should not complain of the labour of this work, if my materials were always derived from such books as the chronicle of honest Froissard (vol. iv. c. 67. 69. 72. 74. 79—83. 85. 87. 89.), who read little, inquired much, and believed all. The original Memoirs of the marechal de Boucicault (Partie i. c. 22—28.) add some facts, but they are dry and deficient, if compared with the pleasant garrulity of Froissard.

⁶² An accurate memoir on the life of Enquerrand VII. sire de Coucy, has been given by the baron de Zurlauben (*Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxv.). His rank and possessions were equally considerable in France and England; and, in 1375, he led an army of adventurers into Switzerland, to recover a large patrimony which he claimed in right of his grandmother, the daughter of the emperor Albert I. of Austria (Sinner, *Voyage dans la Suisse Occidentale*, tom. i. p. 118—124.).

⁶³ That military office, so respectable at present, was still more conspicuous when it was divided between two persons (Daniel, *Hist. de la Milice Française*, tom. ii. p. 5.). One of these, the marshal of the crusade, was the famous Boucicault, who afterwards defended Constantinople, governed Genoa, invaded the coast of Asia, and died in the field of Azincour.

⁶⁴ For this odious fact, the Abbé de Vertot quotes the *Hist. Anonyme de St. Denys*, l. xvi. c. 10, 11. (*Ordre de Malthe*, tom. ii. p. 310.)

⁶⁵ Sherefeddin Ali (*Hist. de Timour Bec*, l. v. c. 13.) allows Bajazet a round number of 12,000 officers and servants of the chace. A part of his spoils was afterwards displayed in a hunting-match of Timour: 1. hounds with satin housings; 2. leopards with collars set with jewels; 3. Grecian greyhounds; and, 4. dogs from Europe, as strong as African lions (*idem*, l. vi. c. 15.). Bajazet was particularly fond of flying his hawks at cranes (*Chalcocondyles*, l. ii. p. 35.).

⁶⁶ For the reigns of John Palæologus and his son Manuel, from 1354 to 1402, see Ducas, c. 9—15. Phranza, l. i. c. 16—21. and the 1st and 2d books of Chalcocondyles, whose proper subject is drowned in a sea of episode.

⁶⁷ Cantemir, p. 50—53. Of the Greeks, Ducas alone (c. 13. 15.) acknowledges the Turkish cadhi at Constantinople. Yet even Ducas dissembles the mosch.

⁶⁸ Mémoires du bon Messire Jean le Maingre, dit *Boucicault*, Maréchal de France, partie Ire, c. 30—35.

CHAP. LXV.

¹ These journals were communicated to Sherefeddin, or Cherefeddin Ali, a native of Yezd, who composed in the Persian language a history of Timour Beg, which has been translated into French by M. Petit de la Croix (Paris, 1722, in 4 vols. 12mo), and has always been my faithful guide. His geography and chronology are wonderfully accurate; and he may be trusted for public facts, though he servilely praises the virtue and fortune of the hero. Timour's attention to procure intelligence from his own and foreign countries, may be seen in the Institutions, p. 215. 217. 349. 351.

² These Commentaries are yet unknown in Europe: but M. White gives some hope, that they may be imported and translated by his friend Major Davy, who had read in the East this "minute and faithful narrative of an interesting and eventful period."

³ I am ignorant whether the original institution, in the Turkish or Mogul language, be still extant. The Persian version, with an English translation and most valuable index, was published (Oxford, 1783, in 4to) by the joint labours of Major Davy, and Mr. White the Arabic professor. This work has been since translated from the Persian into French (Paris, 1787) by M. Langlès, a learned Orientalist, who has added the life of Timour, and many curious notes.

⁴ Shaw Allum, the present Mogul, reads, values, but cannot imitate, the institutions of his great ancestor. The English translator relies on their internal evidence: but if any suspicions should arise of fraud and fiction, they will not be dispelled by Major Davy's letter. The Orientals have never cultivated the art of criticism; the patronage of a prince, less honourable perhaps, is not less lucrative than that of a bookseller; nor can it be deemed incredible, that a Persian, the *real* author, should renounce the credit, to raise the value and price, of the work.

⁵ The original of the tale is found in the following work, which is much esteemed for its florid elegance of style: *Ahmedis Arabsiadæ* (Ahmed Ebn Arabshah) *Vitæ et Rerum gestarum Timuri. Arabice et Latine. Edidit Samuel Henricus Manger. Francqueræ, 1767, 2 tom. in 4to.* This Syrian author is ever a malicious, and often an ignorant,

enemy: the very titles of his chapters are injurious; as how the wicked, as how the impious, as how the viper, etc. The copious article of TIMUR, in *Bibliothèque Orientale*, is of a mixed nature as d'Herbelot indifferently draws his materials (p. 877—888.) from Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, and the *Lebtarikh*.

⁶ *Demir*, or *Timour*, signifies, in the Turkish language, Iron; and *Beg* is the appellation of a lord or prince. By the change of a letter or accent, it is changed into *Lenc*, or lame; and a European corruption confounds the two words in the name of Tamerlane.

⁷ After relating some false and foolish tales of Timour *Lenc*, Arabshah is compelled to speak truth, and to own him for a kinsman of Zingis, per mulieres (as he peevishly adds) laqueos Satanæ (pars i. c. 1. p. 25.). The testimony of Abulghazi Khan (p. ii. c. 5. p. v. c. 4.) is clear, unquestionable, and decisive.

⁸ According to one of the pedigrees, the fourth ancestor of Zingis, and the ninth of Timour, were brothers; and they agreed, that the posterity of the elder should succeed to the dignity of khan, and that the descendants of the younger should fill the office of their minister and general. This tradition was at least convenient to justify the first steps of Timour's ambition (*Institutions*, p. 24, 25. from the MS. fragments of Timour's history)

⁹ See the preface of Sherefeddin, and Abulfeda's *Geography* (*Chorasmia*, etc. *Descriptio*, p. 60, 61.), in the third volume of Hudson's *Minor Greek Geographers*.

¹⁰ See his nativity in Dr. Hyde (*Syntagma Dissertat.* tom. ii. p. 466.), as it was cast by the astrologers of his grandson Ulugh Beg. He was born A. D. 1336, April 9, 11° 57' P. M. lat. 36. I know not whether they can prove the great conjunction of the planets from whence, like other conquerors and prophets, Timour derived the surname of Saheb Keran, or master of the conjunctions (*Bibliot. Orient.* p. 878.).

¹¹ In the *Institutions* of Timour, these subjects of the khan of Kashgar are most improperly styled Ouzbegs, or Uzbeks, a name which belongs to another branch and country of Tartars (Abulghazi, p. v. c. 5. p. vii. c. 5.). Could I be sure that this word is in the Turkish original, I would boldly pronounce, that the *Institutions* were framed a century after the death of Timour, since the establishment of the Uzbeks in Transoxiana.

¹² The 1st book of Sherefeddin is employed on the private life of the hero; and he himself, or his secretary (*Institutions*, p. 3—77.), enlarges with pleasure on the thirteen designs and enterprizes which

most truly constitute his *personal* merit. It even shines through the dark colouring of Arabshah, p. i. c. 1—12.

¹³ The conquests of Persia, Tartary, and India, are represented in the iid and iiid books of Sherefeddin, and by Arabshah, c. 13—55. Consult the excellent Indexes to the Institutions.

¹⁴ The reverence of the Tartars for the mysterious number of nine, is declared by Abulghazi Khan, who, for that reason, divides his Genealogical History into nine parts.

¹⁵ According to Arabshah (p. i. c. 28. p. 183.), the coward Timour ran away to his tent, and hid himself from the pursuit of Shah Mansour under the women's garments. Perhaps Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 25.) has magnified his courage.

¹⁶ The history of Ormuz is not unlike that of Tyre. The old city, on the continent, was destroyed by the Tartars, and renewed in a neighbouring island without fresh water or vegetation. The kings of Ormuz, rich in the Indian trade and the pearl fishery, possessed large territories both in Persia and Arabia; but they were at first the tributaries of the sultans of Kerman, and at last were delivered A. D. 1505) by the Portuguese tyrants from the tyranny of their own vizirs (Marco Polo, l. i. c. 15, 16. fol. 7, 8. Abulfeda Geograph. tabul. xi. p. 261, 262. an original Chronicle of Ormuz, in Texeira, or Steven's History of Persia, p. 376—416. and the Itineraries inserted in the ist volume of Ramusio, of Ludovico Barthema (1503), fol. 167. of Andrea Corsali (1517), fol. 202, 203, and of Odoardo Barbeffa (in 1514), fol. 315—318.).

¹⁷ Arabshah had travelled into Kipzak, and acquired a singular knowledge of the geography, cities, and revolutions, of that northern region (P. i. c. 45—49.).

¹⁸ Institutions of Timour, p. 123. 125. Mr. White, the editor, bestows some animadversion on the superficial account of Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 12, 13, 14.), who was ignorant of the designs of Timour, and the true springs of action.

¹⁹ The furs of Russia are more credible than the ingots. But the linen of Antioch has never been famous; and Antioch was in ruins. I suspect that it was some manufacture of Europe, which the Hanse merchants had imported by the way of Novogorod.

²⁰ M. Levéque (Hist. de Russie, tom. ii. p. 247. Vie de Timour, p. 64—67. before the French version of the Institutes) has corrected the error of Sherefeddin, and marked the true limit of Timour's conquests. His arguments are superfluous, and a simple appeal to the Russian Annals is sufficient to prove that Moscow, which six years before had been taken by Toctamish, escaped the arms of a more formidable invader.

²¹ An Egyptian consul from Grand Cairo, is mentioned in Barbaro's voyage to Tana in 1436, after the city had been rebuilt (Ramusio, tom. ii. fol. 92.).

²² The sack of Azoph is described by Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 55.); and much more particularly by the author of an Italian chronicle (Andreas de Redusiis de Quero, in Chron. Tarvisiano, in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 802—805.). He had conversed with the Mianis, two Venetian brothers, one of whom had been sent a deputy to the camp of Timour, and the other had lost at Azoph three sons and 12,000 ducats.

²³ Sherefeddin only says (l. iii. c. 13.), that the rays of the setting, and those of the rising sun, were scarcely separated by any interval; a problem which may be solved in the latitude of Moscow (the 56th degree), with the aid of the Aurora Borealis, and a long summer-twilight. But a *day* of forty days (Khondemir apud d'Herbelot, p. 880.) would rigorously confine us within the polar circle.

²⁴ For the Indian war, see the Institutions (p. 129—132.), the fourth book of Sherefeddin, and the history of Ferishta (in Dow, vol. ii. p. 1—20.), which throws a general light on the affairs of Hindostan.

²⁵ The rivers of the Punjab, the five eastern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the first time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennel's incomparable map of Hindostan. In his Critical Memoir, he illustrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour.

²⁶ The two great rivers, the Ganges and Burrampooter, rise in Thibet, from the opposite ridges of the same hills, separate from each other to the distance of 1200 miles, and, after a winding course of 2000 miles, again meet in one point near the gulf of Bengal. Yet so capricious is Fame, that the Burrampooter is a late discovery, while his brother Ganges has been the theme of ancient and modern story. Coupele, the scene of Timour's last victory, must be situate near Loldong, 1100 miles from Calcutta; and, in 1774, a British camp! (Rennel's Memoir, p. 7. 59. 90, 91. 99.)

²⁷ See the Institutions, p. 141. to the end of the 1st book, and Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 1—16.), to the entrance of Timour into Syria.

²⁸ We have three copies of these hostile epistles in the Institutions (p. 147.), in Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 14.), and in Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 19. p. 183—201.); which agree with each other in the spirit and substance rather than in the style. It is probable, that they have been translated, with various latitude, from the Turkish original into the Arabic and Persian tongues.

²⁹ The Mogul emir distinguishes himself and his countrymen by the name of *Turks*, and stigmatizes the race and nation of Bajazet with the less honourable epithet of *Turkmans*. Yet I do not understand how the Ottomans could be descended from a Turkman failor; those inland shepherds were so remote from the sea, and all maritime affairs.

³⁰ According to the Koran (c. 2. p. 27. and Sale's Discourses, p. 134.), a Musulman who had thrice divorced his wife (who had thrice repeated the words of a divorce), could not take her again, till after she had been married to, and repudiated by, another husband: an ignominious transaction, which it is needless to aggravate by supposing, that the first husband must see her enjoyed by a second before his face (Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, l. ii. c. 21.).

³¹ The common delicacy of the Orientals, in never speaking of their women, is ascribed in a much higher degree by Arabshah to the Turkish nations; and it is remarkable enough, that Chalcocondyles (l. ii. p. 55.) had some knowledge of the prejudice, and the insult.

³² For the style of the Moguls, see the Institutions (p. 131. 147.), and for the Persians, the Bibliothèque Orientale (p. 882.): but I do not find that the title of Cæsar has been applied by the Arabians, or assumed by the Ottomans themselves.

³³ See the reigns of Barkok and Pharadge, in M. de Guignes (tom. iv. l. xxii.), who, from the Arabic texts of Aboulmahasen, Ebn Schounah, and Aintabi, has added some facts to our common stock of materials.

³⁴ For these recent and domestic transactions, Arabshah, though a partial, is a credible, witness (tom. i. c. 64—68. tom. ii. c. 1—14). Timour must have been odious to a Syrian; but the notoriety of facts would have obliged him, in some measure, to respect his enemy and himself. His bitters may correct the luscious sweets of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 17—29.).

³⁵ These interesting conversations appear to have been copied by Arabshah (tom. i. c. 68. p. 625—645.) from the cadhi and historian Ebn Schounah, a principal actor. Yet how could he be alive seventy-five years afterwards (d'Herbelot, p. 792.)?

³⁶ The marches and occupations of Timour between the Syrian and Ottoman wars, are represented by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 29—43.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 15—18.).

³⁷ This number of 800,000 was extracted by Arabshah, or rather by Ebn Schounah, ex rationario Timuri, on the faith of a Carizmian officer (tom. i. c. 68. p. 617.); and it is remarkable enough, that a Greek historian (Phranza, l. i. c. 29.) adds no more than 20,000 men. Poggius reckons 1,000,000; another Latin contemporary (Chron. Tara

villianum, apud Muratori, tom. xix. p. 800.) 1,100,000; and the enormous sum of 1,600,000 is attested by a German soldier, who was present at the battle of Angora (Leunclav. ad Chalcocondyl. l. iii. p. 82.). Timour, in his Institutions, has not deigned to calculate his troops, his subjects, or his revenues.

³⁸ A wide latitude of non effectives was allowed by the Great Mogul for his own pride and the benefit of his officers. Bernier's patron was Penge-Hazari, commander of 5000 horse; of which he maintained no more than 500 (Voyages, tom. i. p. 288, 289.)

³⁹ Timour himself fixes at 400,000 men the Ottoman army (Institutions, p. 153.), which is reduced to 100,000 by Phranza (l. i. c. 29.), and swelled by the German soldier to 1,400,000. It is evident, that the Moguls were the more numerous.

⁴⁰ It may not be useless to mark the distances between Angora and the neighbouring cities, by the journies of the caravans, each of twenty or twenty-five miles: to Smyrna xx. to Kiotahia x. to Bourfa x. to Cæsarea viii. to Sinope x. to Nicomedia ix. to Constantinople xii. or xiii. (see Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. lettre xxi.)

⁴¹ See the Systems of Tactics in the Institutions, which the English editors have illustrated with elaborate plans (p. 373—407.).

⁴² The sultan himself (says Timour) must then put the foot of courage into the stirrup of patience. A Tartar metaphor, which is lost in the English, but preserved in the French, version of the Institutes (p. 156, 157.).

⁴³ The Greek fire, on Timour's side, is attested by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 47.); but Voltaire's strange suspicion, that some cannon, inscribed with strange characters, must have been sent by that monarch to Dehli, is refuted by the universal silence of contemporaries.

⁴⁴ Timour has dissembled this secret and important negociation with the Tartars, which is indisputably proved by the joint evidence of the Arabian (tom. i. c. 47. p. 391.), Turkish (Annal. Leunclav. p. 321.), and Persian historians (Khondemir, apud d'Herbelot, p. 882.)

⁴⁵ For the war of Anatolia or Roum, I add some hints in the Institutions, to the copious narratives of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 44—65.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 20—35.) On this part only of Timour's history, it is lawful to quote the Turks (Cantemir. p. 53—55. Annal. Leunclav. p. 320—322.) and the Greeks (Phranza, l. i. c. 29. Ducas, c. 15—17. Chalcocondyles, l. iii.)

⁴⁶ The scepticism of Voltaire (Essai sur l'Histoire Générale, c. 88.) is ready on this, as on every occasion, to reject a popular tale, and to diminish the magnitude of vice and virtue; and on most occasions his incredulity is reasonable.

⁴⁷ See the history of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 49. 52, 53. 59, 60.). This work was finished at Shiraz, in the year 1424, and dedicated to sultan Ibrahim, the son of Sharokh, the son of Timour, who reigned in Faristan in his father's lifetime.

⁴⁸ After the perusal of Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, etc. the learned d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 882.) may affirm, that this fable is not mentioned in the most authentic histories: but his denial of the visible testimony of Arabshah, leaves some room to suspect his accuracy.

⁴⁹ Et fut lui-meme (*Bajazet*) pris, et mené en prison, en laquelle mourut de *dure mort*! Mémoires de Boucicault, p. i. c. 37. These memoirs were composed while the marshal was still governor of Genoa, from whence he was expelled in the year 1409, by a popular insurrection (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 473, 474.).

⁵⁰ The reader will find a satisfactory account of the life and writings of Poggius, in the Poggiana, an entertaining work of M. Lenfant, and in the Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infimæ Ætatis of Fabricius (tom. v. p. 305—308.). Poggius was born in the year 1380, and died in 1459.

⁵¹ The dialogue de Varietate Fortunæ (of which a complete and elegant edition has been published at Paris in 1723, in 4to), was composed a short time before the death of pope Martin V. (p. 5.), and consequently about the end of the year 1430.

⁵² See a splendid and eloquent encomium of Tamerlane, p. 36—39. ipse enim novi (says Poggius) qui fuere in ejus castris..... Regem vivum cepit, caveâque in modum feræ inclusum per omnem Asiam circumtulit egregium admirandumque spectaculum fortunæ.

⁵³ The Chronicon Tarvisianum (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 800.), and the Annales Estenses (tom. xviii. p. 974.). The two authors, Andrea de Redusiis de Quero, and James de Delayto, were both contemporaries, and both chancellors, the one of Trevigi, the other of Ferrara. The evidence of the former is the most positive.

⁵⁴ See Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 28. 34. He travelled in regiones Rumæas, A. H. 839 (A. D. 1435, July 27), tom. ii. c. 2. p. 13.

⁵⁵ Busbequius in Legatione Turcicâ, epist. i. p. 52. Yet his respectable authority is somewhat shaken by the subsequent marriages of Amurath II. with a Servian, and of Mahomet II. with an Asiatic, princess (Cantemir, p. 83. 93.).

⁵⁶ See the testimony of George Phranza (l. i. c. 29.), and his life in Hanckius de Script. Byzant. p. i. c. 40.). Chalcocondyles and Ducas speak in general terms of Bajazet's *chains*.

⁵⁷ *Annales Leunclav.* p. 321. Pocock, *Prolegomen. ad Abulpharag. Dynast. Cantemir*, p. 55.

⁵⁸ A Sapor, king of Persia, had been made prisoner and inclosed in the figure of a cow's hide by Maximian or Galerius Cæsar. Such is the fable related by Eutychius (*Annal. tom. i. p. 421. vers. Pocock.*) The recollection of the true history (*Decline and Fall, etc. vol. ii. p. 118—129*) will teach us to appreciate the knowledge of the Orientals of the ages which precede the Hegira.

⁵⁹ Arabshah (*tom. ii. c. 25.*) describes, like a curious traveller, the streights of Gallipoli and Constantinople. To acquire a just idea of these events, I have compared the narratives and prejudices of the Moguls, Turks, Greeks, and Arabians. The Spanish ambassador mentions this hostile union of the Christians and Ottomans (*Vie de Timour, p. 95.*).

⁶⁰ Since the name of Cæsar had been transferred to the sultans of Roum, the Greek princes of Constantinople (*Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 54.*) were confounded with the Christian *lords* of Gallipoli, Thessalonica, etc. under the title of *Tekkur*, which is derived by corruption from the genitive *της κυρίας* (*Cantemir, p. 51.*).

⁶¹ See *Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 4.* who marks, in a just itinerary, the road to China, which Arabshah (*tom. ii. c. 33.*) paints in vague and rhetorical colours.

⁶² *Synopsis Hist. Sinicæ, p. 74—76* (in the ivth part of the *Relations de Thevenot*), *Duhalde, Hist. de la Chine (tom. i. p. 507, 508. folio edition)*; and for the chronology of the Chinese emperors, *de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 71, 72.*

⁶³ For the return, triumph, and death of Timour, see *Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 1—30.)* and Arabshah (*tom. ii. c. 35—47.*).

⁶⁴ *Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 24.)* mentions the ambassadors of one of the most potent sovereigns of Europe. We know that it was Henry III. king of Castile; and the curious relation of his two embassies is still extant (*Mariana, Hist. Hispan. l. xix. c. 11. tom. ii. p. 329, 330. Avertissement à l'Hist. de Timur Bec, p. 28—33.*). There appears likewise to have been some correspondence between the Mogul emperor, and the court of Charles VII. king of France, (*Hist. de France par Velly et Villaret, tom. xii. p. 336.*).

⁶⁵ See the translation of the Persian account of their embassy, a curious and original piece (in the ivth part of the *Relations de Thevenot*). They presented the emperor of China with an old horse which Timour had formerly rode. It was in the year 1419, that they departed from the court of Herat, to which place they returned in 1422 from Pekin.

⁶⁶ From Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 96. The bright or softer colours are borrowed from Sherefeddin, d'Herbelot, and the Institutions.

⁶⁷ His new system was multiplied from 32 pieces and 64 squares, to 56 pieces and 110 or 130 squares. But, except in his court, the old game has been thought sufficiently elaborate. The Mogul emperor was rather pleased than hurt, with the victory of a subject: a chess-player will feel the value of this encomium!

⁶⁸ See Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 15. 25. Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 96. p. 801. 803.) reproves the impiety of Timour and the Moguls, who almost preferred to the Koran, the *Yacsa*, or Law of Zingis (cui Deus maledicat): nor will he believe that Sharokh had abolished the use and authority of that Pagan code.

⁶⁹ Besides the bloody passages of this narrative, I must refer to an anticipation in the sixth volume of the Decline and Fall, which, in a single note (p. 46. Note 25.), accumulates near 300,000 heads of the monuments of his cruelty. Except in Rowe's play on the fifth of November, I did not expect to hear of Timour's amiable moderation (White's preface, p. 7.). Yet I can excuse a generous enthusiasm in the reader, and still more in the editor, of the *Institutions*.

⁷⁰ Consult the last chapters of Sherefeddin and Arabshah, and M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iv. l. xx.). Fraser's History of Nadir Shah, p. 1—62. The story of Timour's descendants is imperfectly told: and the second and third parts of Sherefeddin are unknown.

⁷¹ Shah Allum, the present Mogul, is in the fourteenth degree from Timour by Miran Shah, his third son. See the iid volume of Dow's History of Hindostan.

⁷² The civil wars, from the death of Bajazet to that of Mustapha, are related, according to the Turks, by Demetrius Cantemir (p. 58—82.). Of the Greeks, Chalcocondyles (l. iv. and v.), Phranza (l. i. c. 30—32.), and Ducas (c. 18—27.), the last is the most copious and best informed.

⁷³ Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 26. whose testimony on this occasion is weighty and valuable. The existence of Isa (unknown to the Turks) is likewise confirmed by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57.).

⁷⁴ Arabshah, loc. citat. Abulfeda, Geograph. tab. xvii. p. 302. Busbequius, epist. i. p. 96, 97. in Itinere C. P. et Amasiano.

⁷⁵ The virtues of Ibrahim are praised by a contemporary Greek (Ducas, c. 25.). His descendants are the sole nobles in Turkey: they content themselves with the administration of his pious foundations, are excused from public offices, and receive two annual visits from the sultan (Cantemir, p. 76.).

⁷⁶ See Pachymer (l. v. 29.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1.),

Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57.), and Ducas (c. 25.). The last of these, a curious and careful observer, is entitled, from his birth and station, to particular credit in all that concerns Ionia and the islands. Among the nations that resorted to New Phocæa, he mentions the English (Ἰγγλῆνοι); an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.

⁷⁷ For the spirit of navigation, and freedom of ancient Phocæa, or rather of the Phocæans, consult the 1st book of Herodotus, and the Geographical Index of his last and learned French translator, M. Larcher (tom. vii. p. 299.).

⁷⁸ Phocæa is not enumerated by Pliny (Hist. Nat. xxxv. 52.) among the places productive of alum; he reckons Egypt as the first, and for the second the isle of Melos, whose alum mines are described by Tournefort (tom. i. lettre iv.), a traveller and a naturalist. After the loss of Phocæa, the Genoese, in 1459, found that useful mineral in the isle of Ischia (Ismael. Bouillaud, ad Ducam, c. 25.).

⁷⁹ The writer who has the most abused this fabulous generosity, is our ingenious Sir William Temple (his works, vol. iii. p. 349, 350. octavo edition), that lover of exotic virtue. After the conquest of Russia, etc. and the passage of the Danube, his Tartar hero relieves, visits, admires, and refuses the city of Constantine. His flattering pencil deviates in every line from the truth of history: yet his pleasing fictions are more excusable than the gross errors of Cantemir.

⁸⁰ For the reigns of Manuel and John, of Mahomet I. and Amurath II. see the Othman history of Cantemir (p. 70—95.) and the three Greeks Chalcocondyles, Phranza, and Ducas, who is still superior to his rivals.

⁸¹ The Turkish asper (from the Greek ἀσπερ) is, or was, a piece of *white* or silver money, at present much debased, but which was formerly equivalent to the 54th part, at least, of a Venetian ducat or sequin; and the 300,000 aspers, a princely allowance or royal tribute, may be computed at 2500 l. sterling (Leunclav. Pandect. Turc. p. 406—408.).

⁸² For the siege of Constantinople in 1422, see the particular and contemporary narrative of John Cananus, published by Leo Allatius, at the end of his edition of Acropolita (p. 188—199.).

⁸³ Cantemir, p. 80. Cananus, who describes Seid Bechar without naming him, supposes that the friend of Mahomet assumed in his amours the privilege of a prophet, and that the fairest of the Greek nuns were promised to the saint and his disciples.

⁸⁴ For this miraculous apparition, Cananus appeals to the Musulman saint; but who will bear testimony for Seid Bechar?

⁸⁵ See Rycaut (l. i. c. 13.). The Turkish sultans assume the title of khan. Yet Abulghazi is ignorant of his Ottoman cousins.

⁸⁶ The third grand vizir of the name of Kiuperli, who was slain at the battle of Salankanen in 1691 (Cantemir, p. 382.), presumed to say, that all the successors of Soliman had been fools or tyrants, and that it was time to abolish the race (Marfigli Stato Militare, etc. p. 28.). This political heretic was a good whig, and justified against the French ambassador the revolution of England (Mignot, Hist. des Ottomans, tom. iii. p. 434.). His presumption contemns the singular exception of continuing offices in the same family.

⁸⁷ Chalcocondyles (l. v.) and Ducas (c. 23.) exhibit the rude lineaments of the Ottoman policy, and the transmutation of Christian children into Turkish foldiers.

⁸⁸ This sketch of the Turkish education and discipline, is chiefly borrowed from Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, the Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomanno of Count Marfigli (in Haïa, 1732, in folio), and a Description of the Seraglio, approved by Mr. Graves himself, a curious traveller, and inserted in the second volume of his works.

⁸⁹ From the series of cxv vizirs till the siege of Vienna (Marfigli, p. 13.), their place may be valued at three years and a half purchase.

⁹⁰ See the entertaining and judicious letters of Busbequius.

⁹¹ The ist and iid volumes of Dr. Watson's Chemical Essays, contain two valuable discourses on the discovery and composition of gunpowder.

⁹² On this subject, modern testimonies cannot be trusted. The original passages are collected by Ducange (Gloss. Latin. tom. i. p. 675. *Bombarda*). But in the early doubtful twilight, the name, sound, fire, and effect, that seem to express *our* artillery, may be fairly interpreted of the old engines and the Greek fire. For the English cannon at Crecy, the authority of John Villani (Chron. l. xii. c. 65.), must be weighed against the silence of Froissard. Yet Muratori (Antiquit. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. ii. Dissert. xxvi. p. 514, 515.) has produced a decisive passage from Petrarch (de Remediis utriusque Fortunæ Dialog.), who, before the year 1344, execrates this terrestrial thunder, *nuper rara, nunc communis*.

⁹³ The Turkish cannon, which Ducas (c. 30.) first introduces before Belgrade (A. D. 1436), is mentioned by Chalcocondyles (l. v. p. 123.) in 1422, at the siege of Constantinople.

CHAP. LXVI.

¹ This curious instruction was transcribed (I believe) from the Vatican archives, by Odoricus Raynaldus, in his continuation of the

Annals of Baronius (Romæ, 1646—1677, in x volumes in folio.). I have contented myself with the Abbé Fleury (Hist. Ecclésiastique, tom. xx. p. 1—8.), whose abstracts I have always found to be clear, accurate, and impartial.

² The ambiguity of this title is happy or ingenious; and *moderator*, as synonymous to *rector*, *gubernator*, is a word of classical, and even Ciceronian, Latinity, which may be found, not in the Glossary of Ducange, but in the Thesaurus of Robert Stephens.

³ The first Epistle (sine titulo) of Petrarch, exposes the danger of the *bark*, and the incapacity of the *pilot*. Hæc inter, vino madidus, ævo gravis ac soporifero rore perfusus, jamjam nutitat, dormitat, jam somno præceps, atque (utinam solus) ruit Heu quanto felicius patrio terram fulcasset aratro, quam scalmum piscatorium ascendisset. This satire engages his biographer to weigh the virtues and vices of Benedict XII. which have been exaggerated by Guelphs and Ghibelines, by Papists and Protestants (see Mémoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 259. ii. not. xv. p. 13—16.). He gave occasion to the saying, Bibamus papaliter.

⁴ See the original lives of Clement VI. in Muratori (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 550—589.). Matteo Villani (Chron. l. iii. c. 43. in Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 186.), who styles him, molto cavallaresco, poco religioso; Fleury (Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 126.), and the Vie de Petrarque (tom. ii. p. 42—45.). The Abbé de Sade treats him with the most indulgence; but *he* is a gentleman as well as a priest.

⁵ Her name (most probably corrupted) was Zampea. She had accompanied, and alone remained with her mistress at Constantinople, where her prudence, erudition, and politeness, deserves the praises of the Greeks themselves (Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 42.).

⁶ See this whole negociation in Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 9.), who, amidst the praises and virtues which he bestows on himself, reveals the uneasiness of a guilty conscience.

⁷ See this ignominious treaty in Fleury (Hist. Eccles. p. 151—154.), from Raynaldus, who drew it from the Vatican archives. It was not worth the trouble of a pious forgery.

⁸ See the two first original lives of Urban V. (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 623. 635.) and the Ecclesiastical Annals of Spondanus (tom. i. p. 573. A. D. 1369, N° 7.) and Raynaldus (Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 223, 224.) Yet, from some variations, I suspect the papal writers of slightly magnifying the genuflexions of Palæologus.

⁹ Paulo minus quam si fuisset Imperator Romanorum. Yet his

title of Imperator Græcorum was no longer disputed (Vit. Urban. V. p. 623.).

¹⁰ It was confined to the successors of Charlemagne, and to them only on Christmas day. On all other festivals, these Imperial deacons were content to serve the pope, as he said mass, with the book and the *corporal*. Yet the abbé de Sade generously thinks, that the merits of Charles IV. might have entitled him, though not on the proper day (A. D. 1368, November 1.), to the whole privilege. He seems to affix a just value on the privilege and the man (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 735.)

¹¹ Through some Italian corruptions, the etymology of *Falcone in bosco* (Matteo Villani, l. xi. c. 79. in Muratori, tom. xv. p. 746.), suggests the English word *Hawkwood*, the true name of our adventurous countryman (Thomas Walsingham, Hist. Anglican. inter Scriptores Cambdeni, p. 184). After two and-twenty victories, and one defeat, he died, in 1394, General of the Florentines, and was buried with such honours as the republic has not paid to Dante or Petrarch (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 212—371.).

¹² This torrent of English (by birth or service) overflowed from France into Italy after the peace of Bretigny in 1360. Yet the exclamation of Muratori (Annali, tom. xii. p. 197) is rather true than civil. "Ci mancava ancora questo, che dopo essere calpestrata l'Italia, da tanti masnadieri Tedeschi ed Ungheri, venissero fin dall'Inghilterra nuovi cani à finire di divorarla."

¹³ Chalcocondyles, l. i. p. 25, 26. The Greek supposes his journey to the king of France, which is sufficiently refuted by the silence of the national historians. Nor am I much more inclined to believe, that Palæologus departed from Italy, valde bene consolatus et contentus (Vit. Urban V. p. 623.).

¹⁴ His return in 1370, and the coronation of Manuel, Sept. 25, 1373 (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 241.), leaves some intermediate æra for the conspiracy and punishment of Andronicus.

¹⁵ Mémoires de Boucicault, p. i. c. 35, 36.

¹⁶ His journey into the west of Europe, is slightly, and I believe reluctantly, noticed by Chalcocondyles (l. ii. c. 44—50.) and Ducas (c. 14.)

¹⁷ Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 406. John Galeazzo was the first and most powerful duke of Milan. His connection with Bajazet is attested by Froissard; and he contributed to save and deliver the French captives of Nicopolis.

¹⁸ For the reception of Manuel at Paris, see Spondanus (Annal. Eccles. tom. i. p. 676, 677. A. D. 1400, N°. 5.), who quotes Juvenal des Ursins,

Urfins, and the monk of St. Denys; and Villaret (*Hist. de France*, tom. xii. p. 331—334.), who quotes nobody, according to the last fashion of the French writers.

¹⁹ A short note of Manuel in England, is extracted by Dr. Hody from a MS. at Lambeth (*de Græcis illustribus*, p. 14.), C. P. Imperator, diu variisque et horrendis Paganorum insultibus coarctatus, ut pro eisdem resistantiam triumphalem perquireret, Anglorum Regem visitare decrevit, etc. Rex (says Walsingham, p. 364.) nobili apparatu... suscepit (ut decuit) tantum Heroa, duxitque Londonias, et per multos dies exhibuit gloriose pro expensis hospitii sui solvens, et eum respiciens tanto fastigio donativis. He repeats the same in his *Upodigma Neustriæ*, (p. 556.).

²⁰ Shakespeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a crusade, and his belief that he should die in Jerusalem.

²¹ This fact is preserved in the *Historia Politica*, A. D. 1391—1478, published by Martin Crusius (*Turco Græcia*, p. 1—43.). The image of Christ, which the Greek emperor refused to worship, was probably a work of sculpture.

²² The Greek and Turkish history of Laonicus Chalcocondyles ends with the winter of 1463, and the abrupt conclusion seems to mark, that he laid down his pen in the same year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that some contemporaries of the same name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his numerous digressions, the modest historian has never introduced himself; and his editor Leunclavius, as well as Fabricius (*Bibliot. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 474.) seems ignorant of his life and character. For his descriptions of Germany, France, and England, see l. ii. p. 36, 37. 44—50.

²³ I shall not animadvert on the geographical errors of Chalcocondyles. In this instance, he perhaps followed, and mistook, Herodotus (l. ii. c. 33.), whose text may be explained (*Herodote de Larcher*, tom. ii. p. 219, 220.) or whose ignorance may be excused. Had these modern Greeks never read Strabo, or any of their lesser geographers?

²⁴ A citizen of new Rome, while new Rome survived, would have scorned to dignify the German *Πηξ* with the titles of *Βασιλεως*, or *Αυτοκρατωρ Ρωμαίων*: but all pride was extinct in the bosom of Chalcocondyles; and he describes the Byzantine prince, and his subject, by the proper, though humble names of *Ἕλληνες*, and *Βασιλεως Ἑλλήνων*.

²⁵ Most of the old romances were translated in the xivth century into French prose, and soon became the favourite amusement of the

knights and ladies in the court of Charles VI. If a Greek believed in the exploits of Rowland and Oliver, he may surely be excused, since the monks of St. Denys, the national historians, have inserted the fables of archbishop Turpin in their Chronicles of France.

²⁶ Λονδινη δε τε πολις δυναμει τε προεχουσα των εν τη νησω ταυτη πασων πολεων, ολβω τε και τη αλλη ευδαιμονια εδεμιας των προς εσπεραν λειπομενη. Even since the time of Fitzstephen (the xiiith century), London appears to have maintained this pre-eminence of wealth and magnitude; and her gradual increase has, at least, kept pace with the general improvement of Europe.

²⁷ If the double sense of the verb Κυω (osculator, and in utero gero) be equivocal, the context and pious horror of Chalcocondyles can leave no doubt of his meaning and mistake (p. 49.)

²⁸ Erasmus (Epist. Fausto Andreliino) has a pretty passage on the English fashion of kissing strangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no scandalous inferences.

²⁹ Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of wives among the old Britons, as it is supposed by Cæsar and Dion (Dion Cassius, l. lxii. tom. ii. p. 1007.) with Reimar's judicious annotation. The *Arreoy* of Otaheite, so certain at first, is become less visible and scandalous, in proportion as we have studied the manners of that gentle and amorous people.

³⁰ See Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 576.; and for the ecclesiastical history of the times, the Annals of Spondanus, the Bibliothèque of Dupin, tom. xii. and xxiith and xxiiid volumes of the History, or rather the Continuation, of Fleury.

³¹ From his early youth, George Phranza, or Phranzes, was employed in the service of the state and palace; and Hanckius (de Script. Byzant. p. i. c. 40.) has collected his life from his own writings. He was no more than four-and-twenty years of age at the death of Manuel, who recommended him in the strongest terms to his successor: Imprimis vero hunc Phranzen tibi commendo, qui ministravit mihi fideliter et diligenter (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 1.). Yet the emperor John was cold, and he preferred the service of the despots of Peloponnesus.

³² See Phranzes, l. ii. c. 13. While so many manuscripts of the Greek original are extant in the libraries of Rome, Milan, the Escorial, etc. it is a matter of shame and reproach, that we should be reduced to the Latin version, or abstract, of James Pontanus (ad calcem Theophylact Simocattæ; Ingolstadt, 1604), so deficient in accuracy and elegance (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 615—620.).

³³ See Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 243—248.

³⁴ The exact measure of the Hexamilion, from sea to sea, was

3800 orgygiæ; or *toises*, of six Greek feet (Phranzes, l. i. c. 38.), which would produce a Greek mile, still smaller than that of 660 French *toises*, which is assigned by d'Anville as still in use in Turkey. Five miles are commonly reckoned for the breadth of the Isthmus. See the Travels of Spon, Wheeler, and Chandler.

³⁵ The first objection of the Jews, is on the death of Christ: if it were voluntary, Christ was a suicide; which the emperor parries with a mystery. They then dispute on the conception of the virgin, the sense of the prophecies, etc. (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 12. a whole chapter.).

³⁶ In the treatise delle Materie Beneficiarie of Fra-Padolo (in the ivth volume of the last and best edition of his works), the papal system is deeply studied and freely described. Should Rome and her religion be annihilated, this golden volume may still survive, a philosophical history, and a salutary warning.

³⁷ Pope John XXII. (in 1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eighteen millions of gold florins, and the value of seven millions more in plate and jewels. See the Chronicle of John Villani (l. xi. c. 20. in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiii. p. 765.), whose brother received the account from the papal treasurers. A treasure of six or eight millions sterling in the xivth century is enormous, and almost incredible.

³⁸ A learned and liberal protestant, M. Lenfant, has given a fair history of the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, in six volumes in quarto: but the last part is the most hasty and imperfect, except in the account of the troubles of Bohemia.

³⁹ The original acts or minutes of the council of Basil, are preserved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Basil was a free city, conveniently situate on the Rhine, and guarded by the arms of the neighbouring and confederate Swiss. In 1459, the university was founded by pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius), who had been secretary to the council. But what is a council, or an university, to the presses of Froben and the studies of Erasmus?

⁴⁰ This Turkish embassy, attested only by Crantzius, is related with some doubt by the annalist Spondanus, A. D. 1433, N° 25. tom. i. p. 824.

⁴¹ Syropulus, p. 19. In this list, the Greeks appear to have exceeded the real numbers of the clergy and laity which afterwards attended the emperor and patriarch, but which are not clearly specified by the great ecclesiarch. The 75,000 florins which they asked in this negotiation of the pope (p. 9.), were more than they could hope or want.

⁴² I use indifferently the words, *ducat* and *florin*, which derive their names, the former from the *dukes* of Milan, the latter from the republic of *Florence*. These gold pieces, the first that were coined in

Italy, perhaps in the Latin world, may be compared in weight and value to one-third of the English guinea.

⁴³ At the end of the Latin version of Phranzes, we read a long Greek epistle or declamation of George of Trebizond, who advises the emperor to prefer Eugenius and Italy. He treats with contempt the schismatic assembly of Basil, the Barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had conspired to transport the chair of St. Peter beyond the Alps: *οι αθλιοι* (says he) *σε και την μετα σε συνοδον εξω των Ηρακλειων σιλων και περα Γαδηρων εξαξισι.* Was Constantinople unprovided with a map?

⁴⁴ Syropulus (p. 26—31.) attests his own indignation, and that of his countrymen: and the Basil deputies, who excused the rash declaration, could neither deny nor alter an act of the council.

⁴⁵ Condolmieri, the pope's nephew and admiral, expressly declared, *οτι ορισμον εχει παρα τς Παπα ινα πολεμηση οπς αν ευρη τα κατεργα της Συνοδς, και ει δυνηθη καταδυση και αΦανιση.* The naval orders of the synod were less peremptory, and, till the hostile squadrons appeared, both parties tried to conceal their quarrel from the Greeks.

⁴⁶ Syropulus mentions the hopes of Palæologus (p. 36.), and the last advice of Sigismond (p. 57.). At Corfu, the Greek emperor was informed of his friend's death; had he known it sooner, he would have returned home (p. 79.).

⁴⁷ Phranzes himself, though from different motives, was of the advice of Amurath (l. ii. c. 13.). *Utinam ne synodus ista unquam fuisset, si tantas offensiones et detrimenta paritura erat.* This Turkish embassy is likewise mentioned by Syropulus (p. 58.); and Amurath kept his word. He might threaten (p. 125. 219.), but he never attacked the city.

⁴⁸ The reader will smile at the simplicity with which he imparted these hopes to his favourites: *τοιαντην πληροφοριαν σχησειν ηλπιζε και δια τς Παπα εβαρρει ελευθερωσαι την εκκλησιαν απο της αποτεθεισης αυτς δελειας παρα τς βασιλεως* (p. 92.). Yet it would have been difficult for him to have practised the lessons of Gregory VII.

⁴⁹ The Christian name of Sylvester is borrowed from the Latin calendar. In modern Greek, *πυλος*, as a diminutive, is added to the end of words: nor can any reasoning of Creighton, the editor, excuse his changing into *Sgyropulus* (*Sgyros*, fuscus) the Syropulus of his own manuscript, whose name is subscribed with his own hand in the acts of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction?

⁵⁰ From the conclusion of the history, I should fix the date to the

year 1444, four years after the synod, when the great ecclesiarch had abdicated his office (sectio xii. p. 330—350.). His passions were cooled by time and retirement, and, although Syropulus is often partial, he is never intemperate.

⁵¹ *Vera historia unionis non veræ inter Græcos et Latinos* (*Hagæ Comitibus*, 1660, in folio), was first published with a loose and florid version, by Robert Creyghton, chaplain to Charles II. in his exile. The zeal of the editor has prefixed a polemic title, for the beginning of the original is wanting. Syropulus may be ranked with the best of the Byzantine writers for the merit of his narration, and even of his style: but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the councils.

⁵² Syropulus (p. 63.) simply expresses his intention: ἵν' ἔγωγε πομπῶν ἐν Ἰταλοῖς μέγας βασιλεὺς ποιεῖν νομιζοίτο; and the Latin of Creyghton may afford a specimen of his florid paraphrase. *Ut pompâ circumductus noster Imperator Italiæ populis aliquis deauratus Jupiter crederetur, aut Cræsus ex opulentâ Lydiâ.*

⁵³ Although I cannot stop to quote Syropulus for every fact, I will observe, that the navigation of the Greeks from Constantinople to Venice and Ferrara is contained in the ivth section (p. 67—100.), and that the historian has the uncommon talent of placing each scene before the reader's eye.

⁵⁴ At the time of the synod, Phranzes was in Peloponnesus; but he received from the despot Demetrius, a faithful account of the honourable reception of the emperor and patriarch both at Venice and Ferrara (*Dux sedentem Imperatorem adorat*), which are more slightly mentioned by the Latins (l. ii. c. 14, 15, 16.).

⁵⁵ The astonishment of a Greek prince and a French ambassador (*Mémoires de Philippe de Comines*, l. vii. c. 18.) at the sight of Venice, abundantly prove, that in the xvth century it was the first and most splendid of the Christian cities. For the spoils of Constantinople at Venice, see Syropulus (p. 87.).

⁵⁶ Nicholas III. of Este, reigned forty-eight years (A. D. 1393—1441.), and was lord of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Rovigo, and Commachio. See his life in Muratori (*Antichità Estensi*, tom. ii. p. 159—201.).

⁵⁷ The Latin vulgar was provoked to laughter at the strange dresses of the Greeks, and especially the length of their garments, their sleeves, and their beards; nor was the emperor distinguished, except by the purple colour, and his diadem or tiara with a jewel on the top (*Hody de Græcis Illustribus*, p. 31.). Yet another spectator confessed, that the Greek fashion was più grave e più degna than the Italian (*Vespasiano*, in *Vit. Eugen. IV.* in Muratori, tom. xxv. p. 261.).

⁵⁸ For the emperor's hunting, see Syropulus (p. 143, 144. 191.). The pope had sent him eleven miserable hacks: but he bought a strong and swift horse that came from Russia. The name of *Janizaries* may surprise: but the name, rather than the institution, had passed from the Ottoman, to the Byzantine, court; and is often used in the last age of the empire.

⁵⁹ The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that instead of provisions, money should be distributed, four florins *per* month to the persons of honourable rank, and three florins to their servants, with an addition of thirty more to the emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince or despot Demetrius. The payment of the first month amounted to 691 florins, a sum which will not allow us to reckon above 200 Greeks of every condition (Syropulus, p. 104, 105.). On the 20th October 1438, there was an arrear of four months; in April 1439, of three; and of five and a half in July, at the time of the union (p. 172. 225. 271.).

⁶⁰ Syropulus (p. 141, 142. 204. 221.) deplores the imprisonment of the Greeks, and the tyranny of the emperor and patriarch.

⁶¹ The wars of Italy are most clearly represented in the xiiiith volume of the Annals of Muratori. The schismatic Greek, Syropulus (p. 145.), appears to have exaggerated the fear and disorder of the pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, which is proved by the acts to have been somewhat more decent and deliberate.

⁶² Syropulus is pleased to reckon seven hundred prelates in the council of Basil. The error is manifest, and perhaps voluntary. That extravagant number could not be supplied by *all* the ecclesiastics of every degree who were present at the council, nor by *all* the absent bishops of the West, who, expressly or tacitly, might adhere to its decrees.

⁶³ The Greeks, who disliked the union, were unwilling to sally from this strong fortrefs (p. 178. 193. 195. 202. of Syropulus). The shame of the Latins was aggravated by their producing an old MS. of the second council of Nice, with *filioque* in the Nicene creed: a palpable forgery! (p. 173.).

⁶⁴ Ὡς ἐγώ (said an eminent Greek) ὅταν εἰς ναὸν εἰσελθῶ Λατίνων, & προσκυνῶ τινὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἁγίων, ἐπεὶ ἔδε γινώσκω τινὰ (Syropulus, p. 109.). See the perplexity of the Greeks (p. 217, 218. 252, 253. 273.).

⁶⁵ See the polite altercation of Mark and Bessarion in Syropulus (p. 257.), who never dissembles the vices of his own party, and fairly praises the virtues of the Latins.

⁶⁶ For the poverty of the Greek bishops, see a remarkable passage of Ducas (c. 31.). One had possessed, for his whole property, three

old gowns, etc. By teaching one-and-twenty years in his monastery, Bessarion himself had collected forty gold florins; but of these, the archbishop had expended twenty-eight in his voyage from Peloponnesus, and the remainder at Constantinople (Syropulus, p. 127.).

⁶⁷ Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money before they had subscribed the act of union (p. 283.): yet he relates some suspicious circumstances; and their bribery and corruption are positively affirmed by the historian Ducas.

⁶⁸ The Greeks most piteously express their own fears of exile and perpetual slavery (Syropul. p. 196.): and they were strongly moved by the emperor's threats (p. 260.).

⁶⁹ I had forgot another popular and orthodox protester; a favourite hound, who usually lay quiet on the foot-cloth of the emperor's throne; but who barked most furiously while the act of union was reading, without being silenced by the soothing or the lashes of the royal attendants (Syropul. p. 265, 266.).

⁷⁰ From the original Lives of the Popes, in Muratori's Collection (tom. iii. P. ii. tom. xxv.), the manners of Eugenius IV. appear to have been decent, and even exemplary. His situation, exposed to the world and to his enemies, was a restraint, and is a pledge.

⁷¹ Syropulus, rather than subscribe, would have assisted, as the least evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great ecclesiarch poorly excuses his submission to the emperor (p. 290—292.).

⁷² None of these original acts of union can at present be produced. Of the ten MSS. that are preserved (five at Rome, and the remainder at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London), nine have been examined by an accurate critic (M. de Brequigny), who condemns them for the variety and imperfections of the Greek signatures. Yet several of these may be esteemed as authentic copies, which were subscribed at Florence before (26th of August 1439) the final separation of the pope and emperor (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xliii. p. 287—311.).

⁷³ Ἡμιν δὲ ὡς ἀσκημοὶ ἐδόκειν θῶναι (Syropul. p. 297.).

⁷⁴ In their return, the Greeks conversed at Bologna with the ambassadors of England; and after some questions and answers, these impartial strangers laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Syropul. p. 307.).

⁷⁵ So nugatory, or rather so fabulous, are these reunions of the Nestorians, Jacobites, etc. that I have turned over, without success, the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemanus, a faithful slave of the Vatican.

⁷⁶ Ripaille is situate near Thonon in Savoy, on the southern side of the lake of Geneva. It is now a Carthusian abbey; and Mr. Addison

(Travels into Italy, vol. ii. p. 147, 148. of Baskerville's edition of his works) has celebrated the place and the founder. Æneas Sylvius, and the fathers of Basil, applaud the austere life of the ducal hermit; but the French and Italian proverbs most unluckily attest the popular opinion of his luxury.

⁷⁷ In this account of the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence, I have consulted the original acts, which fill the xviith and xviiiith tomes of the edition of Venice, and are closed by the perspicuous, though partial, history of Augustin Patricius, an Italian of the xvth century. They are digested and abridged by Dupin (Bibliothèque Eccles. tom. xii.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii.); and the respect of the Gallican church for the adverse parties confines their members to an awkward moderation.

⁷⁸ In the first attempt, Meursius collected 3600 Græco-barbarous words, to which, in a second edition, he subjoined 1800 more; yet what plenteous gleanings did he leave to Portius, Ducange, Fabrotti, the Bollandists, etc. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 101, etc.) Some Persic words may be found in Xenophon, and some Latin ones in Plutarch; and such is the inevitable effect of war and commerce: but the form and substance of the language were not affected by this slight alloy.

⁷⁹ The life of Francis Philelphus, a sophist, proud, restless, and rapacious, has been diligently composed by Lancelot (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 691—751.) and Tiraboschi (Istoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. p. 282—294.), for the most part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and those of his contemporaries, are forgotten: but their familiar epistles still describe the men and the times.

⁸⁰ He married, and had perhaps debauched, the daughter of John, and the grand-daughter of Manuel Chrysoloras. She was young, beautiful, and wealthy; and her noble family was allied to the Dorias of Genoa and the emperors of Constantinople.

⁸¹ Græci quibus lingua depravata non sit ita loquuntur vulgo hâc etiam tempestate ut Aristophanes comicus, aut Euripides tragicus, ut oratores omnes ut historiographi ut philosophi litterati autem homines et doctius et emendatius. . . . Nam viri aulici veterem sermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam retinebant inprimisque ipsæ nobiles mulieres; quibus cum nullum esset omnino cum viris peregrinis commercium, merus ille ac purus Græcorum sermo servabatur intactus (Philolph. Epist. ad ann. 1451, apud Hodium, p. 188, 189.). He observes in another passage, uxor illa mea Theodora locutione erat admodum moderatâ et suavi et maxime Atticâ.

⁸² Philelphus, absurdly enough, derives this Greek or Oriental jealousy from the manners of ancient Rome.

⁸³ See the state of learning in the xiiith and xivth centuries, in the learned and judicious Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* p. 434—440. 490—494.).

⁸⁴ At the end of the xvth century, there existed in Europe about fifty universities, and of these the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were crowded in proportion to their scarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 students, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1357 the number at Oxford had decreased from 30,000 to 6000 scholars (*Henry's History of Great Britain*, vol. iv. p. 478.). Yet even this decrease is much superior to the present list of the members of the university.

⁸⁵ Of those writers who professedly treat of the restoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Hodus, Dr. Humphrey Hody (*de Græcis Illustribus, Linguae Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum Instauratoribus*; Londini, 1742, in large octavo), and Tiraboschi (*Istoria della Letteratura Italiana*, tom. v. p. 364—377. tom. vii. p. 112—143.). The Oxford professor is a laborious scholar, but the librarian of Modena enjoys the superiority of a modern and national historian.

⁸⁶ In Calabria quæ olim magna Græcia dicebatur, coloniis Græcis repletâ, remansit quædam linguæ veteris cognitio (Hodus, p. 2.). If it were eradicated by the Romans, it was revived and perpetuated by the monks of St. Basil, who possessed seven convents at Rossano alone (*Giannone, Istoria di Napoli*, tom. i. p. 520.).

⁸⁷ *Ii Barbari* (says Petrarch, the French and Germans) *vix, non dicam libros sed nomen Homeri audiverunt*. Perhaps, in that respect, the xiiith century was less happy than the age of Charlemagne.

⁸⁸ See the character of Barlaam, in Boccace de *Genealog. Deorum*, l. xv. c. 6.

⁸⁹ Cantacuzen l. ii. c. 36.

⁹⁰ For the connection of Petrarch and Barlaam, and the two interviews at Avignon in 1339, and at Naples in 1342, see the excellent *Mémoires sur la Vie de Petrarque*, tom. i. p. 406—410. tom. ii. p. 75—77.

⁹¹ The bishopric to which Barlaam retired, was the old Locri, in the middle ages Seta Cyriaca, and by corruption Hieracium, Gerace (*Dissert. Chorographica Italiæ mediæ Ævi*, p. 312.). The dives opum of the Norman times soon lapsed into poverty, since even the church was poor: yet the town still contains 3000 inhabitants (*Swinburne*, p. 340.).

⁹² I will transcribe a passage from this epistle of Petrarch (Famil. ix. 2.): *Donasti Homerum non in alienum sermonem violento alveo derivatum, sed ex ipsis Græci eloquii scatebris, et qualis divino illi profluxit ingenio Sine tuâ voce Homerus tuus apud me mutus, immo vero ego apud illum surdus sum. Gaudeo tamen vel adspectu solo, ac sæpe illum amplexus atque suspirans dico, O magne vir, etc.*

⁹³ For the life and writings of Boccace, who was born in 1313, and died in 1375, Fabricius (Biblot. Latin. mediæ ævi, tom. i. p. 248, etc.) and Tiraboschi, (tom. v. p. 83. 439—451.) may be consulted. The editions, versions, imitations of his novels, are innumerable. Yet he was ashamed to communicate that trifling, and perhaps scandalous, work to Petrarch his respectable friend, in whose letters and memoirs he conspicuously appears.

⁹⁴ Boccace indulges an honest vanity: *Ostentationis causâ Græca carmina adscripti jure utor meo: meum est hoc decus, mea gloria, scilicet inter Etruscos Græcis uti carminibus. Nonne ego fui qui Leontium Pilatum, etc.* (de Genealogiâ Deorum, l. xv. c. 7. a work which, though now forgotten, has run through thirteen or fourteen editions.)

⁹⁵ Leontius, or Leo Pilatus, is sufficiently made known by Hody (p. 2—11.), and the Abbé de Sade (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 625—634. 670—673.), who has very happily caught the lively and dramatic manner of his original.

⁹⁶ Dr. Hody (p. 54.) is angry with Leonard Aretin, Guarinus, Paulus Jovius, etc. for affirming, that the Greek letters were restored in Italy *post septingentos annos*; as if, says he, they had flourished till the end of the viith century. These writers most probably reckoned from the last period of the exarchate; and the presence of the Greek magistrates and troops at Ravenna and Rome, must have preserved, in some degree, the use of their native tongue.

⁹⁷ See the article of Emanuel, or Manuel Chrysoloras, in Hody (p. 12—54.) and Tiraboschi (tom. vii. p. 113—118.). The precise date of his arrival floats between the years 1390 and 1400, and is only confined by the reign of Boniface IX.

⁹⁸ The name of *Aretinus* has been assumed by five or six natives of *Arezzo* in Tuscany, of whom the most famous and the most worthless lived in the xvth century. Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, the disciple of Chrysoloras, was a linguist, an orator, and an historian, the secretary of four successive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, where he died A. D. 1444, at the age of seventy-five (Fabric. Biblot. mediæ ævi, tom. i. p. 190, etc. Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 33—38.).

⁹⁹ See the passage in Aretin. *Commentario Rerum suo Tempore in Italia gestarum*, apud Hodium, p. 28—30.

¹⁰⁰ In this domestic discipline, Petrarch, who loved the youth, often complains of the eager curiosity, restless temper, and proud feelings, which announce the genius and glory of a riper age (*Mémoires sur Petrarque*, tom. iii. p. 700—709.).

¹⁰¹ Hinc Græcæ Latinæque scholæ exortæ sunt, Guarino, Philelpho, Leonardo Aretino, Caroloque, ac plerisque aliis tanquam ex equo Trojano prodeuntibus, quorum æmulatione multa ingenia deinceps ad laudem excitata sunt (*Platina in Bonifacio IX.*). Another Italian writer adds the names of Paulus Petrus Vergerius, Omnibonus Vincentius, Poggius, Franciscus Barbarus, etc. But I question whether a rigid chronology would allow Chrysoloras *all* these eminent scholars (*Hodius*, p. 25—27, etc.)

¹⁰² See in Hody the article of Bessarion (p. 136—177.): Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and the rest of the Greeks whom I have named or omitted, are inserted in their proper chapters of his learned work. See likewise Tiraboschi, in the 1st and 2d parts of the *with tome*.

¹⁰³ The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclavist refused to interrupt the studies of Bessarion; “Nicholas,” said he, “thy respect has cost thee an hat, and me the tiara.”

¹⁰⁴ Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropulus Andronicus of Thessalonica, Philelphus, Poggius, Blondus, Nicholas, Perrot, Valla, Campanus, Platina, etc. Viri (says Hody, with the pious zeal of a scholar) nullo ævo perituri (p. 156.).

¹⁰⁵ He was born before the taking of Constantinople, but his honourable life was stretched far into the xvth century (A. D. 1535.). Leo X. and Francis I. were his noblest patrons, under whose auspices he founded the Greek colleges of Rome and Paris (*Hody*, p. 247—275.). He left posterity in France; but the counts de Vintimille, and their numerous branches, derive the name of Lascaris, from a doubtful marriage in the xiiith century with the daughter of a Greek emperor (*Ducange, Fam. Byzant.* p. 224—230.).

¹⁰⁶ Two of his epigrams against Virgil, and three against Tully, are preserved and refused by Franciscus Floridus, who can find no better names than Græculus ineptus et impudens (*Hody*, p. 274.). In our own times, an English critic has accused the *Æneid* of containing, multa languida, nugatoria, spiritû et majestate carminis heroici defecta; many such verses as he, the said Jeremiah Markland, would have been ashamed of owning (*præfat. ad Statii Sylvas*, p. 21, 22.).

¹⁰⁷ Emanuel Chrysoloras, and his colleagues, are accused of ignorance, envy, or avarice (Sylloge, etc. tom. ii. p. 235.). The modern Greek pronounce the β as a V consonant, and confound three vowels (η ι υ), and several diphthongs. Such was the vulgar pronunciation which the stern Gardiner maintained by penal statutes in the university of Cambridge: but the monosyllable $\beta\eta$ represented to an Attic ear the bleating of sheep; and a bell-wether is better evidence than a bishop or a chancellor. The treatises of those scholars, particularly Erasmus, who asserted a more classical pronunciation, are collected in the Sylloge of Havercamp (2 vols. in octavo, Lugd. Bat. 1736, 1740): but it is difficult to paint sounds by words; and in their reference to modern use, they can be understood only by their respective countrymen. We may observe, that our peculiar pronunciation of the θ , *th*, is approved by Erasmus (tom. ii. p. 130.).

¹⁰⁸ George Gemistus Pletho, a various and voluminous writer, the master of Bessarion, and all the Platonists of the times. He visited Italy in his old age, and soon returned to end his days in Peloponnesus. See the curious Diatribe of Leo Allatius de Georgiis, in Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 739—756.).

¹⁰⁹ The state of the Platonic philosophy in Italy, is illustrated by Boivin (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. ii. p. 715—729.). and Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. i. p. 259—288.).

¹¹⁰ See the life of Nicholas V. by two contemporary authors, Janottus Manettus (tom. iii. p. ii. p. 905—962.) and Vespasian of Florence (tom. xxv. p. 267—290.), in the collection of Muratori; and consult Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. i. 46—52. 109.) and Hody in the articles of Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, etc.

¹¹¹ Lord Bolingbroke observes, with truth and spirit, that the popes in this instance were worse politicians than the muftis, and that the charm which has bound mankind for so many ages, was broken by the magicians themselves (Letters on the Study of History, l. vi. p. 128. octavo edition, 1788.).

¹¹² See the literary history of Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis, in Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. i. l. i. c. 2.), who bestows a due measure of praise on Alphonso of Arragon, king of Naples, the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, Urbino, etc. The republic of Venice has deserved the least from the gratitude of scholars.

¹¹³ Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. i. p. 104.), from the preface of Janus Lascaris to the Greek Anthology, printed at Florence 1494. Latebant (says Aldus in his preface to the Greek Orators, apud Hodium, p. 249.) in Atho Thraciæ monte. Eas Lascaris . . . in Italiam

reportavit. Miserat enim ipsum Laurentius ille Medices in Græciam ad inquirendos simul, et quantovis emendos pretio bonos libros. It is remarkable enough, that the research was facilitated by sultan Bajazet II.

¹¹⁴ The Greek language was introduced into the university of Oxford in the last years of the xvth century, by Grocyn, Linacer, and Latimer, who had all studied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcocondyles. See Dr. Knight's curious Life of Erasmus. Although a stout academical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge, that Erasmus learned Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge.

¹¹⁵ The jealous Italians were desirous of keeping a monopoly of Greek learning. When Aldus was about to publish the Greek scholiasts on Sophocles and Euripides, Cave (said they), cave hoc facias, ne *Barbari* istis adjuti domi maneant, et pauciores in Italiam ventitent (Dr. Knight, in his Life of Erasmus, p. 365. from Beatus Rhenanus.).

¹¹⁶ The press of Aldus Manutius, a Roman, was established at Venice about the year 1494: he printed above sixty considerable works of Greek literature, almost all for the first time; several containing different treatises and authors, and of several authors two, three, or four editions (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 605, etc.). Yet his glory must not tempt us to forget, that the first Greek book, the Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, was printed at Milan in 1476; and that the Florence Homer of 1488 displays all the luxury of the typographical art. See the Annales Typographici of Maittaire, and the Bibliographie Instructive of de Bure, a knowing bookseller of Paris.

¹¹⁷ I will select three singular examples of this classic enthusiasm. 1. At the synod of Florence, Gemistus Pletho said, in familiar conversation to George of Trebizond, that in a short time mankind would unanimously renounce the Gospel and the Koran for a religion similar to that of the Gentiles (Leo Allatius, apud Fabricium, tom. x. p. 751.). 2. Paul II. persecuted the Roman academy, which had been founded by Pomponius Lætus; and the principal members were accused of heresy, impiety, and *Paganism* (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. p. i. p. 81, 82.). 3. In the next century, some scholars and poets in France celebrated the success of Jodelle's tragedy of Cleopatra, by a festival of Bacchus, and as it is said, by the sacrifice of a goat (Bayle, Dictionnaire, JODELLE. Fontenelle, tom. iii. p. 56—61.). Yet the spirit of bigotry might often discern a serious impiety in the sportive play of fancy and learning.

¹¹⁸ The survivor Boccace died in the year 1375; and we cannot place before 1480, the composition of the Morgante Maggiore of Pulci,

and the Orlando Innamorato of Boyardo (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. p. iii. p. 174—177.).

CHAP. LXVII.

¹ The epistle of Manuel Chrysoloras to the emperor John Palæologus, will not offend the eye or ear of a classical student (ad calcem Codini de Antiquitatibus C. P. p. 107—126.). The superscription suggests a chronological remark, that John Palæologus II. was associated in the empire before the year 1414, the date of Chrysoloras's death. A still earlier date, at least 1408, is deduced from the age of his youngest sons, Demetrius and Thomas, who were both *Porphyrogeniti* (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 244. 247.).

² Somebody observed, that the city of Athens might be circumnavigated (τις ειπε την πολιν των Αθηναίων δυνασθαι και παραπλειν και περιπλειν). But what may be true in a rhetorical sense of Constantinople, cannot be applied to the situation of Athens, five miles from the sea, and not intersected or surrounded by any navigable streams.

³ Nicephorus Gregoras has described the colossus of Justinian (l. vii. 12.): but his measures are false and inconsistent. The editor Boivin consulted his friend Girardon; and the sculptor gave him the true proportions of an equestrian statue. That of Justinian was still visible to Peter Gyllius, not on the column, but in the outward court of the seraglio; and he was at Constantinople when it was melted down, and cast into a brass cannon (de Topograph. C. P. l. ii. c. 17.).

⁴ See the decay and repairs of St. Sophia, in Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 12. l. xv. 2.). The building was propped by Andronicus in 1317, the eastern hemisphere fell in 1345. The Greeks, in their pompous rhetoric, exalt the beauty and holiness of the church, an earthly heaven, the abode of angels, and of God himself, etc.

⁵ The genuine and original narrative of Syropulus (p. 312—351.) opens the schism from the first office of the Greeks at Venice, to the general opposition at Constantinople of the clergy and people.

⁶ On the schism of Constantinople, see Phranza (l. ii. c. 17.), Laonicus Chalcocondyles (l. vi. p. 155, 156.), and Ducas (c. 31.); the last of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may distinguish the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 338, etc. 401. 420, etc.), and Spondanus (A. D. 1440. N° 30.). The sense of the latter is drowned in prejudice and passion, as soon as Rome and religion are concerned.

⁷ Isidore was metropolitan of Kiow, but the Greeks subject to Poland have removed that see from the ruins of Kiow to Lemberg,

or Leopold (Herbestein, in Ramusio, tom. ii. p. 127.). On the other hand, the Russians transferred their spiritual obedience to the archbishop, who became, in 1588, the patriarch, of Moscow (Levesque, Hist. de Russie, tom. iii. p. 188. 190. from a Greek MS. at Turin, Iter et labores Archiepiscopi Arsenii).

⁸ The curious narrative of Levesque (Hist. de Russie, tom. ii. p. 242—247.) is extracted from the patriarchal archives. The scenes of Ferrara and Florence are described by ignorance and passion; but the Russians are credible in the account of their own prejudices.

⁹ The Shamanism, the ancient religion of the Samanæans and Gymnosophists, has been driven by the more popular Bramins from India into the northern deserts; the naked philosophers were compelled to wrap themselves in fur; but they insensibly sunk into wizards and physicians. The Mordvans and Tcheremisses in the European Russia adhere to this religion, which is formed on the earthly model of one king or God, his ministers or angels, and the rebellious spirits who oppose his government. As these tribes of the Volga have no images, they might more justly retort on the Latin missionaries the name of idolaters (Levesque, Hist. des Peuples soumis à la Domination des Russes, tom. i. p. 194—237. 423—460.).

¹⁰ Spondanus, Annal. Eccles. tom. ii. A. D. 1451, N° 13. The epistle of the Greeks, with a Latin version, is extant in the college-library at Prague.

¹¹ See Cantemir, History of the Othman Empire, p. 94. Murad, or Morad, may be more correct: but I have preferred the popular name, to that obscure diligence which is rarely successful in translating an Oriental, into the Roman, alphabet.

¹² See Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 186. 198.), Ducas (c. 33.), and Marinus Barletius (in Vit. Scanderbeg, p. 145, 146.). In his good faith towards the garrison of Sfetigrade, he was a lesson and example to his son Mahomet.

¹³ Voltaire (Essai sur l'Histoire Générale, c. 89. p. 283, 284.) admires *le Philosophe Turc*; would he have bestowed the same praise on a Christian prince for retiring to a monastery? In his way, Voltaire was a bigot, an intolerant bigot.

¹⁴ See the articles *Dervische*, *Fakir*, *Nasser*, *Rohbaniat*, in d'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale. Yet the subject is superficially treated from the Persian and Arabian writers. It is among the Turks that these orders have principally flourished.

¹⁵ Rycaut (in the present State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 242—268.) affords much information, which he drew from his personal conversation with the heads of the dervishes, most of whom ascribed

their origin to the time of Orchan. He does not mention the *Zichida* of Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 286.), among whom Amurath retired: the *Seids* of that author are the descendants of Mahomet.

¹⁶ In the year 1431, Germany raised 40,000 horse, men at arms, against the Hussites of Bohemia (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Basse, tom. i. p. 318.). At the siege of Nuys on the Rhine in 1474, the princes, prelates, and cities, sent their respective quotas: and the bishop of Munster (qui n'est pas des plus grands) furnished 1400 horse, 6000 foot, all in green, with 1200 waggons. The united armies of the king of England and the duke of Burgundy scarcely equalled one-third of this German host (Mémoires de Philippe de Comines, l. iv. c. 2.). At present, six or seven hundred thousand men are maintained in constant pay and admirable discipline, by the powers of Germany.

¹⁷ It was not till the year 1444, that France and England could agree on a truce of some months (See Rymer's *Fœdera*, and the chronicles of both nations.)

¹⁸ In the Hungarian crusade, Spondanus (Annales Eccles. A. D. 1443, 1444.) has been my leading guide. He has diligently read, and critically compared, the Greek and Turkish materials, the historians of Hungary, Poland, and the West. His narrative is perspicuous; and where he can be free from a religious bias, the judgment of Spondanus is not contemptible.

¹⁹ I have curtailed the harsh letter (Wladislaus) which most writers affix to his name, either in compliance with the Polish pronunciation, or to distinguish him from his rival the infant Ladislaus of Austria. Their competition for the crown of Hungary is described by Callimachus (l. i, ii. p. 447—486.), Bonfinius (Decad. iii. l. iv.), Spondanus, and Lenfant.

²⁰ The Greek historians, Phranza, Chalcocondyles, and Ducas, do not ascribe to their prince a very active part in this crusade, which he seems to have promoted by his wishes, and injured by his fears.

²¹ Cantemir (p. 88.) ascribes to his policy the original plan, and transcribes his animating epistle to the king of Hungary. But the Mahometan powers are seldom informed of the state of Christendom; and the situation and correspondence of the knights of Rhodes must connect them with the sultan of Caramania.

²² In their letters to the emperor Frederic III. the Hungarians slay 30,000 Turks in one battle; but the modest Julian reduces the slaughterer to 6000, or even 2000 infidels (Æneas Sylvius in Europ. c. 5. and epist. 44. 81. apud Spondanum).

²³ See the origin of the Turkish war, and the first expedition of Ladislaus, in the vth and vith books of the iiid Decad of Bonfinius, who, in his division and style, copies Livy with tolerable success. Callimachus (l. ii. p. 487—496.) is still more pure and authentic.

²⁴ I do not pretend to warrant the literal accuracy of Julian's speech, which is variously worded by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 505—507.), Bonfinius (Dec. iii. l. vi. p. 457, 458.), and other historians, who might indulge their own eloquence, while they represent one of the orators of the age. But they all agree in the advice and arguments for perjury, which in the field of controversy are fiercely attacked by the Protestants, and feebly defended by the Catholics. The latter are discouraged by the misfortune of Warna.

²⁵ Warna, under the Grecian name of Odeffus, was a colony of the Milesians, which they denominated from the hero Ulysses (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 374. d'Anville, tom. i. p. 312.). According to Arrian's Periplus of the Euxine (c. p. 24, 25. in the 1st volume of Hudson's Geographers), it was situate 1740 stadia, or furlongs, from the mouth of the Danube, 2140 from Byzantium, and 360 to the north of a ridge or promontory of mount Hæmus, which advances into the sea.

²⁶ Some Christian writers affirm, that he drew from his bosom the host or wafer on which the treaty had *not* been sworn. The Moslems suppose, with more simplicity, an appeal to God and his prophet Jesus, which is likewise insinuated by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 516. Spondan. A. D. 1444. N° 8.).

²⁷ A critic will always distrust these *spolia opima* of a victorious general, so difficult for valour to obtain, so easy for flattery to invent (Cantemir, p. 90, 91.). Callimachus (l. iii. p. 517.) more simply and probably affirms, *supervenientibus Janizaris, telorum multitudine, non tam confossus est, quam obrutus.*

²⁸ Besides some valuable hints from Æneas Sylvius, which are diligently collected by Spondanus, our best authorities are three historians of the xvth century, Philippus Callimachus (de Rebus a Vladislao Polonorum atque Hungarorum Rege gestis, libri iii. in Bell. Script. Rerum Hungaricarum, tom. i. p. 433—518.), Bonfinius (decad. iii. l. v. p. 460—467), and Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 165—179.). The two first were Italians, but they passed their lives in Poland and Hungary (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis, tom. i. p. 324. Vossius de Hist. Latin. l. iii. c. 8. 11. Bayle, Dictionnaire, BONFINIUS). A small tract of Fælix Petancius, chancellor of Segnia (ad calcem Cuspinian. de Cæsaribus, p. 716—722.), represents the theatre of the war in the xvth century.

²⁹ M. Lenfant has described the origin (Hist. du Concile de Basle,

tom. i. p. 247, etc.), and Bohemian campaign (p. 315, etc.), of cardinal Julian. His services at Basil and Ferrara, and his unfortunate end, are occasionally related by Spondanus, and the continuator of Fleury.

³⁰ Syropulus honourably praises the talents of an enemy (p. 117.):
 τοιαυτὰ τινι εἶπεν ὁ Ἰηλίκος, πεπλατυσμένως ἀγαν καὶ λογικῶς,
 καὶ μετ' ἐπισήμης καὶ δεινότητος Ῥητορικῆς.

³¹ See Bonfinius, decad. iii. l. iv. p. 423. Could the Italian historian pronounce, or the king of Hungary hear, without a blush, the absurd flattery, which confounded the name of a Walachian village with the casual, though glorious, epithet of a single branch of the Valerian family at Rome?

³² Philip de Comines (*Mémoires*, l. vi. c. 13.), from the tradition of the times, mentions him with high encomiums, but under the whimsical name of the Chevalier Blanc de Valaigne (Valachia). The Greek Chalcocondyles, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius, presume to accuse his fidelity or valour.

³³ See Bonfinius (decad. iii. l. viii. p. 492.) and Spondanus (A. D. 1456, N° 1—7.). Huniades shared the glory of the defence of Belgrade with Capistran, a Franciscan friar; and in their respective narratives, neither the saint nor the hero condescend to take notice of his rival's merit.

³⁴ See Bonfinius, decad. iii. l. viii. — decad. iv. l. viii. The observations of Spondanus on the life and character of Matthias Corvinus, are curious and critical (A. D. 1464, N° 1. 1475, N° 6. 1476, N° 14—16. 1490, N° 4, 5.). Italian fame was the object of his vanity. His actions are celebrated in the *Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum* (p. 322—412.) of Peter Ranzanus, a Sicilian. His wife and facetious sayings are registered by Galestus Martius of Narni (528—568.); and we have a particular narrative of his wedding and coronation. These three tracts are all contained in the 1st vol. of Bell's *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*.

³⁵ They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleasing Essay on Heroic Virtue (works, vol. iii. p. 385), among the seven chiefs who have deserved, without wearing, a royal crown; Belisarius, Narfes, Gonsalvo of Cordova, William, first prince of Orange, Alexander duke of Parma, John Huniades, and George Castriot, or Scanderbeg.

³⁶ I could wish for some simple, authentic memoirs of a friend of Scanderbeg, which would introduce me to the man, the time, and the place. In the old and national history of Marinus Barletius, a priest of Scodra (*de Vitâ, Moribus, et Rebus gestis Georgii Castrioti*,

etc. libri xiii. pp. 367. Argentorat. 1537, in fol.), his gawdy and cumbersome robes are stuck with many false jewels. See likewise Chalcocondyles, l. vii. p. 185. l. viii. p. 229.

³⁷ His circumcision, education, etc. are marked by Marinus with brevity and reluctance (l. i. p. 6, 7.).

³⁸ Since Scanderbeg died A. D. 1466, in the lxiid year of his age, (Marinus, l. xiii. p. 370.), he was born in 1403; since he was torn from his parents by the Turks, when he was *novennis* (Marinus, l. i. p. i. 6.), that event must have happened in 1412, nine years before the accession of Amurath II. who must have inherited, not acquired, the Albanian slave. Spondanus has remarked this inconsistency, A. D. 1431, N° 31. 1443. N° 14.

³⁹ His revenue and forces are luckily given by Marinus (l. ii. p. 44.).

⁴⁰ There were two Dibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Croya (l. i. p. 17.), was contiguous to the fortrefs of Sfetigrade, whose inhabitants refused to drink from a well into which a dead dog had traiterously been cast (l. v. p. 139, 140.). We want a good map of Epirus.

⁴¹ Compare the Turkish narrative of Cantemir (p. 92.), with the pompous and prolix declamation in the ivth, vth, and vith books of the Albanian priest, who has been copied by the tribe of strangers and moderns.

⁴² In honour of his hero, Barletius (l. vi. p. 188—192.) kills the sultan, by disease indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious fiction is disproved by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Adrianople.

⁴³ See the marvels of his Calabrian expedition in the ixth and xth books of Marinus Barletius, which may be rectified by the testimony or silence of Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xiii. p. 291.), and his original authors (Joh. Simonetta de Rebus Francisci Sfortiæ, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xxi. p. 728. et alios. The Albanian cavalry, under the name of *Stradiots*, soon became famous in the wars of Italy (Mémoires de Comines, l. viii. c. 5).

⁴⁴ Spondanus, from the best evidence and the most rational criticism, has reduced the giant Scanderbeg to the human size (A. D. 1461, N° 20. 1463, N° 9. 1465, N° 12, 13. 1467, N° 1.). His own letter to the pope, and the testimony of Phranza (l. iii. c. 28.), a refugee in the neighbouring isle of Corfu, demonstrate his last distress, which is awkwardly concealed by Marinus Barletius (l. x.)

⁴⁵ See the family of the Castriots, in Ducange (Fam. Dalmaticæ, etc. xviii. p. 348—350.).

⁴⁶ This colony of Albanese is mentioned by Mr. Swinburne (*Travels into the Two Sicilies*, vol. i. p. 350—354.).

⁴⁷ The chronology of Phranza is clear and authentic: but instead of four years and seven months, Spondanus (A. D. 1445, N° 7.) assigns seven or eight years to the reign of the last Constantine, which he deduces from a spurious epistle of Eugenius IV. to the king of Æthiopia.

⁴⁸ Phranza (l. iii. c. 1—6.) deserves credit and esteem.

⁴⁹ Suppose him to have been captured in 1394, in Timour's first war in Georgia (Sherefeddin, l. iii. c. 50.); he might follow his Tartar master into Hindostan in 1398, and from thence sail to the spice islands.

⁵⁰ The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and enjoyed the most perfect productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The animals were on a large scale; dragons seventy cubits, ants (the *formica Indica*) nine inches long, sheep like elephants, elephants like sheep. Quidlibet audendi, etc.

⁵¹ He sailed in a country vessel from the spice island to one of the ports of the exterior India, invenitque navem grandem *Ibericam*, quâ in *Portugalliam* est delatus. This passage, composed in 1477 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 30.), twenty years before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, is spurious or wonderful. But this new geography is sullied by the old and incompatible error which places the source of the Nile in India.

⁵² Cantemir (p. 83.), who styles her the daughter of Lazarus Ogli, and the Helen of the Servians, places her marriage with Amurath in the year 1424. It will not easily be believed, that in six-and-twenty years cohabitation, the sultan corpus ejus non tetigit. After the taking of Constantinople, she fled to Mahomet II. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 22.).

⁵³ The classical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (*Iliad*. l. v. 144), and the general practice of antiquity.

⁵⁴ Cantacuzene (I am ignorant of his relation to the emperor of that name) was great domestic, a firm asserter of the Greek creed, and a brother of the queen of Servia, whom he visited with the character of ambassador (*Syropulus*, p. 37, 38. 45.).

NOTES

TO THE

TWELFTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LXVIII.

¹ For the character of Mahomet II. it is dangerous to trust either the Turks or the Christians. The most moderate picture appears to be drawn by Phranza (l. i. c. 33.), whose resentment had cooled in age and solitude; see likewise Spondanus (A. D. 1451, N° 11.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 552.), the *Elogia* of Paulus Jovius (l. iii. p. 164—165.), and the Dictionnaire de Bayle (tom. iii. p. 272—279.).

² Cantemir (p. 115.), and the moschs which he founded, attest his public regard for religion. Mahomet freely disputed with the patriarch Gennadius on the two religions (Spond. A. D. 1453, N° 22.).

³ Quinque linguas præter suam noverat; Græcam, Latinam, Chaldaicam, Persicam. The Latin translator of Phranza has dropt the Arabic, which the Koran must recommend to every Musulman.

⁴ Philelphus, by a Latin ode, requested and obtained the liberty of his wife's mother and sisters from the conqueror of Constantinople. It was delivered into the sultan's hands by the envoys of the duke of Milan. Philelphus himself was suspected of a design of retiring to Constantinople; yet the orator often founded the trumpet of holy war (see his Life by M. Lancelot, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 718. 724, etc.).

⁵ Robert Valturio published at Verona, in 1483, his xli books de Re Militari, in which he first mentions the use of bombs. By his patron Sigismond Malatesta, prince of Rimini, it had been addressed with a Latin epistle to Mahomet II.

⁶ According to Phranza, he assiduously studied the lives and actions of Alexander, Augustus, Constantine, and Theodosius. I have read somewhere, that Plutarch's Lives were translated by his orders into the Turkish language. If the sultan himself understood Greek, it must have been for the benefit of his subjects. Yet these lives are a school of freedom as well as of valour.

⁷ The famous Gentile Bellino, whom he had invited from Venice, was dismissed with a chain and collar of gold, and a purse of 3000

ducats. With Voltaire, I laugh at the foolish story of a slave purposely beheaded, to instruct the painter in the action of the muscles.

⁸ These Imperial drunkards were Soliman I. Selim II. and Amurath IV. (Cantemir, p. 61.). The saphis of Persia can produce a more regular succession; and in the last age, our European travellers were the witnesses and companions of their revels.

⁹ Calapin, one of these royal infants, was saved from his cruel brother, and baptised at Rome under the name of Callistus Othomanus. The emperor Frederic III. presented him with an estate in Austria, where he ended his life; and Cuspinian, who in his youth conversed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauds his piety and wisdom (de Cæsaribus, p. 672, 673.).

¹⁰ See the accession of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 33.), Phranza (l. i. c. 33. l. iii. c. 2.), Chalcocondyles, (l. vii. p. 199.), and Cantemir (p. 96.).

¹¹ Before I enter on the siege of Constantinople I shall observe, that except the short hints of Cantemir and Leunclavius, I have not been able to obtain any Turkish account of this conquest: such an account as we possess of the siege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 723—769.). I must therefore depend on the Greeks, whose prejudices, in some degree, are subdued by their distress. Our standard texts are those of Ducas (c. 34—42.), Phranza (l. iii. c. 7—20.), Chalcocondyles (l. viii. p. 201—214.), and Leonardus Chienfis (Historia C. P. a Turco expugnata. Norimbergæ, 1544, in 4to, 20 leaves). The last of these narratives is the earliest in date, since it was composed in the isle of Chios, the 16th of August 1453, only seventy-nine days after the loss of the city, and in the first confusion of ideas and passions. Some hints may be added from an epistle of cardinal Isidore (in Farragine Rerum Turcicarum, ad calcem Chalcocondyl. Clauferi, Basil, 1556) to pope Nicholas V. and a tract of Theodosius Zygomala, which he addressed in the year 1581 to Martin Crusius (Turco-Græcia, l. i. p. 74—98. Basil, 1584). The various facts and materials are briefly, though critically, reviewed by Spondanus (A. D. 1453, N° 1—27.). The hearsay relations of Monstrelet and the distant Latins, I shall take leave to disregard.

¹² The situation of the fortress, and the topography of the Bosphorus, are best learned from Peter Gyllius (de Bosphoro Thracio, l. ii. c. 13.), Leunclavius (Pandect. p. 445.), and Tournefort (Voyage dans le Levant, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 443, 444.); but I must regret the map or plan which Tournefort sent to the French minister of the marine. The reader may turn back to vol. iii. ch. 17. of this History.

¹³ The opprobrious name which the Turks bestow on the Infidels, is expressed *Καβουρ* by Ducas, and *Giaour* by Leunclavius and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (Gloss. Græc. tom. i. p. 530.) from *Καβροῦ* in vulgar Greek, a tortoise, as denoting a retrograde motion from the faith. But, alas! *Gabour* is no more than *Gheber*, which was transferred from the Persian to the Turkish language, from the worshippers of fire to those of the crucifix (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 375.).

¹⁴ Phranza does justice to his master's sense and courage. Calliditatem hominis non ignorans Imperator prior arma movere constituit, and stigmatizes the folly of the cum sacri tum profani procures, which he had heard, amentes spe vanâ pasci. Ducas was not a privy-counsellor.

¹⁵ Instead of this clear and consistent account, the Turkish Annals (Cantemir, p. 97.) revived the foolish tale of the ox's hide, and Dido's stratagem in the foundation of Carthage. These annals (unless we are swayed by an antichristian prejudice) are far less valuable than the Greek historians.

¹⁶ In the dimensions of this fortress, the old castle of Europe, Phranza does not exactly agree with Chalcocondyles, whose description has been verified on the spot by his editor Leunclavius.

¹⁷ Among these were some pages of Mahomet so conscious of his inexorable rigour, that they begged to lose their heads in the city unless they could return before sun-set.

¹⁸ Ducas, c. 35. Phranza (l. iii. c. 3.), who had sailed in his vessel, commemorates the Venetian pilot as a martyr.

¹⁹ Auctum est Palæologorum genus, et Imperii successor, parvæque Romanorum scintillæ hæres natus, Andreas, etc. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 7.) The strong expression was inspired by his feelings.

²⁰ Cantemir, p. 97, 98. The sultan was either doubtful of his conquest, or ignorant of the superior merits of Constantinople. A city or a kingdom may sometimes be ruined by the Imperial fortune of their sovereign.

²¹ *Συντροφός*, by the president Cousin, is translated *pere nourricier*, most correctly indeed from the Latin version; but in his haste, he has overlooked the note by which Ismael Boillaud (ad Ducam, c. 35.) acknowledges and rectifies his own error.

²² The Oriental custom of never appearing without gifts before a sovereign or a superior, is of high antiquity, and seems analogous with the idea of sacrifice, still more ancient and universal. See the examples of such Persian gifts, Ælian, Hist. Var. l. i. c. 31, 32, 33.

²³ The *Lala* of the Turks (Cantemir, p. 34.), and the *Tata* of the Greeks (Ducas, c. 35.), are derived from the natural language of children; and it may be observed, that all such primitive words which denote their parents, are the simple repetition of one syllable, composed of a labial or dental consonant and an open vowel (des Broffes, *Méchanisme des Langues*, tom. i. p. 231—247.).

²⁴ The Attic talent weighed about sixty minæ, or averdupois pounds (see Hooper on Ancient Weights, Measures, etc.): but among the modern Greeks, that classic appellation was extended to a weight of one hundred, or one hundred and twenty-five pounds (Ducange, *ταλαντον*). Leonardus Chienfis measured the ball or stone of the *second* cannon: *Lapidem, qui palmis undecim ex meis ambibat in gyro.*

²⁵ See Voltaire (*Hist. Générale*, c. xci. p. 294, 295.). He was ambitious of universal monarchy; and the poet frequently aspires to the name and style of an astronomer, a chymist, etc.

²⁶ The Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 85—89.), who fortified the Dardanelles against the Russians, describes in a lively, and even comic, strain his own prowess, and the consternation of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not possess the art of gaining our confidence.

²⁷ *Non audivit, indignum ducens*, says the honest Antoninus; but as the Roman court was afterwards grieved and ashamed, we find the more courtly expression of Platina, *in animo fuisse pontifici juvare Græcos*, and the positive assertion of Æneas Sylvius, *structam classem*, etc. (Spond. A. D. 1453, N° 3.)

²⁸ Antonin. in Proëm. — Epist. Cardinal. Isidor, apud Spondanum; and Dr. Johnson, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily seized this characteristic circumstance:

The groaning Greeks dig up the golden caverns,
The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages;
That wealth which, granted to their weeping prince,
Had rang'd embattled nations at their gates.

²⁹ The palatine troops are styled *Capiculi*, the provincials, *Seraculi*: and most of the names and institutions of the Turkish militia existed before the *Canon Nameh* of Soliman II. from which, and his own experience, count Marfigli has composed his military state of the Ottoman empire.

³⁰ The observation of Philelphus is approved by Cuspinian in the year 1508 (de Cæsaribus, in Epilog. de Militiâ Turcicâ, p. 697.). Marligli proves, that the effective armies of the Turks are much less numerous than they appear. In the army that besieged Constantinople, Leonardus Chienfis reckons no more than 15,000 Janizaries.

³¹ Ego, eidem (Imp.) tabellas exhibui non absque dolore et mœstia, mansitque apud nos duos aliis occultus numerus (Phranza, l. iii. c. 8.). With some indulgence for national prejudices, we cannot desire a more authentic witness, not only of public facts, but of private counsels.

³² In Spondanus, the narrative of the union is not only partial, but imperfect. The bishop of Pamiers died in 1642, and the history of Ducas, which represents these scenes (c. 36, 37.) with such truth and spirit, was not printed till the year 1649.

³³ Phranza, one of the conforming Greeks, acknowledges that the measure was adopted only propter spem auxilii; he affirms with pleasure, that those who refused to perform their devotions in St. Sophia, extra culpam et in pace essent (l. iii. c. 20.).

³⁴ His primitive and secular name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Gennadius, either when he became a monk or a patriarch. His defence, at Florence, of the same union which he so furiously attacked at Constantinople, has tempted Leo Allatius (Diatrib. de Georgiis, in Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 760—786.) to divide him into two men; but Renaudot (p. 343—383.) has restored the identity of his person and the duplicity of his character.

³⁵ Φακιολιον, καλυπτρα, may be fairly translated a cardinal's hat. The difference of the Greek and Latin habits embittered the schism.

³⁶ We are obliged to reduce the Greek miles to the smallest measure which is preserved in the wersts of Russia, of 547 French *toises*, and of $104\frac{2}{3}$ to a degree. The six miles of Phranza do not exceed four English miles (d'Anville, Mésures Itinéraires, p. 61. 123, etc.).

³⁷ At indies doctiores nostri facti paravere contra hostes machinamenta, quæ tamen avare dabantur. Pulvis erat nitri modica exigua; tela modica; bombardæ, si aderant incommoditate loci primum hostes offendere maceriebus alveisque tectos non poterant. Nam siquæ magnæ erant, ne murus concuteretur noster, quiescebant. This passage of Leonardus Chienfis is curious and important.

³⁸ According to Chalcocondyles and Phranza, the great cannon burst; an accident which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artist's skill. It is evident that they do not speak of the same gun.

³⁹ Near an hundred years after the siege of Constantinople, the French and English fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 300 shot in an engagement of two hours (Mémoires de Martin du Bellay, l. x. in the Collection Générale, tom. xxi. p. 239.).

⁴⁰ I have selected some curious facts, without striving to emulate the bloody and obstinate eloquence of the abbé de Vertot, in his prolix descriptions of the sieges of Rhodes, Malta, etc. But that

agreeable historian had a turn for romance, and as he wrote to please the order, he has adopted the same spirit of enthusiasm and chivalry.

⁴¹ The first theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1480, in a MS. of George of Sienna (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. P. i. p. 324.). They were first practised at Sarzanella, in 1487; but the honour and improvement in 1503 is ascribed to Peter of Navarre, who used them with success in the wars of Italy (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 93—97.).

⁴² It is singular that the Greeks should not agree in the number of these illustrious vessels; the *five* of Ducas, the *four* of Phranza and Leonardus, and the *two* of Chalcocondyles, must be extended to the smaller, or confined to larger, size. Voltaire, giving one of these ships to Frederic III. confounds the emperors of the East and West.

⁴³ In bold defiance, or rather in gross ignorance, of language and geography, the president Cousin detains them at Chios with a south, and wafts them to Constantinople with a north, wind.

⁴⁴ The perpetual decay and weakness of the Turkish navy, may be observed in Rycaut (State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 372—378.), Thevenot (Voyages, P. i. p. 229—242.), and Tott (Mémoires, tom. iii.); the last of whom is always solicitous to amuse and amaze his reader.

⁴⁵ I must confess, that I have before my eyes the living picture which Thucydides (l. vii. c. 71.) has drawn of the passions and gestures of the Athenians in a naval engagement in the great harbour of Syracuse.

⁴⁶ According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (c. 38.), this golden bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 500 libræ, or pounds. Bouillaud's reading of 500 drachms, or five pounds, is sufficient to exercise the arm of Mahomet, and bruise the back of his admiral.

⁴⁷ Ducas, who confesses himself ill informed of the affairs of Hungary, assigns a motive of superstition, a fatal belief that Constantinople would be the term of the Turkish conquests. See Phranza (l. iii. c. 20.) and Spondanus.

⁴⁸ The unanimous testimony of the four Greeks is confirmed by Cantemir (p. 96.) from the Turkish annals: but I could wish to contract the distance of *ten* miles, and to prolong the term of *one* night.

⁴⁹ Phranza relates two examples of a similar transportation over the six miles of the Isthmus of Corinth; the one fabulous, of Augustus after the battle of Actium; the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general in the xth century. To these he might have added a bold enterprize of Hannibal, to introduce his vessels into the harbour of Tarentum (Polybius, l. viii. p. 749. edit. Gronov.).

⁵⁰ A Greek of Candia, who had served the Venetians in a similar undertaking (Spond. A. D. 1438, N° 37.), might possibly be the adviser and agent of Mahomet.

⁵¹ I particularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canada in the years 1776 and 1777, so great in the labour, so fruitless in the event.

⁵² Chalcocondyles and Ducas differ in the time and circumstances of the negociation; and as it was neither glorious nor salutary, the faithful Phranza spares his prince even the thought of a surrender.

⁵³ These wings (Chalcocondyles, l. viii. p. 208.) are no more than an Oriental figure: but in the tragedy of Irene, Mahomet's passion soars above sense and reason:

Should the fierce North, upon his frozen wings,
Bear him aloft above the wondering clouds,
And seat him in the Pleiad's golden chariot—

Thence should my fury drag him down to tortures.

Besides the extravagance of the rant, I must observe, 1. That the operation of the winds must be confined to the *lower* region of the air. 2. That the name, etymology, and fable of the Pleiads are purely Greek (Scholiast ad Homer Σ. 686. Eudocia in Ionia, p. 339. Apollodor. l. iii. c. 10. Heine, p. 229. Not. 682.), and had no affinity with the astronomy of the East (Hyde ad Ulugbeg, Tabul. in Syntagma Dissert. tom. i. p. 40. 42. Gouget, Origine des Arts, etc. tom. vi. p. 73—78. Gebelin, Hist. du Calendrier, p. 73.), which Mahomet had studied. 3. The golden chariot does not exist either in science or fiction; but I much fear that Dr. Johnson has confounded the Pleiads with the great bear or waggon, the zodiac with a northern constellation:

Ἀρκτον θ' ἦν καὶ ἁμαζῶν ἐπικλησὶν καλεῖται.

⁵⁴ Phranza quarrels with these Moslem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the prophet: the pious zeal of Voltaire is excessive, and even ridiculous.

⁵⁵ I am afraid that this discourse was composed by Phranza himself: and it smells so grossly of the sermon and the convent, that I almost doubt whether it was pronounced by Constantine. Leonardus assigns him another speech, in which he addresses himself more respectfully to the Latin auxiliaries.

⁵⁶ This abasement, which devotion has sometimes extorted from dying princes, is an improvement of the gospel doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries: it is more easy to forgive 490 times, than once to ask pardon of an inferior.

⁵⁷ Besides the 10,000 guards, and the sailors and the marines,

Ducas numbers in this general assault 250,000 Turks both horse and foot.

⁵⁸ In the severe censure of the flight of Justiniani, Phranza expresses his own feelings, and those of the public. For some private reasons, he is treated with more lenity and respect by Ducas; but the words of Leonardus Chienfis express his strong and recent indignation, *gloriæ salutis sui que oblitus*. In the whole series of their Eastern policy, his countrymen, the Genoese, were always suspected, and often guilty.

⁵⁹ Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkish soldiers; Chalcocondyles wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phranza carrying him among the enemy, escapes from the precise image of his death; but we may, without flattery, apply these noble lines of Dryden:

As to Sebastian, let them search the field;
And where they find a mountain of the slain,
Send one to climb, and looking down beneath,
There they will find him at his manly length,
With his face up to heaven, in that red monument
Which his good sword had digged.

⁶⁰ Spondanus (A. D. 1453, N° 10.), who has hopes of his salvation, wishes to absolve this demand from the guilt of suicide.

⁶¹ Leonardus Chienfis very properly observes, that the Turks, had they known the emperor, would have laboured to save and secure a captive so acceptable to the sultan.

⁶² Cantemir, p. 96. The Christian ships in the mouth of the harbour, had flanked and retarded this naval attack.

⁶³ Chalcocondyles most absurdly supposes, that Constantinople was sacked by the Asiatics in revenge for the ancient calamities of Troy; and the grammarians of the xvth century are happy to melt down the uncouth appellation of Turks, into the more classical name of *Teucris*.

⁶⁴ When Cyrus surprised Babylon during the celebration of a festival, so vast was the city, and so careless were the inhabitants, that much time elapsed before the distant quarters knew that they were captives (Herodotus, l. i. c. 191.), and Usher (Annal. p. 78.) who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a passage of similar import.

⁶⁵ This lively description is extracted from Ducas (c. 39.), who two years afterwards was sent ambassador from the prince of Lesbos to the sultan (c. 44.). Till Lesbos was subdued in 1463. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 27.), that island must have been full of the fugitives of Constantinople, who delighted to repeat, perhaps to adorn, the tale of their misery.

⁶⁶ See Phranza, l. iii. c. 20, 21. His expressions are positive: *Ameras suâ manû jugulavit. . . . volebat enim eo turpiter et nefarie*

abuti. Me miserum et infelicem ! Yet he could only learn from report, the bloody or impure scenes that were acted in the dark recesses of the seraglio.

⁶⁷ See Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 290.) and Lancelot (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 718.). I should be curious to learn how he could praise the public enemy, whom he so often reviles as the most corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

⁶⁸ The Commentaries of Pius II. suppose, that he craftily placed his cardinal's hat on the head of a corpse which was cut off and exposed in triumph, while the legate himself was bought and delivered, as a captive of no value. The great Belgic Chronicle adorns his escape with new adventures, which he suppressed (says Spondanus, A. D. 1453. N° 15.) in his own letters, lest he should lose the merit and reward of suffering for Christ.

⁶⁹ Busbequius expatiates with pleasure and applause on the rights of war, and the use of slavery, among the ancients and the Turks (de Legat. Turcicâ, epist. iii. p. 161.).

⁷⁰ This sum is specified in a marginal note of Leunclavius (Chalcondyles, l. viii. p. 211.), but in the distribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona, of 50,20,20, and 15,000 ducats, I suspect that a figure has been dropt. Even with the restitution, the foreign property would scarcely exceed one fourth.

⁷¹ See the enthusiastic praises and lamentations of Phranza (l. iii. c. 17.).

⁷² See Ducas (c. 43.) and an epistle, July 15th, 1453, from Laurus Quirinus to pope Nicholas V. (Hody de Græcis, p. 192. from a MS. in the Cotton library).

⁷³ The Julian Calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was used at Constantinople. But Ducas seems to understand the natural hours from sun-rise.

⁷⁴ See the Turkish Annals, p. 329. and the Pandects of Leunclavius, p. 448.

⁷⁵ I have had occasion (vol. iii. p. 16.) to mention this curious relic of Græcian antiquity.

⁷⁶ We are obliged to Cantemir (p. 102.) for the Turkish account of the conversion of St. Sophia, so bitterly deplored by Phranza and Ducas. It is amusing enough to observe, in what opposite lights the same object appears to a Musulman and a Christian eye.

⁷⁷ This distich, which Cantemir gives in the original, derives new beauties from the application. It was thus that Scipio repeated, in the sack of Carthage, the famous prophecy of Homer. The same generous feeling carried the mind of the conqueror to the past or the future.

⁷⁸ I cannot believe with Ducas (see Spondanus, A. D. 1453. N° 13.),

that Mahomet sent round Persia, Arabia, etc. the head of the Greek emperor: he would surely content himself with a trophy less inhuman.

⁷⁹ Phranza was the personal enemy of the Greek duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat to a monastery, extort a feeling of sympathy or forgiveness. Ducas is inclined to praise and pity the martyr; Chalcocondyles is neuter, but we are indebted to him for the hint of the Greek conspiracy.

⁸⁰ For the restitution of Constantinople and the Turkish foundations, see Cantemir (p. 102—109.), Ducas (c. 42.), with Thevenot, Tournefort, and the rest of our modern travellers. From a gigantic picture of the greatness, population, etc. of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire (*Abrégé de l'Histoire Ottomane*, tom. i. p. 16—21.), we may learn, that in the year 1586, the Moslems were less numerous in the capital than the Christians, or even the Jews.

⁸¹ The *Turbé*, or sepulchral monument of Abou Ayub, is described and engraved in the *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1787, in large folio), a work of less use, perhaps, than magnificence (tom. i. p. 305, 306.).

⁸² Phranza (l. iii. c. 19.) relates the ceremony, which has possibly been adorned in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxus, who wrote, in vulgar Greek, the History of the Patriarchs after the taking of Constantinople, inserted in the *Turco-Græcia* of Crusius (l. v. p. 106—184.). But the most patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholic form, “*Sancta Trinitas quæ mihi donavit imperium te in patriarcham novæ Romæ deligit.*”

⁸³ From the *Turco-Græcia* of Crusius, etc. Spondanus (A. D. 1453. N° 21. 1458. N° 16.) describes the slavery and domestic quarrels of the Greek church. The patriarch who succeeded Gennadius, threw himself in despair into a well.

⁸⁴ Cantemir (p. 101—105.) insists on the unanimous consent of the Turkish historians, ancient as well as modern, and argues, that they would not have violated the truth to diminish their national glory, since it is esteemed more honourable to take a city by force than by composition. But, 1. I doubt this consent, since he quotes no particular historian, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius affirm, without exception, that Mahomet took Constantinople *per vim* (p. 329.). 2. The same argument may be turned in favour of the Greeks of the times, who would not have forgotten this honourable and salutary treaty. Voltaire, as usual, prefers the Turks to the Christians.

⁸⁵ For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni of Trebizond, see Ducange (*Fam. Byzant.* p. 195.); for the last Palæologi, the same

accurate antiquarian (p. 244, 247, 248.). The Palæologi of Montferrat were not extinct till the next century; but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

⁸⁶ In the worthless story of the disputes and misfortunes of the two brothers, Phranza (l. iii. c. 21—30.) is too partial on the side of Thomas; Ducas (c. 44, 45.) is too brief, and Chalcocondyles (l. viii, ix, x.) too diffuse and digressive.

⁸⁷ See the loss or conquest of Trebizond in Chalcocondyles (l. ix. p. 263—266.), Ducas (c. 45.), Phranza (l. iii. c. 27.), and Cantemir (p. 107.).

⁸⁸ Though Tournefort (tom. iii. lettre xvii. p. 179.) speaks of Trebizond as *mal peuplée*, Peyssonel, the latest and most accurate observer, can find 100,000 inhabitants (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 72. and for the province, p. 53—90.). Its prosperity and trade are perpetually disturbed by the factious quarrels of two *odas* of Janizaries, in one of which 30,000 Lazi are commonly enrolled (Mémoires de Tott, tom. iii. p. 16, 17.).

⁸⁹ Ismael Beg, prince of Sinope or Sinople, was possessed (chiefly from his copper mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats (Chalcocond. l. ix. p. 258, 259.). Peyssonel (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 100.) ascribes to the modern city 60,000 inhabitants. This account seems enormous: yet it is by trading with a people that we become acquainted with their wealth and numbers.

⁹⁰ Spondanus (from Gobelin Comment. Pii II. l. v.) relates the arrival and reception of the despot Thomas at Rome A. D. 1461, N° 3.).

⁹¹ By an act dated A. D. 1494, Sept. 6. and lately transmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the despot Andrew Palæologus, reserving the Morea, and stipulating some private advantages, conveys to Charles VIII. king of France the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond (Spondanus, A. D. 1495, N° 2.). M. de Foncemagne (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvii. p. 539—578.) has bestowed a dissertation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

⁹² See Philippe de Comines (l. vii. c. 14.), who reckons with pleasure the number of Greeks who were prepared to rise, 60 miles of an easy navigation, eighteen days journey from Valona to Constantinople, etc. On this occasion the Turkish empire was saved by the policy of Venice.

⁹³ See the original feast in Olivier de la Marche (Mémoires, P. i. c. 29, 30.), with the abstract and observations of M. de Ste Palaye (Mémoires sur la Chevalerie, tom. i. P. iii. p. 182—185.). The peacock and the pheasant were distinguished as royal birds.

⁹⁴ It was found by an actual enumeration, that Sweden, Gothland, and Finland, contained 1,800,000 fighting men, and consequently were far more populous than at present.

⁹⁵ In the year 1454 Spondanus has given, from Æneas Sylvius, a view of the state of Europe, enriched with his own observations. That valuable annalist, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the series of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's life, and of this chapter.

⁹⁶ Besides the two annalists, the reader may consult Giannone (*Istoria Civile*, tom. iii. p. 449—455.) for the Turkish invasion of the kingdom of Naples. For the reign and conquests of Mahomet II. I have occasionally used the *Memorie Istoriche dei Monarchi Ottomanni di Giovanni Sagredo* (Venezia, 1677, in 4to.) In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her dispatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in sense or style. Yet he too bitterly hates the infidels; he is ignorant of their language and manners; and his narrative, which allows only seventy pages to Mahomet II. (p. 69—140.), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1640 and 1644, the term of the historic labours of John Sagredo.

⁹⁷ As I am now taking an everlasting farewell of the Greek empire, I shall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers, whose names and testimonies have been successively repeated in this work. The Greek presses of Aldus and the Italians, were confined to the classics of a better age; and the first rude editions of Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, etc. were published by the learned diligence of the Germans. The whole Byzantine series (xxxvi volumes in folio) has gradually issued (A. D. 1648, etc.) from the royal press of the Louvre, with some collateral aid from Rome and Leipzig; but the Venetian edition (A. D. 1729), though cheaper and more copious, is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various; but the value of Anna Comnena, Cinnamus, Villehardouin, etc. is enhanced by the historical notes of Charles du Fresne du Cange. His supplemental works, the Greek Glossary, the Constantinopolis Christiana, the *Familia Byzantina*, diffuse a steady light over the darkness of the Lower Empire.

CHAP. LXIX.

¹ The abbé Dubos, who, with less genius than his successor Montesquieu, has asserted and magnified the influence of climate, objects

to himself the degeneracy of the Romans and Batavians. To the first of these examples he replies, 1. That the change is less real than apparent, and that the modern Romans prudently conceal in themselves the virtues of their ancestors. 2. That the air, the soil, and the climate of Rome have suffered a great and visible alteration (*Reflexions sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture*, part. ii. sect. 16.).

² The reader has been so long absent from Rome, that I would advise him to recollect or view the xlixth chapter, in the ixth volume of this History.

³ The coronation of the German emperors at Rome, more especially in the xith century, is best represented from the original monuments by Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi*, tom. i. dissertat. ii. p. 99, etc.), and Cenni (*Monument. Domin. Pontif.* tom. ii. diff. vi. p. 261.), the latter of whom I only know from the copious extract of Schmidt (*Hist. des Allemands*, tom. iii. p. 255—266.).

⁴ *Exercitui Romano et Teutonico!* The latter was both seen and felt; but the former was no more than *magni nominis umbra*.

⁵ Muratori has given the series of the papal coins (*Antiquitat.* tom. ii. diff. xxvii. p. 548—554.). He finds only two more early than the year 800: fifty are still extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with addition of the reigning emperor; none remain of Gregory VII. or Urban II.; but in those of Paschal II. he seems to have renounced this badge of dependence.

⁶ See Ducange, *Gloss. mediæ et infimæ Latinitat.* tom. vi. p. 364, 365. STAFFA. This homage was paid by kings to archbishops, and by vassals to their lords (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 262.); and it was the nicest policy of Rome, to confound the marks of filial and of feudal subjection.

⁷ The appeals from all the churches to the Roman pontiff, are deplored by the zeal of St. Bernard (*de Consideratione*, l. iii. tom. ii. p. 431—442. edit. Mabillon, Venet. 1750) and the judgment of Fleury (*Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclésiastique*, iv. et vii.). But the saint, who believed in the false decretals, condemns only the abuse of these appeals; the more enlightened historian investigates the origin, and rejects the principles of this new jurisprudence.

⁸ *Germanici summarii non levatis sarcinis onusti nihilominus repatriant inviti. Nova res! quando hactenus aurum Roma refudit? Et nunc Romanorum consilio id usurpatum non credimus* (*Bernard de Consideratione*, l. iii. c. 3. p. 437.). The first words of the passage are obscure, and probably corrupt.

⁹ Quand les sauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voilà le gouvernement

despotique (*Esprit des Loix*, l. v. c. 13.); and passion and ignorance are always despotic.

¹⁰ In a free conversation with his countryman Adrian IV. John of Salisbury accuses the avarice of the pope and clergy: *Provinciarum deripiunt spolia, ac si thesauros Cræsi studeant reparare. Sed recte cum eis agit Altissimus, quoniam et ipsi aliis et sæpe vilissimis hominibus dati sunt in direptionem* (*de Nugis Curialium*, l. vi. c. 24. p. 387.). In the next page, he blames the rashness and infidelity of the Romans, whom their bishops vainly strove to conciliate by gifts, instead of virtues. It is pity that this miscellaneous writer has not given us less morality and erudition, and more pictures of himself and the times.

¹¹ Hume's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 419. The same writer has given us, from Fitz-Stephen, a singular act of cruelty perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II. „ When he was „ master of Normandy, the chapter of Seez presumed, without his „ consent, to proceed to the election of a bishop: upon which he „ ordered all of them, with the bishop elect, to be castrated, and „ made all their testicles be brought him in a platter. „ Of the pain and danger they might justly complain; yet, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure.

¹² From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary series of the lives of the popes by the cardinal of Arragon, Pandulphus Pisanus, Bernard Guido, etc. is inserted in the *Italian Historians of Muratori* (tom. iii. p. i. p. 277—685.), and has been always before my eyes.

¹³ The dates of years in the margin, may throughout this chapter be understood as tacit references to the *Annals of Muratori*, my ordinary and excellent guide. He uses, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a master, his great *Collection of the Italian Historians*, in xxviii. volumes; and as that treasure is in my library, I have thought it an amusement, if not a duty, to consult the originals.

¹⁴ I cannot refrain from transcribing the high-coloured words of Pandulphus Pisanus (p. 384.): *Hoc audiens inimicus pacis atque turbator jam fatus Centius Frajadane, more draconis immanissimi sibilans, et ab imis pectoribus trahens longa suspiria, accinctus retro gladio sine morâ cucurrit, valvas ac fores confregit. Ecclesiam furibundus introiit, inde custode remoto, papam per gulam accepit, distraxit, pugnis calcibusque percussit, et tanquam brutum animal intra limen ecclesiæ acriter calcaribus cruentavit; et latro tantum dominum per capillos et brachia, Jesu bono interim dormiente, detraxit, ad domum usque deduxit, inibi catenavit et inclusit.*

¹⁵ Ego coram Deo et ecclesiâ dico, si unquam possibile esset, mallet unum imperatorem quam tot dominos (Vit. Gelaf. II. p. 398).

¹⁶ Quid tam notum seculis quam protervia et cervicositas Romanorum? Gens insueta paci, tumultui affueta, gens immitis et intractabilis, usque adhuc subdi nescia, nisi cum non valet resistere (de Considerat. l. iv. c. 2. p. 441.). The saint takes breath, and then begins again: Hi, invisi terræ et cœlo, utrique injecere manus, etc. (p. 443.).

¹⁷ As a Roman citizen, Petrarch takes leave to observe, that Bernard, though a saint, was a man; that he might be provoked by resentment, and possibly repent of his hasty passion, etc. (Mémoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 330.).

¹⁸ Baronius, in his index to the xiith volume of his Annals, has found a fair and easy excuse. He makes two heads, of Romani *Catholici*, and *Schismatici*: to the former he applies all the good, to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city.

¹⁹ The heresies of the xiith century may be found in Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 419—427.), who entertains a favourable opinion of Arnold of Brescia. In the vth volume, I have described the sect of the Paulicians, and followed their migration from Armenia to Thrace and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

²⁰ The original pictures of Arnold of Brescia, are drawn by Otho bishop of Frisingen (Chron. l. vii. c. 31. de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 27. l. ii. c. 21.), and in the iiid book of the Ligurinus, a poem of Gunther, who flourished A. D. 1200, in the monastery of Paris, near Basil (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis, tom. iii. p. 174, 175.). The long passage that relates to Arnold, is produced by Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5. p. 108.).

²¹ The wicked wit of Bayle was amused in composing, with much levity and learning, the articles of ABELARD, FOULQUES, HELOISE, in his Dictionnaire Critique. The dispute of Abelard and St. Bernard, of scholastic and positive divinity, is well understood by Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 412—415.).

²² ——— Damnatuſ ab illo

Præſule, qui numeros vetitum contingere noſtros

Nomen ab *innocua* ducit laudabile vitâ.

We may applaud the dexterity and correctness of Ligurinus, who turns the unpoetical name of Innocent II. into a compliment.

²³ A Roman inscription of Statio Turicensis has been found at Zurich (d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 642—644.): but it is without sufficient warrant, that the city and canton have usurped, and even monopolized, the names of Tigurum and Pagus Tigurinus.

²⁴ Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5 p. 106.) recapitulates

the donation (A. D. 833) of the emperor Lewis the Pious to his daughter the abbess Hildegardis. *Curtim nostram Turegum in ducatu Alamanniæ in pago Durgaugensi*, with villages, woods, meadows, waters, slaves, churches, etc. a noble gift. Charles the Bald gave the *jus monetæ*, the city was walled under Otho I. and the line of the bishop of Frisingen,

Nobile Turegum multarum copia rerum,
is repeated with pleasure by the antiquaries of Zurich.

²⁵ Bernard, *epistol.* cxcv, cxcvi. tom. i. p. 187 — 190. Amidst his invectives he drops a precious acknowledgment, *qui, utinam quam sanæ esset doctrinæ quam districtæ est vitæ*. He owns, that Arnold would be a valuable acquisition for the church.

²⁶ He advised the Romans,

*Consiliis armisque suis moderamina summa
Arbitrio tractare suo: nil juris in hac re
Pontifici summo, modicum concedere regi
Suadebat populo. Sic læsâ stultus utrâque
Majestâte, reum geminæ se fecerat aulæ.*

Nor is the poetry of Gunther different from the prose of Otho.

²⁷ See Baronius (A. D. 1148, N° 38, 39.) from the Vatican MSS. He loudly condemns Arnold (A. D. 1141, N° 3.) as the father of the political heretics, whose influence then hurt him in France.

²⁸ The English reader may consult the *Biographia Britannica*, ADRIAN IV. but our own writers have added nothing to the fame or merits of their countryman.

²⁹ Besides the historian and poet already quoted, the last adventures of Arnold are related by the Biographer of Adrian IV. (Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. iii. P. i. p. 441, 442.)

³⁰ Ducange (*Gloss. Latinitatis mediæ et infimæ Ætatis*, DECARCHONES, tom. ii. p. 726.) gives me a quotation from Blondus (decad. ii. l. ii.): *Duo consules ex nobilitate quotannis fiebant, qui ad vetustum consulum exemplar summæ rerum præessent*. And in Sigonius (*de Regno Italiæ*, l. vi. opp. tom. ii. p. 400.) I read of the consuls and tribunes of the Xth century. Both Blondus, and even Sigonius, too freely copied the classic method of supplying from reason or fancy the deficiency of records.

³¹ In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. ii. P. i. p. 408.), a Roman is mentioned as *consulis natus* in the beginning of the Xth century. Muratori (*disser.* v.) discovers in the years 952 and 956, Gratianus in *Dei nomine consul et dux*, Georgius *consul et dux*; and in 1015, Romanus, brother of Gregory VIII. proudly, but vaguely, styles himself *consul et dux et omnium Romanorum senator*.

³² As late as the Xth century, the Greek emperors conferred on the dukes of Venice, Naples, Amalphi, etc. the title of *ὑπατος*, or consuls (see Chron. Sagornini, *passim*); and the successors of Charlemagne would not abdicate any of their prerogative. But in general, the names of *consul* and *senator*, which may be found among the French and Germans, signify no more than count and lord (*Signeur*, Ducange, *Glossar.*). The monkish writers are often ambitious of fine classic words.

³³ The most constitutional form, is a diploma of Otho III. (A. D. 998), *Consulibus senatûs populique Romani*; but the act is probably spurious. At the coronation of Henry I. A. D. 1014, the historian Dithmar (apud Muratori, *dissert.* xxiii.) describes him, a *senatoribus duodecim vallatum, quorum sex rasi barbâ, alii prolixâ, mystice incedebant cum baculis*. The senate is mentioned in the panegyric of Berengarius (p. 406.).

³⁴ In ancient Rome, the equestrian order was not ranked with the senate and people as a third branch of the republic till the consulship of Cicero, who assumes the merit of the establishment (Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xxxiii. 3. Beaufort, *Republique Romaine*, tom. i. p. 144—155.).

³⁵ The republican plan of Arnold of Brescia is thus stated by Guather:

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetustos;
 Nomine plebeio fecernere nomen equestre,
 Jura tribunorum, sanctum reparare senatum,
 Et senio fessas mutasque reponere leges.
 Lapsa ruinosis, et adhuc pendentia muris
 Reddere primævo Capitolia prisca nitori.

But of these reformatations, some were no more than ideas, others no more than words.

³⁶ After many disputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it seems determined, that the summit of the Capitoline hill next the river is strictly the Mons Tarpeius, the Arx; and that on the other summit, the church and convent of Araceli, the barefoot friars of St. Francis, occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardini, *Roma Antica*, l. v. c. 11—16.).

³⁷ Tacit. *Hist.* iii. 69, 70.

³⁸ This partition of the noble and baser metals between the emperor and senate, must however be adopted, not as a positive fact, but as the probable opinion of the best antiquaries (see the *Science des Médailles* of the Pere Joubert, tom. ii. p. 208—211. in the improved and scarce edition of the Baron de la Bastie).

³⁹ In his xxviiith dissertation on the Antiquities of Italy (tom. ii. p. 559—569.), Muratori exhibits a series of the senatorian coins, which

bore the obscure names of *Affortati*, *Infortiati*, *Provisini*, *Parparini*. During this period all the popes, without excepting Boniface VIII. abstained from the right of coining, which was resumed by his successor Benedict XI. and regularly exercised in the court of Avignon.

⁴⁰ A German historian, Gerard of Reicherspeg (in Baluz. Miscell. tom. v. p. 64. apud Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 265.), thus describes the constitution of Rome in the XIth century: *Grandiora urbis et orbis negotia spectant ad Romanum pontificem itemque ad Romanum imperatorem; sive illius vicarium urbis præfectum, qui de suâ dignitate respicit utrumque, videlicet dominum papam cui facit hominum, et dominum imperatorum a quo accipit suæ potestatis insigne, scilicet gladium exertum.*

⁴¹ The words of a contemporary writer (Pandulph. Pisan. in Vit. Paschal. II. p. 357, 358.) describe the election and oath of the præfect in 1118, *inconsultis patribus.... loca præfectoria.... Laudes præfectoriæ.... comitiorum applausum.... juraturum populo in ambonem sublevant.... confirmari eum in urbe præfectum petunt.*

⁴² *Urbis præfectum ad ligiam fidelitatem recepit, et per mantum quod illi donavit de præfecturâ eum publice investivit, qui usque ad id tempus juramento fidelitatis imperatori fuit obligatus et ab eò præfecturæ tenuit honorem* (Gesta Innocent. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 487.).

⁴³ See Otho Frising. Chron. vii. 31. de Gest. Frederic. I. l. i. c. 27.

⁴⁴ Our countryman, Roger Hoveden, speaks of the single senators, of the *Capuzzi* family, etc. *quorum temporibus melius regebatur Roma quam nunc* (A. D. 1194) *est temporibus lvi. senatorum* (Ducange, Gloss. tom. vi. p. 191. SENATORES).

⁴⁵ Muratori (dissert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 785—788.) has published an original treaty: *Concordia inter D. nostrum papam Clementem III. et senatores populi Romani super regalibus et aliis dignitatibus urbis, etc. anno 44º senatûs.* The senate speaks, and speaks with authority: *Reddimus ad præsens.... habebimus.... dabitis presbyteria.... jurabimus pacem et fidelitatem, etc.* A chartula de Tenimentis Tusculani, dated in the 47th year of the same æra, and confirmed decreto amplissimi ordinis senatûs, acclamatione P. R. publice Capitolio consistentis. It is there we find the difference of senatores consilarii and simple senators (Muratori, dissert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 787—789.).

⁴⁶ Muratori (dissert. xlv. tom. iv. p. 64—92.) has fully explained this mode of government; and the *Oculus Pastoralis*, which he has given at the end, is a treatise or sermon on the duties of these foreign magistrates.

⁴⁷ In the Latin writers, at least of the silver age, the title of *Potestas* was transferred from the office to the magistrate.

Hujus qui trahitur prætextam sumere mavis,

An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse *Potestas*?

(Juvenal. Satir. x. 99.)

⁴⁸ See the life and death of Brancalione, in the *Historia Major* of Matthew Paris, p. 741. 757. 792. 797. 799. 810. 823. 833. 836. 840. The multitude of pilgrims and suitors connected Rome and St. Alban's; and the resentment of the English clergy prompted them to rejoice whenever the popes were humbled and oppressed.

⁴⁹ Matthew Paris thus ends this account: *Caput vero ipsius Brancaleonis in vase pretioso super marmoream columnam collocatum, in signum sui valoris et probitatis, quasi reliquias, superstitiose nimis et pompose sustulerunt. Fuerat enim superborum potentum et malefactorum urbis malleus et extirpator, et populi protector et defensor, veritatis et justitiæ imitator et amator* (p. 840.). A biographer of Innocent IV. (Muratori, *Script.* tom. iii. p. i. p. 591, 592.) draws a less favourable portrait of this Ghibelline senator.

⁵⁰ The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual senator of Rome, is mentioned by the historians in the viiith volume of the Collection of Muratori, by Nicholas de Jamfilla (p. 592.), the monk of Padua (p. 724.), Sabas Malespini (l. ii. c. 9. p. 808.), and Ricordano Malespini, (c. 177. p. 999.).

⁵¹ The high-sounding bull of Nicholas III. which founds his temporal sovereignty on the donation of Constantine, is still extant; and as it has been inserted by Boniface VIII. in the *Sexte* of the Decretals, it must be received by the Catholics, or at least by the Papists, as a sacred and perpetual law.

⁵² I am indebted to Fleury (*Hist. Ecclési.* tom. xviii. p. 306.) for an extract of this Roman act, which he has taken from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, A. D. 1281, N° 14, 15.

⁵³ These letters and speeches are preserved by Otho bishop of Frisingen (*Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. med. et infim. Æt.* tom. v. p. 186, 187.), perhaps the noblest of historians: he was son of Leopold marquis of Austria, his mother, Agnes, was daughter of the emperor Henry IV. and he was half-brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left, in seven books, a Chronicle of the Times; in two, the *Gesta Frederici I.* the last of which is inserted in the viith volume of Muratori's historians.

⁵⁴ We desire (said the ignorant Romans) to restore the empire in eum statum, quo fuit tempore Constantini et Justiniani, qui totum orbem vigore senatûs et populi Romani suis tenuere manibus.

⁵⁵ Otho Frising. de *Gestis Frederici I.* l. i. c. 28. p. 662—664.

⁵⁶ *Hospes eras, civem feci. Advena fuisti ex Transalpinis partibus; principem constitui.*

⁵⁷ *Non cessit nobis nudum imperium, virtute suâ amictum venit, ornamenta sua secum traxit. Penes nos sunt consules tui, etc.* Cicero or Livy would not have rejected these images, the eloquence of a Barbarian born and educated in the Hercynian forest.

⁵⁸ Otho of Frisingen, who surely understood the language of the court and diet of Germany, speaks of the Franks in the xiiith century as the reigning nation (*Proceres Franci, equites Franci, manus Francorum*): he adds, however, the epithet of *Teutonici*.

⁵⁹ Otho Frising. de Gestis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 22. p. 720—723. These original and authentic acts I have translated and abridged with freedom, yet with fidelity.

⁶⁰ From the Chronicles of Ricobaldo and Francis Pipin, Muratori (dissert. xxvi. tom. ii. p. 492.) has transcribed this curious fact with the doggerel verses that accompanied the gift.

Ave decus orbis ave! victus tibi destinor, ave!

Currus ab Augusto Frederico Cæsare iusto.

Væ Mediolanum! jam sentis spernere vanum

Imperii vires, proprias tibi tollere vires.

Ergo triumphorum urbs potes memor esse priorum

Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant.

Ne si dee tacere (I now use the Italian Dissertations, tom. i. p. 444.) che nell' anno 1727, una copia dello Caroccio in marmo dianzi ignoto si scoprì nel Campidoglio, presso alle carceri di quel luogo, dove Sisto V. l'avea fatto rinchiudere. Stava esso posto sopra quattro colonne di marmo fino colla seguente iscrizione, etc. to the same purpose as the old inscription.

⁶¹ The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy, is related with impartial learning in the Annals of Muratori (tom. x, xi, xii.); and the reader may compare his narrative with the *Histoire des Allemands* (tom. iii, iv.), by Schmidt, who has deserved the esteem of his countrymen.

⁶² *Tibur nunc suburbanum, et æstivæ Præneste deliciæ, nuncupatis in Capitolio votis petebantur.* The whole passage of Florus, (l. i. c. ii.) may be read with pleasure, and has deserved the praise of a man of genius (*Oeuvres de Montesquieu*, tom. iii. p. 634, 635. quarto edition.)

⁶³ *Ne a feritate Romanorum, sicut fuerant Hostienses, Portuenses, Tusculanenses, Albanenses, Labicenses, et nuper Tiburtini destruerentur* (Matthew Paris, p. 757.). These events are marked in the Annals and Index (the xviiiith volume) of Muratori.

⁶⁴ For the state or ruin of these suburban cities, the banks of the Tyber, etc. see the lively picture of the P. Labat (*Voyage en Espagne et en Italie*), who had long resided in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the more accurate description of which P. Eschinard (*Roma*, 1750, in octavo), has added to the topographical map of Cingolani.

⁶⁵ Labat (tom. iii. p. 233.) mentions a recent decree of the Roman government, which has severely mortified the pride and poverty of Tivoli: *in civitate Tiburnina non vivitur civiliter*.

⁶⁶ I depart from my usual method, of quoting only by the date the *Annals of Muratori*, in consideration of the critical balance in which he has weighed nine contemporary writers who mention the battle of Tusculum (tom. x. p. 42—44.).

⁶⁷ Matthew Paris, p. 345. This bishop of Winchester was Peter de Rupibus, who occupied the see thirty-two years (A. D. 1206—1238), and is described, by the English historian, as a soldier and a statesman (p. 178. 399.).

⁶⁸ See Mosheim, *Institut. Hist. Ecclesiast.* p. 401. 403. Alexander himself had nearly been the victim of a contested election; and the doubtful merits of Innocent had only preponderated by the weight of genius and learning which St. Bernard cast into the scale (see his life and writings.)

⁶⁹ The origin, titles, importance, dress, precedence, etc. of the Roman cardinals, are very ably discussed by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1262—1287.); but their purple is now much faded. The sacred college was raised to the definite number of seventy-two, to represent, under his vicar, the disciples of Christ.

⁷⁰ See the bull of Gregory X. (*approbante sacro concilio*, in the *Sexte* of the Canon Law (l. i. tit. 6. c. 3.) a supplement to the *Decretals*, which Boniface VIII. promulgated at Rome in 1298, and addressed to all the universities of Europe.

⁷¹ The genius of cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (of 1655.), in which he was a spectator and an actor (*Mémoires*, tom. iv. p. 15—57.): but I am at a loss to appreciate the knowledge or authority of an anonymous Italian, whose history (*Conclavi de Pontifici Romani*, in 4to, 1667.) has been continued since the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental form of the work furnishes a lesson, though not an antidote, to ambition. From a labyrinth of intrigues, we emerge to the adoration of the successful candidate: but the next page opens with his funeral.

⁷² The expressions of cardinal de Retz are positive and picturesque: *On y vécut toujours ensemble avec le même respect, et la même civilité que l'on observe dans le cabinet des rois, avec la même politesse*

qu'on avoit dans la cour de Henri III. avec la même familiarité que l'on voit dans les collèges ; avec la même modestie, qui se remarque dans les noviciats ; et avec la même charité, du moins en apparence, qui pourrait être entre des frères parfaitement unis.

⁷³ Richiesti per bando (says John Villani) senatori di Roma, e 52 del popolo, e capitani de' 25. e consoli (*consoli?*), et 13 buoni uomini, uno per rione. Our knowledge is too imperfect to pronounce, how much of this constitution was temporary, and how much ordinary and permanent. Yet it is faintly illustrated by the ancient statutes of Rome.

⁷⁴ Villani (l. x. c. 68—71. in Muratori, Script. tom. xiii. p. 641—645.) relates this law, and the whole transaction, with much less abhorrence than the prudent Muratori. Any one conversant with the darker ages must have observed how much the sense (I mean the nonsense) of superstition is fluctuating and inconsistent.

⁷⁵ In the 1st volume of the Popes of Avignon, see the second original Life of John XXII. p. 142—145. the confession of the antipope, p. 145—152. and the laborious notes of Baluze, p. 714, 715.

⁷⁶ Romani autem non valentes nec volentes ultra suam celare cupiditatem gravissimam contra papam movere cœperunt questionem, exigentes ab eo urgentissime omnia quæ subierant per ejus absentiam damna et jacturas, videlicet in hospitibus locandis, in mercimoniis, in usuris, in redditibus, in provisionibus, et in aliis modis innumerabilibus. Quôd cum audisset papa, præcordialiter ingemuit et se comperiens *muscipulatum*, etc. Matt. Paris, p. 757. For the ordinary history of the popes, their life and death, their residence and absence, it is enough to refer to the ecclesiastical annalists, Spondanus and Fleury.

⁷⁷ Besides the general historians of the church of Italy and of France, we possess a valuable treatise composed by a learned friend of Thuanus, which his last and best editors have published in the appendix (*Histoire particulière du grand Différent entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel*, par Pierre du Puis, tom. vii. P. xi. p. 61—82.).

⁷⁸ It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom. iv. p. 53—57.) be in jest or in earnest, when he supposes that Anagni still feels the weight of this curse, and that the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive-trees, are annually blasted by nature, the obsequious handmaid of the popes.

⁷⁹ See in the Chronicle of Giovanni Villani (l. viii. c. 63, 64. 80. in Muratori, tom. xiii.) the imprisonment of Boniface VIII. and the election of Clement V. the last of which, like most anecdotes, is embarrassed with some difficulties.

⁸⁰ The original lives of the eight popes of Avignon, Clement V. John XXII. Benedict XII. Clement VI. Innocent VI. Urban V. Gre-

gory XI. and Clement VII. are published by Stephen Baluze (*Vitæ Paparum Avenionensium*, Paris, 1693, 2 vols. in 4to) with copious and elaborate notes, and a second volume of acts and documents. With the true zeal of an editor and a patriot, he devoutly justifies or excuses the characters of his countrymen.

⁸¹ The exile of Avignon is compared by the Italians with Babylon, and the Babylonish captivity. Such furious metaphors, more suitable to the ardour of Petrarch than to the judgment of Muratori, are gravely refuted in Baluze's preface. The abbé de Sade is distracted between the love of Petrarch and of his country. Yet he modestly pleads, that many of the local inconveniencies of Avignon are now removed; and many of the vices against which the poet declaims, had been imported with the Roman court by the strangers of Italy (tom. i. p. 23—28.).

⁸² The comtat Venaissin was ceded to the popes in 1273. by Philip III. king of France, after he had inherited the dominions of the count of Tholouse. Forty years before, the heresy of count Raymond had given them a pretence of seizure, and they derived some obscure claim from the xith century to some lands citra Rhodanum (*Valesii Notitia Galliarum*, p. 459. 610. Longuerue, *Description de la France*, tom. i. p. 376—381.).

⁸³ If a possession of four centuries were not itself a title, such objections might annul the bargain; but the purchase-money must be refunded, for indeed it was paid. *Civitatem Avenionem emit. . . . per ejusmodi venditionem pecuniâ redundantes*, etc. (*iida Vita Clement. VI. in Baluz. tom. i. p. 272. Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 565.*) The only temptation for Jane and her second husband was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples.

⁸⁴ Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English (*Vita iv. p. 63. et Baluz. p. 625, etc.*). In 1331, the pope refused two candidates recommended by the king of France, *quod xx. Cardinales, de quibus xvii. de regno Franciæ originem traxerunt. Te noscuntur in memorato collegio existant*, (*Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1281.*).

⁸⁵ Our primitive account is from cardinal James Caietan (*Maxima Bibliot. Patrum, tom. xxv.*); and I am at a loss to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave: the uncle is a much clearer character.

⁸⁶ See John Villani (l. viii. c. 36.) in the xiith, and the *Chronicon Astense*, in the xith volume (p. 191, 192.) of Muratori's Collection. *Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab eisdem accepit, nam duo clerici, cum rastris, etc.*

⁸⁷ The two bulls of Boniface VIII. and Clement VI. are inserted in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (Extravagant. Commun. l. v. tit. ix. c. 1, 2.).

⁸⁸ The sabbatic years and jubilees of the Mosaic law (Car. Sigon. de Republicâ Hebræorum, Opp. tom. iv. l. iii. c. 14, 15. p. 151, 152.), the suspension of all care and labour, the periodical release of lands, debts, servitude, etc. may seem a noble idea, but the execution would be impracticable in a *profane* republic; and I should be glad to learn that this ruinous festival was observed by the Jewish people.

⁸⁹ See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani (l. i. c. 56.) in the xivth volume of Muratori; and the *Mémoires sur la Vie de Petrarque*, tom. iii. p. 75—89.

⁹⁰ The subject is exhausted by M. Chais, a French minister at the Hague, in his *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques, sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences*; la Haye, 1751, 3 vols. in 12mo; an elaborate and pleasing work, had not the author preferred the character of a polemic to that of a philosopher.

⁹¹ Muratori (Dissert. xlvii.) alleges the Annals of Florence, Padua, Genoa, etc. the analogy of the rest, the evidence of Otho of Frisingen (de Gest. Fred. I. l. ii. c. 13.), and the submission of the marquis of Este.

⁹² As early as the year 824, the emperor Lothaire I. found it expedient to interrogate the Roman people, to learn from each individual, by what national law he chose to be governed (Muratori, Dissert. xxii.).

⁹³ Petrarch attacks these foreigners, the tyrants of Rome, in a declamation or epistle, full of bold truths and absurd pedantry, in which he applies the maxims, and even prejudices, of the old republic to the state of the xivth century (*Mémoires*, tom. iii. p. 157—169.).

⁹⁴ The origin and adventures of this Jewish family are noticed by Pagi (Critica, tom. iv. p. 435. A. D. 1124, N° 3, 4.), who draws his information from the *Chronographus Maurigniacensis*, and Arnulphus Sagienfis de Schismate (in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. i. p. 423—432.). The fact must in some degree be true; yet I could wish that it had been coolly related, before it was turned into a reproach against the antipope.

⁹⁵ Muratori has given two dissertations (xli and xlii.) to the names, surnames, and families of Italy. Some nobles, who glory in their domestic fables, may be offended with his firm and temperate criticism; yet surely some ounces of pure gold are of more value than many pounds of base metal.

⁹⁶ The cardinal of St. George, in his poetical, or rather metrical, history of the election and coronation of Boniface VIII. (Muratori,

Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. i. p. 641, etc.), describes the state and families of Rome at the coronation of Boniface VIII. (A.D. 1295):

Interea titulis redimiti sanguine et armis
 Illustresque viri Romanâ a stirpe trahentes
 Nomen in emeritos tantæ virtutis honores
 Intulerant sese medios festumque colebant
 Aurata fulgentes togâ sociante catervâ.
 Ex ipsis devota domus præstantis ab *Ursâ*
 Ecclesiæ, vultumque gerens demissius altum
 Festa *Columna* jocis, necnon *Sabellia* mitis;
 Stephanides senior, *Comites*, *Anibalica* proles,
 Præfectusque urbis magnum sine viribus nomen.

(l. ii. c. 5. 100. p. 647, 648.).

The ancient statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 59. p. 174, 175.) distinguish eleven families of barons, who are obliged to swear in concilio communi, before the senator, that they would not harbour or protect any malefactors, outlaws, etc. — a feeble security!

⁹⁷ It is pity that the Colonna themselves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical history of their illustrious house. I adhere to Muratori (Dissert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 647, 648.).

⁹⁸ Pandulph. Pisan. in Vit. Paschal. II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. i. p. 335. The family has still great possessions in the Campagna of Rome; but they have alienated to the Rospigliosi this original fief of *Colonna* (Eschinard, p. 258, 259.).

⁹⁹ Te longinqua dedit tellus et pascua Rheni, says Petrarch; and, in 1417, a duke of Guelders and Juliers acknowledges (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 539.) his descent from the ancestors of Martin V. (Otho Colonna): but the royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg observes, that the sceptre in his arms has been confounded with the column. To maintain the Roman origin of the Colonna, it was ingeniously supposed (Diario di Monaldeschi, in the Script. Ital. tom. xii. p. 533.), that a cousin of the emperor Nero escaped from the city, and founded Mentz in Germany.

¹⁰⁰ I cannot overlook the Roman triumph or ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's gallies at the naval victory of Lepanto (Thuan. Hist. l. 7. tom. iii. p. 55, 56. Muret. Oratio x. Opp. tom. i. p. 180—190.).

¹⁰¹ Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 216. 220.

¹⁰² Petrarch's attachment to the Colonna, has authorized the abbé de Sade to expatiate on the state of the family in the fourteenth century, the persecution of Boniface VIII. the character of Stephen and his sons, their quarrels with the Ursini, etc. (Mémoires sur Petrarque,

tom. i. p. 98—110. 146—148. 174—176. 222—230. 275—280.) His criticism often rectifies the hearsay stories of Villani, and the errors of the less diligent moderns. I understand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct.

¹⁰³ Alexander III. had declared the Colonna who adhered to the emperor Frederic I. incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice (Villani, l. v. c. 1.); and the last stains of annual excommunication, were purified by Sixtus V. (Vita di Sisto V. tom. iii. p. 416.). Treason, sacrilege, and proscription, are often the best titles of ancient nobility.

¹⁰⁴ — Vallis te proxima misit

Appenninigenæ quâ pratâ virentia sylvæ

Spoletana metunt armenta gregesque protervi.

Monaldeschi (tom. xii. Script. Ital. p. 533.) gives the Urfini a French origin, which may be remotely true.

¹⁰⁵ In the metrical life of Celestin V. by the cardinal of St. George (Muratori, tom. iii. p. i. p. 613, etc.), we find a luminous, and not inelegant passage (l. i. c. 3. p. 203, etc.):

— genuit quem nobilis Urfæ (*Urfi*?)

Progenies, Romana domus, veterataque magnis

Fascibus in clero, pompasque experta senatus,

Bellorumque manû grandi stipata parentum

Cardineos apices necnon fastigia dudum

Papatûs iterata tenens.

Muratori (Dissert. xlii. tom. iii.) observes, that the first Urfini pontificate of Celestine, III. was unknown: he is inclined to read *Urfi* progenies.

¹⁰⁶ Filii Urfi, quondam Cœlestini papæ nepotes, de bonis ecclesiæ Romanæ ditati (Vit. Innocent III. in Muratori, Script. tom. iii. p. i.) The partial prodigality of Nicholas III. is more conspicuous in Villani and Muratori. Yet the Urfini would disdain the nephews of a *modern* pope.

¹⁰⁷ In his 51st Dissertation on the Italian Antiquities, Muratori explains the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

¹⁰⁸ Petrarch (tom. i. p. 222—230.) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Giovanni Villani, l. x. c. 220.), and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeschi, p. 533, 534.), are less favourable to their arms.

¹⁰⁹ The abbé de Sade (tom. i. Notes, p. 61—66.) has applied the vith Canzone of Petrarch, *Spirto Gentil*, etc. to Stephen Colonna the younger:

Orfi, lupi, leoni, aquile e serpi

Ad una gran marmorea *colonna*

Fanno noja sovente ed a se danno.

C H A P. LXX.

¹ The *Mémoires sur la Vie de François Petrarque* (Amsterdam, 1764, 1767. 3 vols. in 4to), form a copious, original, and entertaining work, a labour of love, composed from the accurate study of Petrarch and his contemporaries; but the hero is too often lost in the general history of the age, and the author too often languishes in the affectation of politeness and gallantry. In the preface to his first volume, he enumerates and weighs twenty Italian biographers, who have professedly treated of the same subject.

² The allegorical interpretation prevailed in the xvth century; but the wise commentators were not agreed whether they should understand by Laura, religion, or virtue, or the blessed Virgin, or —. See the prefaces to the 1st and 2d volume.

³ Laure de Noves, born about the year 1307, was married in January 1325 to Hugues de Sade, a noble citizen of Avignon, whose jealousy was not the effect of love, since he married a second wife within seven months after her death, which happened the 6th of April 1348, precisely one-and-twenty years after Petrarch had seen and loved her.

⁴ *Corpus crebris partibus exhaustum*; from one of these is issued, in the tenth degree, the abbé de Sade, the fond and grateful biographer of Petrarch; and this domestic motive most probably suggested the idea of his work, and urged him to inquire into every circumstance that could affect the history and character of his grandmother (see particularly tom. i. p. 123—133. notes, p. 7—58. tom. ii. p. 455—495. not. p. 76—82.).

⁵ Vaucluse, so familiar to our English travellers, is described from the writings of Petrarch, and the local knowledge of his biographer (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 340—359.). It was, in truth, the retreat of an hermit; and the moderns are much mistaken, if they place Laura and an happy lover in the grotto.

⁶ Of 1250 pages, in a close print, at Basil in the xvth century, but without the date of the year. The abbé de Sade calls aloud for a new edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I much doubt whether it would redound to the profit of the bookseller, or the amusement of the public.

⁷ Consult Selden's *Titles of Honour*, in his works (vol. iii. p. 457—466.). An hundred years before Petrarch, St. Francis received the visit of a poet, *qui ab imperatore fuerat coronatus et exinde rex versuum dictus*.

⁸ From Augustus to Louis, the muse has too often been false and venal:

but I much doubt whether any age or court can produce a similar establishment of a stipendiary poet, who in every reign, and at all events, is bound to furnish twice a year a measure of praise and verse, such as may be sung in the chapel, and, I believe, in the presence, of the sovereign. I speak the more freely, as the best time for abolishing this ridiculous custom, is while the prince is a man of virtue, and the poet a man of genius.

⁹ Isocrates (in Panegyrico, tom. i. p. 116, 117. edit. Battie, Cantab. 1729) claims for his native Athens the glory of first instituting and recommending the ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ ἀθλὰ μέγιστα μὴ μόνον ταχὺς καὶ βῶμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων καὶ γνῶμης. The example of the Panathenæa was imitated at Delphi; but the Olympic games were ignorant of a musical crown, till it was extorted by the vain tyranny of Nero (Sueton. in Nerone, c. 23.; Philostrat. apud Casaubon ad locum; Dion Cassius, or Xiphilin, l. lxxiii. p. 1032. 1041. Potter's Greek Antiquities, vol. i. p. 445. 450.).

¹⁰ The Capitoline games (certamen quinquennale, *musicum*, equestre, gymnium), were instituted by Domitian (Sueton. c. 4.) in the year of Christ 86. (Censorin. de Die Natali, c. 18. p. 100. edit. Havercamp) and were not abolished in the ivth century (Ausonius de Professoribus Burdegal. V.). If the crown were given to superior merit, the exclusion of Statius (Capitolia nostræ inficiata lyræ, Silv. l. iii. v. 31.) may do honour to the games of the Capitol; but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion.

¹¹ Petrarch and the senators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic, crown (Plin. Hist. Natur, xv. 39. Hist. Critique de la République des Lettres, tom. i. p. 150—220.). The victors in the Capitol were crowned with a garland of oak-leaves (Martial, l. iv. epigram 54.).

¹² The pious grandson of Laura has laboured, and not without success, to vindicate her immaculate chastity against the censures of the grave and the sneers of the profane (tom. ii. notes, p. 76—82.).

¹³ The whole process of Petrarch's coronation is accurately described by the abbé de Sade (tom. i. p. 425—435, tom. ii. p. 1—6. notes, p. 1—13.) from his own writings, and the Roman Diary of Ludovico Monaldeschi, without mixing in this authentic narrative the more recent fables of Sannuccio Delbene.

¹⁴ The original act is printed among the Pièces Justificatives in the Mémoires sur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 50—53.

¹⁵ To find the proofs of his enthusiasm for Rome, I need only request that the reader would open, by chance, either Petrarch, or his French biographer. The latter has described the poet's first visit to Rome (tom. i. p. 323—335.). But in the place of much idle rhetoric and morality, Petrarch might have amused the present and future age with an original account of the city and his coronation.

¹⁶ It has been treated by the pen of a Jesuit, the P. du Cerceau, whose posthumous work (*Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi Tyran de Rome, en 1347*) was published at Paris 1748, in 12mo. I am indebted to him for some facts and documents in John Hoessemius, canon of Liege, a contemporary historian (*Fabricius, Bibliot. Latin. med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 273. tom. iv. p. 85.*).

¹⁷ The abbé de Sade, who so freely expatiates on the history of the xivth century, might treat, as his proper subject, a revolution in which the heart of Petrarch was so deeply engaged (*Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 50, 51. 320—417. notes, p. 70—76. tom. iii. p. 221—243. 366—375.*). Not an idea or a fact in the writings of Petrarch has probably escaped him.

¹⁸ Giovanni Villani, l. xii, c. 89. 104. in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. xiii. p. 969, 970. 981—983.

¹⁹ In his iiii volume of *Italian Antiquities* (p. 249—548.), Muratori has inserted the *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ ab Anno 1327 usque ad Annum 1354*, in the original dialect of Rome or Naples in the xivth century, and a Latin version for the benefit of strangers. It contains the most particular and authentic life of Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi; which had been printed at Bracciano 1627, in 4to, under the name of Tomaso Fortifiocca, who is only mentioned in this work as having been punished by the tribune for forgery. Human nature is scarcely capable of such sublime or stupid impartiality: but whosoever is the author of these Fragments, he wrote on the spot and at the time, and paints, without design or art, the manners of Rome and the character of the tribune.

²⁰ The first and splendid period of Rienzi, his tribunitian government is contained in the xviiiith chapter of the *Fragments* (p. 399—479.), which, in the new division, forms the iid book of the history in xxxviii smaller chapters or sections.

²¹ The reader may be pleased with a specimen of the original idiom: *Fò da soa juventudine nutricato di latte de eloquentia, bono gramatico, migliore rettubrico, autorista bravo. Deh como et quanto era veloce leitore! moito usava Tito Livio, Seneca, et Tullio, et Balerio Massimo, moito li diletta*

le magnificentie di Julio Cesare raccontare. Tutta la die se speculava negli intagli di marmo le quali iaccio intorno Roma. Non era altri che effo, che sapeffe lejere li antichi pataffii. Tutte scritture antiche vulgarizzava; queste fiure di marmo justamente interpretava. Oh come spesso diceva, "Dove sono quelli buoni Romani? dove ene loro somma justitia? poleramme trovare in tempo che questi fiuriano!"

²² Petrarch compares the jealousy of the Romans, with the easy temper of the husbands of Avignon (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 330.).

²³ The fragments of the *Lex Regia* may be found in the *Inscriptions of Gruter*, tom. i. p. 242. and at the end of the *Tacitus of Ernesti*, with some learned notes of the editor, tom. ii.

²⁴ I cannot overlook a stupendous and laughable blunder of Rienzi. The *Lex Regia* empowers Vespasian to enlarge the *Pomœrium*, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not so to the tribune; he confounds it with *pomarium* an orchard, translates lo *Jardino de Roma cioene Italia* and is copied by the less excusable ignorance of the Latin translator (p. 406.) and the French historian (p. 33.). Even the learning of Muratori has slumbered over the passage.

²⁵ *Priori (Bruto) tamen similiior, juvenis uterque, longe ingenio quam cujus simulationem induerat, ut sub hoc obtentu liberator ille P. R. aperiretur tempore suo.... Ille regibus, hic tyrannis contemptus* (*Opp.* p. 536.).

²⁶ In one MS. I read (l. ii. c. 4. p. 409.) *perfumante quatro soldi*, in another *quatro fiorini*, an important variety, since the florin was worth ten Roman *solidi* (*Muratori*, *dissert.* xxviii.). The former reading would give us a population of 25,000, the latter of 250,000 families; and I much fear, that the former is more consistent with the decay of Rome and her territory.

²⁷ *Hocsemius*, p. 398. apud du Cerçeau, *Hist. de Rienzi*, p. 194. The fifteen tribunitian laws may be found in the Roman historian (whom for brevity I shall name) *Fortifiocca*, l. ii. c. 4.

²⁸ *Fortifiocca*, l. ii. c. 11. From the account of this shipwreck, we learn some circumstances of the trade and navigation of the age. 1. The ship was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of *Marseilles* and *Avignon*. 2. The sailors were of Naples and the isle of *Oenaria*, less skilful than those of Sicily and Genoa. 3. The navigation from *Marseilles* was a coasting voyage to the mouth of the Tyber, where they took shelter in a storm, but, instead of finding the current, unfortunately ran on a shoal: the vessel was stranded, the mariners escaped. 4. The cargo,

which was pillaged, consisted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treasury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 20,000 florins: a rich prize.

²⁹ It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who remembered his vulgar and ungracious entrance into the House of Commons, were astonished at the ease and majesty of the protector on his throne (see Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 27—34. from Clarendon, Warwick, Whitelocke, Waller, etc.). The consciousness of merit and power, will sometimes elevate the manners to the station.

³⁰ See the causes, circumstances, and effects of the death of Andrew, in Giannone (tom. iii. l. xxiii. p. 220—229.), and the Life of Petrarch (Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 143—148. 245—250. 375—379. notes, p. 21—37.). The Abbé de Sade wishes to extenuate her guilt.

³¹ The advocate who pleaded against Jane, could add nothing to the logical force and brevity of his master's epistle. Johanna! inordinata vita præcedens, retentio potestatis in regno, neglecta vindicta, vir alter susceptus, et excusatio subsequens, necis viri tui te probant fuisse participem et confortem. Jane of Naples, and Mary of Scotland, have a singular conformity.

³² See the Epistola Hortatoria de Capeffendâ Republicâ, from Petrarch to Nicholas Rienzi (Opp. p. 535—540.), and the vth eclogue or pastoral, a perpetual and obscure allegory.

³³ In his Roman Questions, Plutarch (Opuscul. tom. i. p. 505, 506. edit. Græc. Hen. Steph.) states, on the most constitutional principles, the simple greatness of the tribunes, who were not properly magistrates, but a check on magistracy. It was their duty and interest ὁμοιοῦναι χηματι καὶ σοφῇ καὶ δίκαιῇ τοῖς ἐπιτυχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν.... καταπατεῖν δὲ (a saying of C. Curio.) καὶ μὴ σεμνὸν εἶναι τῇ τὸν δημάρχον οὐδεῖ.... ὅσω δὲ μάλλον ἐκταπεινῶται τῷ σώματι, τοσῶτω μάλλον αὐξάνεται τῇ δυνάμει, etc. Rienzi, and Petrarch himself, were incapable perhaps of reading a Greek philosopher; but they might have imbibed the same modest doctrines from their favourite Latins, Livy and Valerius Maximus.

³⁴ I could not express in English the forcible, though barbarous title of *Zelator Italiæ*, which Rienzi assumed.

³⁵ Era bell' uomo (l. ii. c. i. p. 399.). It is remarkable, that the rifo sarcastico of the Bracciano edition is wanting in the Roman MS. from which Muratori has given the text. In his second reign, when he is painted almost as a monster, Rienzi travea una ventresca tonna trionfale, a modo de uno Abbate Asiano, or Asinino (l. iii. c. 18. p. 523.).

³⁶ Strange as it may seem, this festival was not without a precedent. In the year 1327, two barons, a Colonna, and an Urfini, the usual balance, were created knights by the Roman people: their bath was of rose-water, their beds were decked with royal magnificence, and they were served at St. Maria of Araceli in the Capitol, by the twenty-eight *buoni uomini*. They afterwards received from Robert king of Naples the sword of chivalry (Hist. Rom. l. i. c. 2. p. 259.).

³⁷ All parties believed in the leprosy and bath of Constantine (Petrarch, Epist. Famil. vi. 2.), and Rienzi justified his own conduct by observing to the court of Avignon, that a vase which had been used by a Pagan, could not be profaned by a pious Christian. Yet this crime is specified in the bill of excommunication (Hocsemius, apud du Cerceau, p. 189, 190.).

³⁸ This *verbal* summons of pope Clement VI. which rests on the authority of the Roman historian and a Vatican MS. is disputed by the biographer of Petrarch (tom. ii. not. p. 70—76.) with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of Avignon might not chuse to agitate this delicate question.

³⁹ The summons of the two rival emperors, a monument of freedom and folly, is extant in Hocsemius (Cerceau, p. 163—166.).

⁴⁰ It is singular, that the Roman historian should have overlooked this sevenfold coronation, which is sufficiently proved by internal evidence, and the testimony of Hocsemius, and even of Rienzi (Cerceau, p. 167—170. 229.).

⁴¹ Puoi se faceva stare denante a se, mentre sedeva, li baroni tutti in piedi ritti co le vraccia piegate e co li capucci tratti. Deh como stavano paurosi! (Hist. Rom. l. ii. c. 20. p. 439.) He saw them, and we see them.

⁴² The original letter, in which Rienzi justifies his treatment of the Colonna (Hocsemius, apud du Cerceau, p. 222—229.), displays, in genuine colours, the mixture of the knave and the madman.

⁴³ Rienzi, in the above mentioned letter, ascribes to St. Martin the tribune, Boniface VIII. the enemy of Colonna, himself, and the Roman people, the glory of the day, which Villani likewise (l. xii. c. 104.) describes as a regular battle. The disorderly skirmish, the flight of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi, are painted in the simple and minute narrative of Fortifiocca, or the anonymous Citizen (l. ii. c. 34—37.).

⁴⁴ In describing the fall of the Colonna, I speak only of the family of Stephen the elder, who is often confounded by the P. du Cerceau, with

his son. That family was extinguished, but the house has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have not a very accurate knowledge. *Circumspice* (says Petrarch) *familiæ tuæ statum, Columniensium domos: solito pauciores habeat columnas. Quid ad rem? modo fundamentum stabile, solidumque permaneat.*

⁴⁵ The convent of St. Silvester was founded, endowed, and protected by the Colonna cardinals, for the daughters of the family who embraced a monastic life, and who, in the year 1318, were twelve in number. The others were allowed to marry with their kinsmen in the fourth degree, and the dispensation was justified by the small number and close alliances of the noble families of Rome (*Mémoires sur Petrarque*, tom. i. p. 110. tom. ii. p. 401.).

⁴⁶ Petrarch wrote a stiff and pedantic letter of consolation (*Fam. l. vii. epist. 13. p. 682, 683.*). The friend was lost in the patriot. *Nulla toto orbe principum familia carior; carior tamen respublica, carior Roma, carior Italia.*

Je rends grâces aux Dieux de n'être pas Romain.

⁴⁷ This council and opposition is obscurely mentioned by Pollistore, a contemporary writer, who has preserved some curious and original facts (*Rer. Italicarum*, tom. xxv. c. 31. p. 798—804.).

⁴⁸ The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. against Rienzi, are translated by the P. du Cerceau (p. 196. 232.) from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus (A. D. 1347, N° 15. 17. 21, etc.) who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

⁴⁹ Matteo Villani describes the origin, character, and death of this count of Minorbino, a man *da natura inconstante e senza fede*, whose grandfather, a crafty notary, was enriched and ennobled by the spoils of the Saracens of Nocera (l. vii. c. 102, 103.). See his imprisonment, and the efforts of Petrarch, tom. ii. p. 149—151.

⁵⁰ The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (l. ii. c. 47. l. iii. c. 33. 57. 78.) and Thomas Fortifiocca (l. iii. c. 1—4.). I have slightly passed over these secondary characters, who imitated the original tribune.

⁵¹ These visions, of which the friends and enemies of Rienzi seem alike ignorant, are surely magnified by the zeal of Pollistore, a Dominican inquisitor (*Rer. Ital. tom. xxv. c. 36. p. 819.*). Had the tribune taught, that Christ was succeeded by the Holy Ghost, that the tyranny of the pope would be abolished, he might have been convicted of heresy and treason, without offending the Roman people.

⁵² The astonishment, the envy almost, of Petrarch is a proof, if not of

the truth of this incredible fact, at least of his own veracity. The abbé de Sade (*Mémoires*, tom. iii. p. 242.) quotes the vith epistle of the xiiiith book of Petrarch, but it is of the royal MS. which he consulted, and not of the ordinary Basil edition (p. 920.).

⁵³ Ægidius, or Giles Albornoz, a noble Spaniard, archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A. D. 1353—1367), restored, by his arms and counsels, the temporal dominion of the popes. His life has been separately written by Sepulveda; but Dryden could not reasonably suppose, that his name, or that of Wolsey, had reached the ears of the Mufti in Don Sebastian.

⁵⁴ From Matteo Villani, and Fortiflocca, the P. du Cerceau (p. 344—394.) has extracted the life and death of the chevalier Montreal, the life of a robber and the death of an hero. At the head of a free company, the first that desolated Italy, he became rich and formidable: he had money in all the banks, 60,000 ducats in Padua alone.

⁵⁵ The exile, second government, and death of Rienzi, are minutely related by the anonymous Roman, who appears neither his friend nor his enemy (l. iii. c. 12—25.). Petrarch, who loved the *tribune*, was indifferent to the fate of the *senator*.

⁵⁶ The hopes and the disappointment of Petrarch, are agreeably described in his own words by the French biographer (*Mémoires*, tom. iii. p. 375—413.); but the deep, though secret, wound, was the coronation of Zanubi the poet laureat by Charles IV.

⁵⁷ See in his accurate and amusing biographer, the application of Petrarch and Rome to Benedict XII. in the year 1334 (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 261—265.), to Clement VI. in 1342 (tom. ii. p. 45—47.), and to Urban V. in 1366 (tom. iii. p. 677—691.): his praise (p. 711—715.) and excuse (p. 771.) of the last of these pontiffs. His angry controversy on the respective merits of France and Italy may be found (Opp. p. 1068—1085.).

⁵⁸ Squalida sed quoniam facies, neglectaque cultû
Cæsaries; multisque malis lassata senectus
Eripuit solitam effigiem: vetus accipe nomen;
Roma vocor. (Carm. l. 2. p. 77.)

He spins this allegory beyond all measure or patience. The Epistles to Urban V. in prose, are more simple and persuasive (*Senilium*, l. vii. p. 811—827. l. ix. epist. i. p. 844—854.).

⁵⁹ I have not leisure to expatiate on the legends of St. Bridget or St. Catherine, the last of which might furnish some amusing stories. Their effect on the mind of Gregory XI. is attested by the last solemn words of

the dying pope, who admonished the assistants, ut caverent ab hominibus, five viris, five mulieribus, sub specie religionis loquentibus visiones sui capitis, quia per tales ipse seductus, etc. (Baluz. Not. ad Vit. Pap. Avenionensium, tom. i. p. 1223.).

⁶⁰ This predatory expedition is related by Froissard (Chronique, tom. i. p. 230.), and in the life of du Guesclin (Collection Générale des Mémoires historiques, tom. iv. c. 16. p. 107—113.). As early as the year 1361, the court of Avignon had been molested by similar freebooters, who afterwards passed the Alps (Mémoires sur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 563—569.).

⁶¹ Fleury alleges, from the Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, the original treaty which was signed the 21st of December 1376, between Gregory XI. and the Romans (Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 275.).

⁶² The first crown or regnum (Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. v. p. 702.) on the episcopal mitre of the popes, is ascribed to the gift of Constantine, or Clovis. The second was added by Boniface VIII. as the emblem not only of a spiritual, but of a temporal, kingdom. The three states of the church are represented by the triple crown which was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (Mémoires sur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 258, 259.).

⁶³ Baluze (Not. ad Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 1194, 1195.) produces the original evidence which attests the threats of the Roman ambassadors, and the resignation of the abbot of mount Cassin, qui, ultro se offerens, respondit se civem Romanum esse, et illud velle quod ipsi vellent.

⁶⁴ The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original Lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in Baluze (Vit. Paparum Avenionensium, tom. i. p. 363—486.) and Muratori (Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 610—712.). In the disputes of the schism, every circumstance was severely, though partially, scrutinized; more especially in the great inquest, which decided the obedience of Castile, and to which Baluze, in his notes, so often and so largely appeals, from a MS. volume in the Harley library (p. 1281, etc.).

⁶⁵ Can the death of a good man be esteemed a punishment by those who believe in the immortality of the soul? They betray the instability of their faith. Yet as a mere philosopher, I cannot agree with the Greek, ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φίλους ἀπεθνήσκουσιν; (Brunck, Poetæ Gnomici, p. 231.). See in Herodotus (l. i. c. 31.) the moral and pleasing tale of the Argive youths.

⁶⁶ In the first book of the Histoire du Concile de Pise, M. Lenfant has abridged and compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban

and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and Spaniards. The latter appear to be the most active and loquacious, and every fact and word in the original Lives of Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are supported in the notes of their editor Baluze.

⁶⁷ The ordinal numbers of the popes seem to decide the question against Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. who are boldly stigmatized as anti-popes by the Italians, while the French are content with authorities and reasons to plead the cause of doubt and toleration (Baluz. in Prefat.). It is singular, or rather it is not singular, that saints, visions, and miracles, should be common to both parties.

⁶⁸ Baluze strenuously labours (Not. p. 1271—1280.) to justify the pure and pious motives of Charles V. king of France; he refused to hear the arguments of Urban; but were not the Urbanists equally deaf to the reasons of Clement, etc.?

⁶⁹ An epistle, or declamation, in the name of Edward III. (Baluz. Vit. Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 553.) displays the zeal of the English nation against the Clementines. Nor was their zeal confined to words: the bishop of Norwich led a crusade of 60,000 bigots beyond sea (Hume's History, vol. iii. p. 57. 58.).

⁷⁰ Besides the general historians, the Diaries of Delphinus Gentilis, Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infessura, in the great Collection of Muratori, represent the state and misfortunes of Rome.

⁷¹ It is supposed by Giannone (tom. iii. p. 292.) that he styled himself Rex Romæ, a title unknown to the world since the expulsion of Tarquin. But a nearer inspection has justified the reading of Rex Ramæ, of Rama, an obscure kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.

⁷² The leading and decisive part which France assumed in the schism, is stated by Peter du Pais in a separate history, extracted from authentic records, and inserted in the viith volume of the last and best edition of his friend Thuanus (P. xi. p. 110—184.).

⁷³ Of this measure, John Gerson, a stout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the university of Paris and the Gallican church were often prompted by his advice, and are copiously displayed in his theological writings, of which Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Choisie, tom. x. p. 1—78.) has given a valuable extract. John Gerson acted an important part in the councils of Pisa and Constance.

⁷⁴ Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, one of the revivers of classic learning in Italy, who, after serving many years as secretary in the Roman court, retired to the honourable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence

(Fabric. Bibliot. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 290.). Lenfant has given the version of this curious epistle (Concile de Pise, tom. i. p. 192¹—195.).

⁷⁵ I cannot overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambassadors against those of France. The latter contended, that Christendom was essentially distributed into the four great nations and votes, of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the lesser kingdoms (such as England, Denmark, Portugal, etc.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English asserted, that the British islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and co-ordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orknies, the British islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and discriminated by four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, etc. The greater island from north to south measures 800 miles, or 40 days journey; and England alone contains, 32 counties, and 52,000 parish churches, (a bold account!) besides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. They celebrate the mission of St. Joseph of Arimathea, the birth of Constantine, and the legantine powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of Bartholomy de Glanville (A. D. 1360), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms, 1. of Rome, 2. of Constantinople, 3. of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchs, and, 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments. The adverse pleadings were found at Constance by Sir Robert Wingfield, ambassador from Henry VIII. to the emperor Maximilian I. and by him printed in 1517 at Louvain. From a Leipfic MS. they are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hardt, tom. v.; but I have only seen Lenfant's abstract of these acts (Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 447. 453, etc.).

⁷⁶ The histories of the three successive councils, Pisa, Constance, and Basil, have been written with a tolerable degree of candour, industry, and elegance, by a Protestant minister, M. Lenfant, who retired from France to Berlin. They form six volumes in quarto; and as Basil is the worst, so Constance is the best, part of the collection.

⁷⁷ See the xxviiith Dissertation of the Antiquities of Muratori, and the 1st Instruction of the Science des Médailles of the Pere Joubert and the Baron de la Bastie. The Metallic History of Martin V. and his successors, has been composed by two monks, Moulinet a Frenchman, and Bonanni

an Italian: but I understand, that the first part of the series is restored from more recent coins.

⁷⁸ Besides the Lives of Eugenius IV. (*Rerum Italic.* tom. iii. p. i. p. 869. and tom. xxv. p. 256.), the Diaries of Paul Petroni and Stephen Infessura are the best original evidence for the revolt of the Romans against Eugenius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the spot, speaks the language of a citizen, equally afraid of priestly and popular tyranny.

⁷⁹ The coronation of Frederic III. is described by Lenfant (*Concile de Basle*, tom. ii. p. 276—288.) from Æneas Sylvius a spectator and actor in that splendid scene.

⁸⁰ The oath of fidelity imposed on the emperor by the pope, is recorded and sanctified in the Clementines (l. ii. tit. ix.); and Æneas Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not foresee, that in a few years he should ascend the throne, and imbibe the maxims, of Boniface VIII.

⁸¹ Lo senatore di Roma, vestito di brocarto con quella beretta, e con quelle maniche, ed ornamenti di pelle, co' quali va alle feste di Testaccio e Nagone, might escape the eye of Æneas Sylvius, but he is viewed with admiration and complacency by the Roman citizen (*Diario di Stephano Infessura*, p. 1133.)

⁸² See in the statutes of Rome, the *senator and three judges* (l. i. c. 3—14.), the *conservators* (l. i. c. 15, 16, 17. l. iii. c. 4.), the *caporioni* (l. i. c. 18. l. iii. c. 8.), the *secret council* (l. iii. c. 2.), the *common council* (l. iii. c. 3.). The title of *feuds, defiances, acts of violence*, etc. is spread through many a chapter (c. 14—40.) of the second book.

⁸³ *Statuta alma Urbis Romæ Auctoritate S. D. N. Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. a Senatû Populoque Rom. reformatâ et edita. Romæ, 1580 in folio.* The obsolete, repugnant statutes of antiquity, were confounded in five books, and Lucas Pætus, a lawyer and antiquarian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribonian. Yet I regret the old code, with the rugged crust of freedom and barbarism.

⁸⁴ In my time (1765), and in M. Grosley's (*Observations sur l'Italie*, tom. ii. p. 361.) the senator of Rome was M. Bielke, a noble Swede, and a profelyte to the Catholic faith. The pope's right to appoint the senator and the conservator is implied, rather than affirmed, in the Statutes.

⁸⁵ Besides the curious though concise narrative of Machiavel (*Istoria Fiorentina*, l. vi. Opere, tom. i. p. 210, 211. edit. Londra, 1747, in 4to), the Porcarian conspiracy is related in the Diary of Stephen Infessura (*Rer. Ital.* tom. iii. p. ii. p. 1134, 1135.) and in a separate tract by Leo Baptista Alberti (*Rer. Ital.* tom. xxv. p. 609—614.) It is

amusing to compare the style and sentiments of the courtier and citizen. *Facinus profecto quæ . . . neque periculo horribilius, neque audaciâ detestabilius, neque crudelitate tetrius, a quoquam perditissimo uspiam excogitatum sit. . . . Perdetta la vita quell' huomo da bene, ed amatore dello bene e libertà di Roma.*

⁸⁶ The disorders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV. are exposed in the Diaries of two spectators, Stephen Infessura, and an anonymous citizen. See the troubles of the year 1484, and the death of the protonotary Colonna, in tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1083. 1158.

⁸⁷ Est toute la terre de l'église troublée pour cette partialité (des Colonnes et des Ursins) comme nous dirions Luce et Grammont, ou en Hollande Houc et Caballan; et quand ce ne seroit ce différend, la terre de l'église seroit la plus heureuse habitation pour les sujets, qui soit dans tout le monde (car ils ne payent ni tailles ni guerres autres choses), et seroient toujours bien conduits (car toujours les papes sont sages et bien conseillés); mais très-souvent en advient de grands et cruels meurtres et pilleries.

⁸⁸ By the œconomy of Sixtus V. the revenue of the ecclesiastical state was raised to two millions and a half of Roman crowns (Vita, tom. ii. p. 291—296.); and so regular was the military establishment, that in one month Clement VIII. could invade the duchy of Ferrara with three thousand horse and twenty thousand foot (tom. iiii. p. 64.). Since that time (A. D. 1597.), the papal arms are happily rusted; but the revenue must have gained some nominal increase.

⁸⁹ More especially by Guicciardini and Machiavel; in the general history of the former, in the Florentine history, the prince, and the political discourses of the latter. These, with their worthy successors, Fra Paolo and Davila, were justly esteemed the first historians of modern languages, till, in the present age, Scotland arose, to dispute the prize with Italy herself.

⁹⁰ In the history of the Gothic siege, I have compared the Barbarians with the subjects of Charles V. (vol. v. p. 264—266.); an anticipation, which, like that of the Tartar conquests, I indulged with the less scruple, as I could scarcely hope to reach the conclusion of my work.

⁹¹ The ambitious and feeble hostilities of the Caraffa pope, Paul IV. may be seen in Thuanus (l. xvi—xviii.) and Giannone (tom. iv. p. 149—163.) Those Catholic bigots, Philip II. and the duke of Alva, presumed to separate the Roman prince from the vicar of Christ: yet the holy

character, which would have sanctified his victory, was decently applied to protect his defeat.

⁹² This gradual change of manners and expence is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 495—504.), who proves, perhaps too severely, that the most salutary effects have flowed from the meanest and most selfish causes.

⁹³ Mr. Hume (Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 389.) too hastily concludes, that if the civil and ecclesiastical powers be united in the same person, it is of little moment whether he be styled prince or prelate, since the temporal character will always predominate.

⁹⁴ A protestant may disclaim the unworthy preference of St. Francis or St. Dominic, but he will not rashly condemn the zeal or judgment of Sixtus V. who placed the statues of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

⁹⁵ A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, has given the Vita di Sisto-Quinto (Amstel.) 1721, 3 vols. in 12mo), a copious and amusing work, but which does not command our absolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts, are supported by the Annals of Spondanus and Muratori (A. D. 1585—1590) and the contemporary history of the great Thuanus (l. lxxxii. c. 1, 2. l. lxxxiv. c. 10. l. c. c. 8.).

⁹⁶ These privileged places, the *quartieri* or *franchises*, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign ministers. Julius II. had once abolished the abominandum et detestandum franchitiarum hujusmodi nomen; and after Sixtus V. they again revived. I cannot discern either the justice or magnanimity of Louis XIV. who in 1687 sent his ambassador, the marquis de Lavardin, to Rome, with an armed force of a thousand officers, guards, and domestics, to maintain this iniquitous claim, and insult pope Innocent XI. in the heart of his capital (Vita di Sisto V. tom. iii. p. 260—278. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xv. p. 494—496. and Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. c. 14. p. 58, 59.).

⁹⁷ This outrage produced a decree, which was inscribed on marble, and placed in the Capitol. It is expressed in a style of manly simplicity and freedom: Si quis, sine privatus, sine magistratum gerens de collocandâ vivo pontifici statuâ mentionem facere ausit, legitimo S. P. Q. R. decreto in perpetuum infamis et publicorum munerum expers esto. MDXC. mense Augusto (Vita di Sisto V. tom. iii. p. 469.). I believe that this decree is still observed, and I know that every monarch who deserves a statue, should himself impose the prohibition.

⁹⁸ The histories of the church, Italy, and Christendom, have contri-

buted to the chapter which I now conclude. In the original *Lives* of the Popes, we often discover the city and republic of Rome; and the events of the xivth and xvth centuries are preserved in the rude and domestic chronicles which I have carefully inspected, and shall recapitulate in the order of time.

1. Monaldeschi (Ludovici Boncomitis) *Fragmenta Annalium Roman.* A. D. 1328, in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum* of Muratori, tom. xii. p. 525. N. B. The credit of this fragment is somewhat hurt by a singular interpolation, in which the author relates *his own death* at the age of 115 years.
2. *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ* (vulgo *Thomas Fortifiocæ*), in *Romana Dialecto vulgari* (A. D. 1327—1354, in Muratori, *Antiquitat. medii Ævi Italiæ*, tom. iii. p. 247—548.): the authentic ground-work of the history of Rienzi.
3. Delphini (Gentilis) *Diarium Romanum* (A. D. 1370—1410.), in the *Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 846.
4. Antonii (Petri) *Diarium Rom.* (A. D. 1404—1417.), tom. xxiv p. 969.
5. Petroni (Pauli) *Miscellanea Historica Romana* (A. D. 1433—1446.), tom. xxiv. p. 1101.
6. Volaterrani (Jacob.) *Diarium Rom.* (A. D. 1472—1484.), tom. xxiii. p. 81.
7. Anonymi *Diarium Urbis Romæ* (A. D. 1481—1492.), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1069.
8. Infessuræ (Stephani) *Diarium Romanum* (A. D. 1294, or 1378—1494.), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1109.
- 9 *Historia Arcana Alexandri VI.* five *Excerpta ex Diario Joh. Burcardi* (A. D. 1492—1503.) edita a Godefr. Gulielm. Leibnizio, Hanover, 1697, in 4to. The large and valuable Journal of Burcard might be completed from the MSS. in different libraries of Italy and France (M. de Fonce-magne, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscrip.* tom. xvii. p. 597—606.).

Except the last, all these fragments and diaries are inserted in the Collections of Muratori, my guide and master in the history of Italy. His country, and the public, are indebted to him for the following works on that subject: 1. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (A. D. 500—1500), *quorum potissima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit*, etc. xxviii vols. in folio, Milan, 1723—1738. 1751. A volume of chronological and alphabetical tables is still wanting as a key to this great work, which is yet in a disorderly and defective state. 2. *Antiquitates Italiæ medii Ævi*, vi vols. in folio,

Milan, 1738—1743, in lxxv. curious dissertations on the manners, government, religion, etc. of the Italians of the darker ages, with a large supplement of charters, chronicles, etc. 3. *Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane*, iii. vols. in 4to, Milano, 1751, a free version by the author, which may be quoted with the same confidence as the Latin text of the Antiquities. 4. *Annali d'Italia*, xviii. vols. in octavo, Milan, 1753—1756, a dry, though accurate and useful, abridgement of the history of Italy from the birth of Christ to the middle of the xviiiith century. 5. *Dell' Antichità Estensi ed Italiane*, ii. vols. in folio, Modena, 1717. 1740. In the history of this illustrious race, the parent of our Brunswick kings, the critic is not seduced by the loyalty or gratitude of the subject. In all his works, Muratori approves himself a diligent and laborious writer, who aspires above the prejudices of a Catholic priest. He was born in the year 1672, and died in the year 1750, after passing near sixty years in the libraries of Milan and Modena (Vita del Proposto Ludovico Antonio Muratori, by his nephew and successor Gian. Francesco Soli Muratori, Venezia, 1756. in 4to.)

CHAP. LXXI.

¹ I have already (note 50, 51. on chap. 65.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius; and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of fortune.

² Confedimus in ipsis Tarpeia arcis ruinis, pone ingens portæ cujusdam, ut puto, templi, marmoreum limen, plurimasque passim confractas columnas, unde magnâ ex parte prospectus urbis patet (p. 5.)

³ Æneid. viii. 97—369. This ancient picture, so artfully introduced, and so exquisitely finished, must have been highly interesting to an inhabitant of Rome; and our early studies allow us to sympathize in the feelings of a Roman.

⁴ Capitolium adeo . . . immutatum ut vineæ in senatorum subsellia successerint, stercoreum ac purgamentorum receptaculum factum. Respice ad Palatinum montem . . . vasta rudera . . . cæteros colles perlustra omnia vacua ædificiis, ruinis vineisque oppleta conspicias (Poggius de Varietat. Fortunæ, p. 21.).

⁵ See Poggius, p. 8—22.

⁶ Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ex Registro Nicolai Cardinalis de Arragoniâ, in Bibliothecâ St. Isidori Armario IV. N° 69. This treatise, with some short but pertinent notes, has been published by Montfaucon (Diarium Italicum, p. 283—301.), who thus delivers his own critical opinion: Scriptor xliimi circiter sæculi, ut ibidem notatur; antiquariæ rei imperitus, et, ut ab illo ævo, nugis et anilibus fabellis refertus: sed, quia monumenta quæ iis temporibus Romæ supererant pro modulo recenset, non

parum inde lucis mutuabitur qui Romanis antiquitatibus indagandis operam navabit (p. 283.).

⁷ The Pere Mabillon (Analecta, tom. iv. p. 502.) has published an anonymous pilgrim of the ixth century, who, in his visit round the churches and holy places of Rome, touches on several buildings, especially porticoes, which had disappeared before the xiiiith century.

⁸ On the Septizonium, see the Mémoires sur Petrarque (tom. i. p. 325.), Donatus (p. 338.) and Nardini (p. 117. 414.).

⁹ The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, since Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. c. 44. p. 72.) is unable to decide whether they were constructed 1000, or 3400, years before the clxxxth Olympiad. Sir John Marsham's contracted scale of the Egyptian dynasties would fix them about 2000 years before Christ (Canon. Chronicus, p. 47.).

¹⁰ See the speech of Glaucus in the Iliad (Z. 146.). This natural but melancholy image is familiar to Homer.

¹¹ The learning and criticism of M. des Vignoles (Histoire critique de la Republique des Lettres, tom. viii. p. 74—118. ix. p. 172—187.) dates the fire of Rome from A. D. 64, July 19, and the subsequent persecution of the Christians from November 15, of the same year.

¹² Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quatuor integræ manebant, tres solo tenus dejectæ: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semiuستا. Among the old relics that were irreparably lost, Tacitus enumerates the temple of the moon of Servius Tullius; the fane and altar consecrated by Evander præsentî Herculi; the temple of Jupiter Stator, a vow of Romulus; the palace of Numa; the temple of Vesta cum Penatibus populi Romani. He then deplores the opes tot victoriis quæsitæ et Græcarum artium decora... multa quæ seniores meminerant, quæ reparari nequibant (Annal. xv. 41.),

¹³ A. U. C. 507, repentina subversio ipsius Romæ prævenit triumphum Romanorum... diversæ ignium aquarumque clades pene absumfere urbem. Nam Tiberis insolitis auctus imbribus et ultra opinionem, vel diurnitate vel magnitudine redundans, omnia Romæ ædificia in plano posita delevit. Diversæ qualitates locorum ad unam convenere perniciem: quoniam et quæ segnior inundatio tenuit madefacta dissolvit, et quæ cursus torrentis invenit impulsæ dejecit (Orosius, Hist. l. iv. c. 11. p. 244. edit. Havercamp). Yet we may observe, that it is the plan and study of the Christian apologist, to magnify the calamities of the pagan world.

¹⁴ Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis

Littore Etrusco violenter undis,

Ire dejectum monumenta Regis

Templaque Vestæ.

(Horat. Carm. I. 2.)

If the palace of Numa, and temple of Vesta, were thrown down in Horace's time, what was consumed of those buildings by Nero's fire could hardly deserve the epithets of *vetustissima* or *incorrupta*.

¹⁵ *Ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit, ac repurgavit, completum olim rudibus, et ædificiorum prolapsionibus coarctatum* (Suetonius in Augusto, c. 30.)

¹⁶ Tacitus (Annal. i. 79.) reports the petitions of the different towns of Italy to the senate against the measure; and we may applaud the progress of reason. On a similar occasion, local interests would undoubtedly be consulted: but an English house of commons would reject with contempt the arguments of superstition, "that nature had assigned to the rivers their proper course, etc."

¹⁷ See the *Epoques de la Nature* of the eloquent and philosophic Buffon. His picture of Guyana in South America, is that of a new and savage land, in which the waters are abandoned to themselves, without being regulated by human industry (p. 212. 561. quarto edition.)

¹⁸ In his *Travels in Italy*, Mr. Addison (his works, vol. ii. p. 98. Baskerville's edition) has observed this curious and unquestionable fact.

¹⁹ Yet in modern times, the Tyber has sometimes damaged the city; and in the years 1530, 1557, 1598, the Annals of Muratori record three mischievous and memorable inundations (tom. xiv. p. 258. 429. tom. xv. p. 99, etc.)

²⁰ I take this opportunity of declaring, that in the course of twelve years I have forgotten, or renounced, the flight of Odin from Azoph to Sweden, which I never very seriously believed (vol. i. p. 294.) The Goths are apparently Germans: but all beyond Cæsar and Tacitus, is darkness or fable, in the antiquities of Germany.

²¹ *History of the Decline, etc.* vol. v. p. 266.

²² ————— vol. vi. p. 124.

²³ ————— vol. vii. p. 25, 26.

²⁴ ————— vol. viii. p. 323.

²⁵ ————— vol. v. c. xxviii. p. 38—79.

²⁶ *Eodem tempore petiit a Phocate principe templum, quod appellatur Pantheon, in quo fecit ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis, et omnium martyrum; in quâ ecclesiâ princeps multa bona obtulit* (Anastasius vel potius Liber Pontificalis in Bonifacio IV. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 135.). According to the anonymous writer in Montfaucon, the Pantheon had been vowed by Agrippa to Cybele and Neptune,

Neptune, and was dedicated by Boniface IV. on the calends of November to the Virgin, quæ est mater omnium sanctorum (p. 297, 298.).

²⁷ Flaminius Vacca (apud Montfaucon, p. 155, 156. His Memoir is likewise printed, pp. 21. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini), and several Romans, doctrinâ graves, were persuaded that the Goths buried their treasures at Rome, and bequeathed the secret marks filiis nepotibusque. He relates some anecdotes to prove, that in his own time, these places were visited and rifled by the Transalpine pilgrims, the heirs of the Gothic conquerors.

²⁸ Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornatum civitatis deposuit: sed et ecclesiam B. Mariæ ad martyres quæ de tegulis æreis cooperta discooperuit (Anast. in Vitalian. p. 141.) The base and sacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretence of plundering an heathen temple; the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.

²⁹ For the spoils of Ravenna (mûsiva atque marmora) see the original grant of pope Adrian I. to Charlemagne (Codex Carolin. epist. lxxvii. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 223.).

³⁰ I shall quote the authentic testimony of the Saxon poet (A. D. 887—899), de Rebus gestis Caroli magni, l. v. 437—440. in the Historians of France (tom. v. p. 180.):

Ad quæ marmoreas præstabat ROMA columnas,

Quasdam præcipuas pulchra Ravenna dedit.

De tam longinquâ poterit regione vetustas

Illius ornatum Francia ferre tibi.

And I shall add, from the Chronicle of Sigebert (Historians of France, tom. v. p. 378.) extruxit etiam Aquisgrani basilicam plurimæ pulchritudinis, ad cujus structuram a ROMA et Ravennâ columnas et marmora devehit fecit.

³¹ I cannot refuse to transcribe a long passage of Petrarch (Opp. p. 536, 537. in Epistolâ hortatoriâ ad Nicolaum Laurentium) it is so strong and full to the point: Nec pudor aut pietas continuit quominus impii spoliata Dei templa, occupatas arces, opes publicas regiones urbis, atque honores magistratuum inter se divisos; (*habeant?*) quam unâ in re, turbulenti ac seditiosi homines et totius reliquæ vitæ consiliis et rationibus discordes, inhumani fœderis stupendâ societate convenerant, in pontes et mœnia atque immeritos lapides defœvirent. Denique post vi vel senio collapsa palatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, post disruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum forsitan corruerunt), de ipsius vetustatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus vilem questum turpi mercimonio captare non puduit. Itaque nunc, heu dolor! heu scelus indignum! de vestris marmoreis

columnis, de liminibus templorum (ad quæ nuper ex orbe toto concursus devotissimus fiebat), de imaginibus sepulchrorum sub quibus patrum vestrorum venerabilis civis (*cinis*?) erat, ut reliquas fileam, desidiosa Neapolis adornatur. Sic paullatim ruinæ ipsæ deficiunt. Yet king Robert was the friend of Petrarch.

³² Yet Charlemagne washed and swam at Aix la Chapelle with an hundred of his courtiers (Eginhart, c. 22. p. 108, 109.) and Muratori describes as late as the year 814, the public baths which were built at Spoleto in Italy (Annali, tom. vi. p. 416.)

³³ See the Annals of Italy, A. D. 988, For this and the preceding fact, Muratori himself is indebted to the Benedictine history of Père Mabillon.

³⁴ Vita di Sisto Quinto, da Gregorio Leti, tom. iii. p. 50.

³⁵ Porticus ædis Concordiæ, quam cum primum ad urbem accessi vidi fere integram opere marmoreo admodum specioso: Romani postmodum ad calcem ædem totam et porticûs partem disjectis columnis sunt demoliti (p. 12.). The temple of Concord was therefore *not* destroyed by a sedition in the xiiith century, as I have read in a MS. treatise del Governo civile di Rome, lent me formerly at Rome, and ascribed (I believe falsely) to the celebrated Gravina. Poggius likewise affirms, that the sepulchre of Cæcilia Metella was burnt for lime (p. 19, 20.)

³⁶ Composed by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II. and published by Mabillon from a MS. of the queen of Sweden (Musæum Italicum, tom. i. p. 97.)

Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas;

Ex cujus lapsû gloria prisca patet.

Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis

Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit.

Impia tercentum si sic gens egerit annos,

Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit.

³⁷ Vagabamur pariter in illâ urbe tam magnâ; quæ, cum propter spatium vacua videretur, populum habet immensum (Opp. p. 605. Epist. Familiæres, ii. 14.)

³⁸ These states of the population of Rome at different periods, are derived from an ingenious treatise of the physician Lancisi, de Romani Cœli Qualitatibus (p. 122.).

³⁹ All the facts that relate to the towers at Rome, and in other free cities of Italy, may be found in the laborious and entertaining compilation of Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ mediæ Ævi, dissertat. xxvi. (tom. ii. p. 493—496. of the Latin, tom. i. p. 446. of the Italian work).

⁴⁰ As for instance, templum Jani nunc dicitur, turris Centii Frangapanis;

et sane Jano impositæ turris lateritiæ conspicua hodieque vestigia supersunt (Montfaucon *Diarium Italicum*, p. 186.) The anonymous writer (p. 285.) enumerates, arcus Titi, turris Cartularia; Arcus Julii Cæsaris et Senatorum, turres de Bratis; arcus Antonini, turris de Cofectis, etc.

⁴¹ Hadrian! molem..... magnâ ex parte Romanorum injuria..... disturbavit: quod certe funditus evertissent, si eorum manibus pervia, absumptis grandibus faxis, reliqua moles exstitisset. (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12.)

⁴² Against the emperor Henry IV. (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 147.)

⁴³ I must copy an important passage of Montfaucon: Turris ingens rotunda.... Cæcilie Metellæ.... sepulchrum erat, cujus muri tam solidi, ut spatium perquam minimum intus vacuum superfit: et *Torre di Bove* dicitur, a boum capitibus muro inscriptis. Huic sequiori ævo, tempore intestinorum bellorum, ceu urbecula adjuncta fuit, cujus mœnia et turres etiamnum visuntur; ita ut sepulchrum Metellæ quasi arx oppiduli fuerit. Ferventibus in urbe partibus, cum Urfini atque Columnenses mutuis cladi- bus perniciem inferrent civitati, in utriusve partis ditionem cederet magni momenti erat (p. 142.)

⁴⁴ See the testimonies of Donatus, Nardini, and Montfaucon. In the Savelli palace, the remains of the theatre of Marcellus are still great and conspicuous.

⁴⁵ James cardinal of St. George, ad velum aureum, in his metrical Life of Pope Celestin V. Muratori, *Script. Ital.* tom. i. P. lii. p. 621. l. i. c. l. ver. 132, etc.)

Hoc dixisse sat est, Romam caruisse Senatû
Menfibus exactis heu fex; belloque vocatum (*vocatos.*)
In scelus, in socios fraternaue vulnera patres:
Tormentis jecisse viros immania faxa;
Perfodisse domus trabibus, fecisse ruinas
Ignibus; incensas turres, obstructaque fumo
Lumina vicino, quo sit spoliata supellex.

⁴⁶ Muratori (*Differtazione sopra le Antichità Italiane*, tom. i. p. 427—431.) finds, that stone bullets of two or three hundred pounds weight were not uncommon; and they are sometimes computed at xii or xviii *cantari* of Genoa, each *cantaro* weighing 150 pounds.

⁴⁷ The vith law of the Visconti prohibits this common and mischievous practice; and strictly enjoins, that the houses of banished citizens should be preserved pro communi utilitate (Gulvaneus de la Flamma, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xii. p. 1041.)

⁴⁸ Petrarch thus addresses his friend who, with shame and tears, had shewn him the *mœnia*, *laceræ specimen miserabile Romæ*, and declared his own intention of restoring them (*Carmina Latina*, l. ii. epist. Paulo Annibalensi, xii. p. 97, 98.):

Nec te parva manet fervatis fama ruinis,
Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ,
Reliquiæ testantur adhuc; quas longior ætas
Frangere non valuit; non vis aut ira cruenti
Hostis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus heu! heu!

————— Quod ille nequivit (*Hannibal*)

Perficit hic aries. —————

⁴⁹ The fourth part of the *Verona Illustrata* of the Marquis Maffei, professedly treats of amphitheatres, particularly those of Rome and Verona, of their dimensions, wooden galleries, etc. It is from magnitude that he derives the name of *Colosseum*, or *Coliseum*: since the same appellation was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the aid of a colossal statue; since that of Nero was erected in the court (*in atrio*) of his palace, and not in the Coliseum (*P. iv. p. 15—19. l. i. c. 4.*).

⁵⁰ Joseph Maria Suarés, a learned bishop, and the author of an history of Præneste, has composed a separate dissertation on the seven or eight probable causes of these holes, which has been since reprinted in the *Roman Thesaurus* of Sallengre. Montfaucon (*Diarium*, p. 233.) pronounces the rapine of the Barbarians to be the *unam germanamque causam foraminum*.

⁵¹ Donatus, *Roma Vetus et Nova*, p. 285.

⁵² *Quamdiu stabit Colyseus, stabit et Roma; quando cadet Colyseus, cadet Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus* (*Beda in Excerptis seu Collectaneis apud Ducange Glossar. med. et infimæ Latinitatis*, tom. ii. p. 407. edit. Basil. This saying must be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who visited Rome before the year 735, the æra of Bede's death; for I do not believe that our venerable monk ever passed the sea.

⁵³ I cannot recover in Muratori's original *Lives of the Popes* (*Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. P. i.) the passage that attests this hostile partition, which must be applied to the end of the xith or the beginning of the xiith century.

⁵⁴ Although the structure of the *Circus Agonalis* be destroyed, it still retains its form and name (*Agona*, *Nagona*, *Navona*): and the interior space affords a sufficient level for the purpose of racing. But the *Monte Testaceo*, that strange pile of broken pottery, seems only adapted for the annual practice of hurling from top to bottom some waggon-loads of live

hogs for the diversion of the populace (*Statuta Urbis Romæ*, p. 186.)

⁵⁵ See the *Statuta Urbis Romæ*, l. iii. c. 87, 88, 89. p. 185, 186. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of Nagona and Monte Testaceo are likewise mentioned in the Diary of Peter Antonius from 1404 to 1417. (*Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xxiv. p. 1124.)

⁵⁶ The *Pallium*, which Menage so foolishly derives from *Palmarium*, is an easy extension of the idea and the words, from the robe or cloak, to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (*Muratori dissert. xxxiii.*)

⁵⁷ For these expences, the Jews of Rome paid each year 1130. florins, of which the odd thirty represented the pieces of silver for which Judas had betrayed his master to their ancestors. There was a foot-race of Jewish, as well as of Christian youths (*Statuta Urbis*, *ibidem.*).

⁵⁸ This extraordinary bull-feast in the Coliseum, is described from tradition, rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldesco, in the most ancient fragments of Roman annals (*Muratori*, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xii. p. 535, 536.): and however fanciful they may seem, they are deeply marked with the colours of truth and nature.

⁵⁹ Muratori has given a separate dissertation (the xxixth) to the games of the Italians in the middle ages.

⁶⁰ In a concise but instructive *mémoire*, the abbé Barthelemy (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 585.) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the xivth century, *de Tiburtino faciendo in the Coliseum*, from an original act in the archives of Rome.

⁶¹ Coliseum, . . . ob stultitiam Romanorum *majori ex parte* ad calcem delatum, says the indignant Poggius (p. 17.): but his expression, too strong for the present age, must be very tenderly applied to the xvth century.

⁶² Of the Olivetan monks, Montfaucon (p. 142.) affirms this fact from the memorials of Flaminus Vacca (N° 72.) They still hoped, on some future occasion, to revive and vindicate their grant.

⁶³ After measuring the *priscus amphitheatrici gyros*, Montfaucon (p. 142.) only adds, that it was entire under Paul III.; *tacendo clamat*. Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. xiv. p. 372.) more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese pope, and the indignation of the Roman people. Against the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar saying, "*Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecere Barbarini*," which was perhaps suggested by the resemblance of the words.

⁶⁴ As an antiquarian and a priest, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Coliseum: *Quod si non suo pte merito atque pulchritudine dignum fuisset*

quod improbas arceret manus, indigna res utique in locum tot martyrum cruore sacrum tantopere sævitum esse.

⁶⁵ Yet the Statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 81. p. 182.) impose a fine of 500 *aurei* on whosoever shall demolish any ancient edifice, ne ruinis civitas deformetur, et ut antiqua ædificia decorem urbis perpetuo repræsentent.

⁶⁶ In his first visit to Rome (A. D. 1337. See *Mémoires sur Petrarque*, tom. i. p. 322, etc.), Petrarch is struck mute miraculo rerum tantarum, et stuporis mole obrutus.... Præsentia vero, mirum dictû, nihil imminuit: vere major fuit Roma majoresque sunt reliquæ quam rebar. Jam non orbem ab hac urbe domitum, sed tam fero domitum, miror (*Opp.* p. 605. *Familiares*, ii. 14. Joanni Columnæ).

⁶⁷ He excepts and praises the *rare* knowledge of John Colonna. Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum, quam Romani cives? Invitus dico, nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Romæ.

⁶⁸ After the description of the Capitol, he adds, statux erant quot sunt mundi provinciæ; et habebat quælibet tintinnabulum ad collum. Et erant ita per magicam artem dispositæ, ut quando aliqua regio Romano Imperio rebellis erat, statim imago illius provinciæ vertebat se contra illam; unde tintinnabulum resonabat quod pendebat ad collum; tuncque vates Capitolii qui erant custodes senatui, etc. He mentions an example of the Saxons and Suevi, who, after they had been subdued by Agrippa, again rebelled: tintinnabulum sonuit; sacerdos qui erat in specula in hebdomadâ senatoribus nuntiavit: Agrippa marched back and reduced the———Persians (*Anonym.* in *Montfaucon*, p. 297, 298.).

⁶⁹ The same writer affirms, that Virgil captus a Romanis invisibiliter exiit, ivitque Neapolim. A Roman magician, in the xith century, is introduced by William of Malmsbury (*de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, l. ii. p. 86.); and in the time of Flaminius Vacca (N° 81. 103.) it was the vulgar belief that the strangers (the *Goths*) invoked the dæmons for the discovery of hidden treasures.

⁷⁰ *Anonym.* p. 289. *Montfaucon* (p. 191.) justly observes, that if Alexander be represented, these statues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxxiii.) or Praxiteles (Olympiad civ.), who lived before that conqueror (*Plin. Hist. Natur.* xxxiv. 19.).

⁷¹ William of Malmsbury (l. ii. p. 86, 87.) relates a marvellous discovery (A. D. 1046) of Pallas, the son of Evander, who had been slain by Turnus; the perpetual light in his sepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the corpse, yet entire, of a young giant, the enormous wound in his breast (pectus perforat ingens), etc. If this fable rests on the slightest foundation, we may pity the bodies as well as the statues, that were exposed to the air in a barbarous age.

⁷² Prope porticum Minervæ, statua est recubantis, cujus caput integrâ effigie, tantæ Magnitudinis, ut signa omnia excedat. Quidam ad plantandas arbores scrobes faciens detexit. Ad hoc visendum cum plures in dies magis concurrerent, strepitum adeuntium fastidiumque pertæsus, horti patronus congestâ humo texit (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12.).

⁷³ See the Memorials of Flaminius Vacca. No 57. p. 11, 12. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini (1704, in 4to.).

⁷⁴ In the year 1709, the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thousand Jews) amounted to 138,568 souls (Labat, Voyages en Espagne et en Italie, tom. iii. p. 217, 218.). In 1740 they had increased to 146,080; and in 1765, I left them, without the Jews, 161,899. I am ignorant whether they have since continued in a progressive state.

⁷⁵ The Pere Montfaucon distributes his own observations into twenty days, he should have styled them weeks, or months, of his visits to the different parts of the city (Diarium Italicum, c. 8—20. p. 104—301.). That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of ancient Rome; the first efforts of Blondus, Fulvius, Martianus, and Faunus, the superior labours of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labours; the writings of Onuphrius Panvinus, qui omnes obscuravit, and the recent but imperfect books of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon still sighs for a more complete plan and description of the old city, which must be attained by the three following methods: 1. The measurement of the space and intervals of the ruins. 2. The study of inscriptions, and the places where they were found. 3. The investigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any spot or building of Rome. The laborious work such as Montfaucon desired, must be promoted by princely or public munificence: but the great modern plan of Nolli (A. D. 1748) would furnish a solid and accurate basis for the ancient topography of Rome.

END OF THE NOTES.



Gibbon, Edward,

The History Of The Decline And Fall Of The Roman Empire

Bd.: [14]

Basil 1789

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